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THE

WORLD'S RELIGIONS

A Comprehensive Popular Account of all the Principal Religions of Civilised and Uncivilised Peoples;

DESCRIBING

THEIR DOCTRINES, RITES, PRIESTHOODS, SACRED BOOKS, AND MORAL TEACHINGS,

TOGETHER WITH

LIVES OF THEIR FOUNDERS, GREAT TEACHERS AND REFORMERS.

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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Copiously Illustrated with Full-page and other Engravings.

NEW YORK:

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE COMPANY

1891.

BL80
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INTRODUCTION.

By REV. JOHN HALL, D.D., LL.D.,

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THE influence of Paganism, in its various forms, upon struggling Christianity as it made its way among the races of mankind has been noticed, of course, by thoughtful writers, but has not received the careful attention to which it is entitled. This is due, in part, to the little attention given to early Christian literature, and in still greater degree to the little exact knowledge in the average community regarding the religious beliefs and rites grouped under the general name of heathenism. But the New Testament does not ignore the manifestations of religious feeling among the nations. Paul, an educated man before he became an apostle, speaking to educated men—typical devotees of culture and philosophy at Athens—refers to men "feeling after God if haply they might find Him;" but he pays no compliments to their enlightenment, for he describes their days as "times of ignorance;" and when he writes to churches partly Jewish, but mainly Gentile in their constituent elements, he does not hesitate to warn them against the "philosophy and vain deceit" which sometimes accepted Christianity in part and then added to it corrupting elements that made it "of none effect." These statements might easily be verified and illustrated from ecclesiastical history, and they lead to the conclusion that even in this nineteenth century the study of the religions of human devising may throw light on the holy oracles, and on the historical modifications of our divinely revealed religion.

The notion is sometimes vaguely suggested and thoughtlessly accepted that the religion associated with the prophetic name of the Son of God, our Saviour, is one of the many forms into which the natural religious faculty of man has developed, higher and better, indeed, from many causes than others, but yet the same in kind as in origin. How the acceptance of this view as a proved truth would work; how it would weaken the force of all appeals to the conscience based on Bible truth, it is easy to calculate. It is all the more plausible, because, like many popular errors, it contains some admitted truth. There is a religious element in man's nature. Explain it as men may, there is a sense of dependence upon and accountability

to some other higher Power. But Christianity is the completion of a divine, distinct revelation *to* us, not an outcome and product *of* natural man. That revelation began in the dispensations reported in the Old Testament, was completed when, in these last days, men were spoken to by the Son and His apostles, and is commended to men as divine by adequate and appropriate evidence. One of the ways in which the supernatural religion can be vindicated as such is by the careful study of humanly devised systems. "If these systems be the best that men, however gifted, can devise, then the Gospel of God predicted in the Old and unfolded in the New Testament must have an origin higher than the human." So a candid student of *The World's Religions* will feel and say.

For, to return to the grain of truth in the generalization just referred to, men everywhere have some religious feeling more or less definitely expressed. It is not always displayed, say to a Captain Cook touching, for a day or two, an island of savages. The men who come into contact with new and barbarous tribes are not always interested in religious matters, and their new acquaintances, with bows and arrows and defective dress, are generally thinking—not so much of their devotional, as of their material conditions; not so much of the amount of religious light they can give the strangers, as of the attractive goods they can get from them. The writer once sat at a dinner-table where a British officer, who once served in India, but had long resided in London, was decrying the work of Christian missionaries in the region of which he spoke authoritatively. He had been there, and it had not attracted his attention. The Christian auditors were a little discouraged and silent, when the question was put to him: "By the way, do you know how the London City mission goes forward?" "I never heard of it," was his frank reply. He had lived in London, was an Englishman, spoke the vernacular, but moved on a plane not much traversed by the missionary. No more was said, but it was easy to see that his testimony as to missions in Bengal or Katiawar was not very intelligent. Everywhere the religious element exists, more or less plainly expressed. Our author, while giving place to the common impression (p. 25) that the Australian natives when discovered by Europeans "had no worship, nor any idea of a Creator," yet furnishes details regarding their sorcerers, their theories of creation, their notions about ghosts, and the Tasmanian hope that in the future life they would be happy hunters (p. 27), or go to the stars, or to an island where their ancestors were, and where they would be turned into white people. So races everywhere look to a world outside their own, and believe in a being or in beings—sometimes good and sometimes malevolent—who must be conciliated or guarded against. Men sometimes set aside natural laws by artificial means, and so individuals may, by intellectual opiates, deaden the religious element within them. But God has not left Himself without a witness. "The heavens declare His glory and the firmament showeth His handywork." Nor is it only by His works without that a basis is laid for natural religion. "Man was made in the

image of God, and he reveals his parentage as unmistakably as any class of inferior animals reveal the source from whence they sprung." The outward and sensible signs of religion may be obscure, vague, secret, or, to a casual observer, even conspicuous by their absence; but the religious intuition exists all over, and vindicates the inspired testimony. This truth is illustrated in the volume which describes *The World's Religions.*

In examining the various types of religious thought, one finds, as might be expected from the facts just mentioned, certain elements common to many of them, or, to make the idea more definite, finds points in them which are emphasised in the divine revelation. Explanations of these coincidences are sometimes at hand. Mohammed, *e.g.*, was in close and frequent contact with Hebrews and Christians, and it is easy to see to what an extent both the style, the method, and the substance of his alleged revelation in the Koran have been shaped by our Scriptures. In other cases the materials of history are not available, but there is no difficulty in accounting for the coincidences. God hath made of one blood all nations of men. The race in its beginning had certain deeply seated convictions, modified by circumstances, and becoming more obscure and indefinite as the generations came and went, but, like physical features and common habits, retaining throughout some of the original characteristics. A tribe has its deity, and it forms an alliance with another tribe, which also had its object of worship. As the tribes coalesce their deities are retained, and so "lords many and gods many" are perpetuated, while the radical ideas of dependence and the applications of the religious beliefs to the affairs of life will remain. A race with its local deities is vanquished and its territory taken by another. The new-comers, used to the notion of local deities, not unnaturally fall into the belief that now that they have come into this new region it is politic to stand well with the deities of the place, mountain or flood, and yet they will retain their conceptions of the divine, and of the course proper for them to pursue. So asceticism, monastic vows, temples, shrines, priests, offerings, and other expressions of devotion are common to religions widely different. The early Vedas had sacred fires, offerings of rice and clarified butter, which the offerer, after washing the feet of the priests, and giving them perfumes, invited them to eat, at once suggesting arrangements made in the Hebrew ritual. But the earliest date assigned to the Rig-Veda is 1200 B.C., and many bring it down to B.C. 800. Take which you will, and you have centuries intervening between its rise and the setting up of that Mosaic ritual which the Queen of Sheba had the curiosity to inquire about and the opportunity to see; and if her admiration was sincere, we can well understand her spreading it among the northern countries from India and Africa, whose people, with their gold and diamonds, incense and cassia, traded with the Sabæans, and whose Bedouin population at a later time struck out and founded kingdoms on the Euphrates, and in the Hauran Mountains. (See Fr. W. Schultz on *Arabia*, in the Schaff-Herzog Encyc.) A comparison of the Latin *Deus* and the *Devas*, or "shining ones," of the

Vedas; of the *Zeus* of Greece and the *Jupiter* of Rome, with the *Dyansh-piter*, or Heaven-father, of the Sanscrit, and other like sacred names, will show how not only Greek and Latin mythologies coincide, but that there was much in common between the European and Hindoo Aryans, whether they are demonstrably of one stock or not. The human race was one at the beginning, and the religious elements of the early history, though endlessly modified in form as tribes and kindred spread, divided, and sometimes came together again, are perpetuated in essential features and root principles. There is something suggestive of even later forms of worship than the Greek and Roman in the invocations and "adoration of the beneficent Father and that mighty inherent power of the Mother" (p. 179). On one other line of interesting inquiry the reader will be aided by the study of *The World's Religions*. Did the religious systems develop and rise in amount of truth as man rose from animal savagism? or did they lose their simplicity, become varied, complicated, mixed, and the reverse of elevating, as man has gone down? In other words, did God make man upright, man sinning and wandering and seeking out many inventions, or did man come into existence as a human animal in a condition of untrained barbarism, and did he gradually work himself up religiously and otherwise, as the generations proceeded? The evolution theory as frequently, though not always accurately expounded, raises questions like these. The study of man on the religious side of his nature furnishes aids to a definite opinion.

Turning in another direction, as one looks at the latter part of *The World's Religions* as a book, one must expect some good to come from its careful perusal. Our country is new. We have been making, rather than reading history. George Washington's hatchet typifies the point to which some have gone back, and have gone no farther. We are a busy people, and the present gives many of us as much to do as we can accomplish. Various considerations, including our differences of opinion about religious things, have kept history, even civil history, from a prominent place in our common schools. It is not wonderful, then, that Church History is confined as a study to seminaries and religious teachers. Now our author has aimed, as he tells us, at reporting facts without pronouncing opinions; but it will be a gain to get the facts into the minds of many of our people. Human conditions and "environments" change, but human nature does not. Moral principles are the same in this century as in the nineteenth before Christ; and He who controls the universe is "without variableness or shadow of turning." There is, in a true sense, nothing new under the sun. Hence the positive gain of seeing how principles have worked themselves out and how men have been affected by their operation in the ages that are gone. The study cannot fail to throw light on the present, on duty, privilege, and prospects. The history of churches touches man on the deepest side of his life, and unfolds the working of the strongest force in the shaping of society. The examination, therefore, of the religious life of European and other nations, and the comparison of moral, and even civil and social conditions

since the Reformation, as here presented, of course with necessary conciseness, will be profitable in a high degree to the average American reader.

But there are other, and in a sense, more tender and even practical influences under which one may come in the reading of this book, and a rapid statement of these will fittingly close this paper.

The common elements in men's religious systems, a deity or deities outside ourselves, dependence thereon, and accountability thereto—these remind us that the race is one. Then we have a basis for wide humanity of feeling. Then clime or color, station or speech, must not limit our sympathy or our regard. Let there be ignorance anywhere; we must try to banish it. Let there be misery anywhere; we must seek to lighten it. Let there be good anywhere; we must rejoice over it. Let there be opportunity to do good anywhere; then we must try to do it. To us as human beings there is to be neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free. As in God's new-creating grace all are made one in Christ when they trust Him, so in His original natural creation all are one.

But not only will sympathy with our brother-man be developed, but on the way to make it practical and useful some light will be cast. It is not enough that we pity, and would fain help. How to do it is a practical point. The physician has to make the diagnosis before he decides on the remedies. We must understand the moral condition of our fellow-men and their formative beliefs before we can hope to do them enduring good. Now the churches throughout Christendom are moving in the direction of spreading Christianity. To think and feel intelligently, they must understand, in some degree, the mental and moral state, the convictions and the emotions of their fellow-men. This fact is well appreciated by the zealous producers and disseminators of our religious and missionary literature. Never was the religion of the Cross so aggressive on a large scale as at this time. What a gain it will be when they who bear the name of the Great Divine Teacher have not only a general idea of the superiority of their faith, but when they can tell the reason for their convictions, and assign cause for self-denying effort to enlighten those who are yet without its light! What a quickening of interest in certain forms of disease the announcement of Dr. Koch's specific has produced! How eagerly it is scrutinised, and how anxiously will it be tested by actual sufferers! Is the religion of the Cross the best remedy for the world's evils? Then let us understand them, pity the victims, and intelligently seek the world-wide application of the remedy.

For how easy it is to see that men and women may go to the believers in Confucius or to the followers of Mohammed, full of zeal and earnestness, but if they betray ignorance of the beliefs they would fain supplant by Christian truth, they will not only be disliked, but despised. "He teach us a good religion better than ours! Why, he does not know what ours is!" How natural would such a criticism be where the well-meaning toiler has never learned the nature of the errors he would dispel!

And finally, the eyes of many are on the hundreds and thousands of

men and women, of teachers and physicians, who are facing the masses of heathenism; and in some instances, perhaps, there is an expectation that is not quite satisfied with the results. Let such anxious ones make themselves acquainted with the deeply rooted, long-continued, widely spread systems against which the Christian laborer has to work, and there will be sympathy with the worker; there will be a deep sense of dependence on divine aid; and there will be the earnest prayer that the life-giving Spirit may be with the laborer, breathing on the dead that they may live.

PREFACE.

THE aim of this work is to give an account of the principal religions or religious systems of mankind, past and present. Historic fact is followed as far as it can be ascertained, and theorising has little place. The author's endeavour has been to state simply and impartially what is the faith professed by various peoples or associations, what are the objects of their worship, what are their practices, their ceremonies, their institutions. Where they have religious books, some account of them is given, together with the history of and main doctrines taught by their principal founders.

It has seemed unnecessary to discuss the various opinions held as to the origin of religion; whether it arose from a divinely implanted instinct given to all mankind, or from distinct verbal revelation to particular men, or from the worship of natural forces felt to be superior to man, or from the honour paid to chiefs and ancestors, and the propitiation of their ghosts as seen in dreams. It has been the author's desire to produce a work useful and interesting to persons of all shades of opinion, and one tending to make them better acquainted with each other. A disposition to recognise the human nature in all man's ways and thoughts—a human nature capable of error, yet having good impulses—a human nature which, in the main, progresses, in spite of all drawbacks—a human nature which in many ways has sought, has prayed to, has worshipped the Power which created and maintains the universe—a disposition toward toleration will, it is believed, be found pervading these pages. The intention has been to give such an account of various religions as their own adherents can acquiesce in, and their critics allow to be just; a difficult task, confessedly; but imperfection in the attainment of such an aim is better than a distinctively partial or prejudiced account. The author believes that others have an equal right with ourselves to respect and fair treatment as to their religious opinions, and that we may be as blameworthy or faulty in our conceptions of others as they in their conceptions of us. He promises what Keshub Chunder Sen, the founder of the Brahmo Somaj, declared as principles of his Church: "No created being or object that has been worshipped by any sect shall be ridiculed; no book which has been acknowledged by any sect to be infallible shall be ridiculed or contemned; no sect shall be vilified, ridiculed, or hated." On the contrary, the study of religions is here taken up with a sympathetic interest in all. With Max Müller,* "if we will but

* *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, 1882, p. 14.

listen attentively, we can hear in all religions a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the inconceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the Infinite, a love of God." And if in many cases the struggle takes strange forms and grotesque attitudes, and the religion enforces absurd beliefs and superstitious observances, we are compelled to own that man is as much characterised by his proneness to religion as by his being a tool-using or a reasoning creature.

If a man is a reasoning creature, it is certainly to be expected that he should bring his reason to bear upon his religion; and St. Paul recognised this, and asked for a "service of the reason" (Rom. xii. 1). The use of the reason in studying religion, its doctrines, its observances, its benefits, or its variations in different ages, is not to be given up or blamed because the name "Rationalism" has been attached to it. To seek to explain, to understand, is a necessary condition of the growth of that which can understand.

Much use has been made of the invaluable "Sacred Books of the East," and the learned introductions prefixed to them. Many other works which have been consulted are mentioned throughout the book. Some of these have been named simply as the most generally accessible, but by no means as the only or the chief authorities on the subject. Many other books have been consulted; but it has been thought undesirable to overload the text with references. In several departments living specialists have been referred to; and the author desires to acknowledge their valuable aid, while he refrains from naming those to whom he is under obligation, from a desire not to identify them with any opinions or representations in which they may not concur, or for which the author ought to be solely responsible.

The history of Christianity has been sketched more fully than that of the other religions, partly because Christianity, as now understood, has very largely resulted from a long process of development; and partly because the various branches into which it is now divided can be best understood by studying each in relation to the period when it originated. At best such a sketch can be but imperfect, and many things have been necessarily omitted which would throw much light on difficulties and obscurities.

The author's personal opinions have been obtruded as little as possible, impartiality and fairness being aimed at. No doctrine is sought to be enforced, no creed to be dictated. Every reader is left to draw his or her own conclusions. But it is hoped that in return the author may not have imputed to him any beliefs or opinions which he does not clearly avow.

G. T. B.

DULWICH, November 10, 1890.

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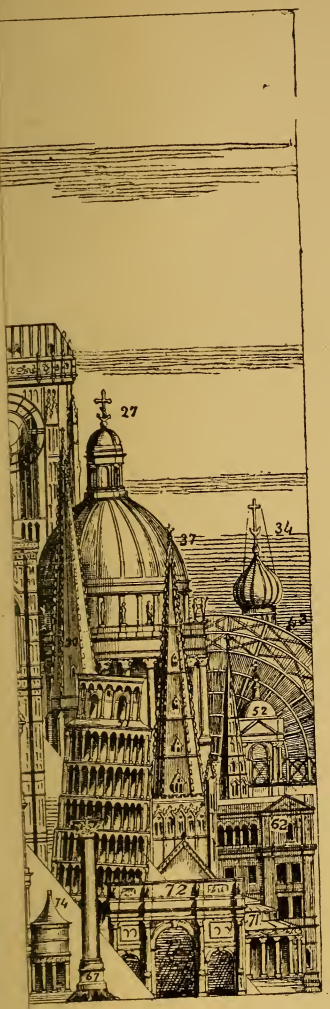


ORLD.

	Feet.
Obelisk, Luxor	75
Propylon, Luxor	70
Cleopatra's Needle	68
Temple of Vesta, Tivoli	55
Arch of Constantine, Rome	70
Parthenon, Athens	66
Tomb of Absalom, Jerusalem ...	54
Tomb of Theodoric, Ravenna, about	50
Eleanor Cross, Waltham	50
Tomb at Mylasa, Caria ... about	50
Temple of Bacchus, Teos	50
Tower of the Winds, Athens ...	45
Chapel of St. Peter, Montorio, Rome	40
Choragic Mon. of Lysicrates, Athens	34
Erechtheum, Athens ... ... about	35
Temple on the Ilissus, Athens, about	25

VIEW OF THE COMPARATIVE HEIGHTS OF THE PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS AND OTHER BUILDINGS OF THE WORLD.

	Feet.		Feet.		Feet.		Feet.		Feet.
1 Cologne Cathedral	510	18 Malines Cathedral	319	34 Tower of Ivan Veliki, Moscow ...	260	51 Leaning Tower, Pisa	188	68 Obelisk, Luxor	75
2 Old St. Paul's, London	508	19 Chartres Cathedral	403	35 Boston Church, Lincolnshire ...	292	54 Column of July, Paris	154	69 Propylon, Luxor	70
3 Great Pyramid	460	20 St. Peter's, Hamburg, about ...	380	36 Chichester Cathedral	271	55 Part of Coliseum, Rome	157	70 Cleopatra's Needle	68
4 Rouen Cathedral	460	21 Freiburg Cathedral	385	37 Central Spire, Lichfield Cathedral ...	252	56 Alexandrian Colmn., St. Petersburg	154	71 Temple of Vesta, Tivoli	55
5 St. Martin, Landshut	460	22 The Duomo, Florence	376	38 Taj Mahal, Agra	220	57 Pantheon, Rome	143	72 Arch of Constantine, Rome	70
6 St. Peter's, Rome	448	23 Hôtel de Ville, Brussels	374	39 Belt Harry Tower, Canterbury ...	235	58 Royal Albert Hall, London ...	154	73 Parthenon, Athens	66
7 Strasburg Cathedral	468	24 Torre Asinelli, Bologna	370	40 Porcelain Tower (late), Nankin ...	200	59 Part of Taj Mahal (38)		74 Tomb of Absalom, Jerusalem ...	54
8 2nd Pyramid (Ghizeh)	447	25 St. Paul's, London	360	41 Bow Church, London	235	60 Obelisk in Piazza St. John of		75 Tomb of Theodoric, Ravenna, about	50
9 St. Stepheu's Cathedral, Vienna ...	441	26 Frankfort Cathedral	326	42 Pyramid of Myceriuus	218	Lateran, Rome	153	76 Eleanor Cross, Waltham	50
10 St. Stephen's Abbey, Caen	400	27 St. Isaac's Church, St. Petersburg ...	336	43 Central Transept, Crystal Palace ...	198	61 Trajan's Column, Rome	134	77 Tomb at Mylasa, Caria ... about	50
11 Amiens Cathedral	383	28 Bell Tower, St. Mark's, Venice ...	323	44 The Monument, London	202	62 Science Schools, South Kensington	110	78 Temple of Bacchus, Teos	50
12 Antwerp Cathedral	403	29 St. Theobald's, Thaun	320	45 Mosque of St. Sophia, Constantinople	182	63 Temple of the Giants, Agrigentum	116	79 Tower of the Winds, Athens ...	45
13 Salisbury Cathedral	404	30 Norwich Cathedral	309	46 St. Nicholas', Newcastle-on-Tyne ...	201	64 Temple of the Sun, Baalbec ...	120	80 Chapel of St. Peter, Montorio, Rome	40
14, 15 St. Mary's, Lubeck	400	31 Hôtel des Invalides, Paris	310	48 York Cathedral	198	65 St. George's Hall, Liverpool ...	85	81 Choragic Mon. of Lysicrates, Athens	34
16 Torazzo of Cremona	396	32 Pantheon, Paris	274	49 Albert Memorial, Hyde Park ...	180	66 Temple of Jupiter Stator, Rome ...	98	82 Erechtheum, Athens ... ... about	35
17 Victoria Tower, Westminster ...	331	33 Bell Tower, Florence	266	50 The Baptistery, Pisa	190	67 Pompey's Pillar, Alexandria ...	100	83 Temple on the Ilissus, Athens, about	25

BEGINNING OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL: WICLIF'S VERSION, 1380.

THE WORLD'S RELIGIONS.

Introduction.

Man a religious being—Definitions of religion—Need of impartial study—Development in all religions—Facts our object—A book for all classes—A very modern study—Human interest in all religions—Relation to missionary effort—Animism—Spirits in natural forces—Spirits of deceased human beings—Conclusions from dreams—Continued existence of the dead—Angels and demons—Ancestor-worship—Nature-worship—Anthropomorphism—Idolatry—Fetishism—Totemism—Omens—Totem ceremonies—The taboo—Demonology—Witchcraft—Divination—Shamanism—Priesthoods—Temples—Sacrifices—Gifts—Animal and human sacrifices—Substitution and expiation—Sacramental mysteries—Theism—Deism—Monotheism—Pantheism—Atheism—Theology—Science of religion—Theosophy—Classification of religions—Personal founders—Universal or missionary religions—From nature religions to monotheism—Groups of religions.

THAT man in his present condition is essentially a godfearing and god-worshipping creature, is certain in spite of many contradictory appearances. That he has been largely the same in the past is assured; that he will be so in the future is most highly probable. The rapt devotion of the mystic, the mortification of the ascetic, the zealous benevolence of the philanthropist, the ceremonial of the ritualist, the sublime flights of the theologian, the intense cry of the penitent, and the confident trust of the most abject in a benevolent Ruler of the universe, all declare that in modern times man believes, man trusts, that somehow good shall be the final goal of ill, that there is one Almighty Ruler who also cares for His creatures. Nay, we venture to claim that the doubt of

Man a religious being

the sceptic, the disbelief of the atheist, the suspense of the agnostic, are in themselves noteworthy signs that the subject is one of great importance, not to be passed over with neglect, and that the human soul feels uneasy about the matter and is not content without some attitude towards the great questions: "What am I? Whither am I going? Does any Providence care for me?" The more true that it ever is, that man cannot by searching find out God, the more persistently does he inquire, saying, "Who will show me any good thing?" And so, in the evolution of things, the human heart puts forth all the varieties of thought and feeling of which it is capable, "varies in every direction," to use Darwin's phrase, and beneficent forms are perpetuated. So large a space, so important an influence has the religious attitude of man, that it is safe to say that it constitutes one of the most important factors, perhaps the most important, in his progress.

We may define religion broadly as man's attitude towards the unseen, and whatever consequences his belief or attitude produces on his conduct or on his relations to fellow-men. It has been otherwise defined as the outer form and embodiment of an inward devotion, and as a system of doctrine and worship which its adherents regard as having divine authority; but these are definitions too limited for our purpose. Darwin, in the "Descent of Man," Part I., chap. iii., describes the feeling of religious devotion as a highly complex one, consisting of love, complete submission to an exalted and mysterious superior, a strong sense of dependence, fear, reverence, gratitude, hope for the future, and perhaps other elements; and he says that no being could experience so complex an emotion until considerably advanced in his intellectual and moral faculties. Consequently this view, including only the higher types of religion, is not sufficiently comprehensive for our purpose. We must include not only beliefs in unseen spiritual agencies, fetishism, polytheism, monotheism, etc., but numerous superstitions and customs and practices associated with such beliefs—human sacrifices, trials by ordeal, witchcraft and sorcery. Although it was long the fashion to condemn unsparingly all these beliefs and practices, to leave them unstudied and term them worthless and degrading, yet we would suggest that even superstitions should be tenderly handled in discussion (although vigorously opposed or discouraged in practice) by a lover of his kind; for in most cases they may be considered to be based upon some genuine experience of mankind, some fear, calamity, or uprising of soul, some correspondence with felt want, some desire or possibility of improving man's position in the present or in a future state. Of course there has been much practising upon human credulity, much quackery and humbug in connection with superstitions. But we would seek to view religions, not from the standpoint of a party or a sect, but rather from that of friends of all mankind, who would fain find some good in everything; and if no positive good be discoverable in a particular instance, let it, if possible, be the negative good of representing an effort or a desire after better things. There is need of all the charity,

Definitions of religion.

Need of impartial study.

all the impartiality we can summon to our aid in this survey, for it is undoubtedly true that too much of the history of religion is a history of prejudice, of narrowness, of quarrelling, of passion, of evil in many forms. Yet, hoping all things, we would hope that even from these evils a better state arises than could have arisen otherwise. As in the general affairs of human life, so in religion, there is needed movement, circulation, some kind of change or progress, if life is to continue. Religions stereotyped, kept rigid and undeveloping by some worldly force or for some supposed conservative rightness, have become baneful in many of their influences, leading ultimately to death by inanition or revolt.

Thus at the outset we must note that development marks more or less all religions that live or have lived. Just as mankind has grown and developed in other directions, the mental and emotional faculties becoming developed have led to corresponding religious developments. It cannot be otherwise. The Christian religion is not exempt from this law, which is recognised by the greatest teachers in all ages of the Church. Granting, of course, that the documents of Christianity are the same that they have been for very many centuries, the conceptions derived from them are continually developing and expanding; and it is this expansion and expansibility which many recognise as the peculiar glory of Christianity. That this development takes different directions in different Churches may be seen by the modern doctrines of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, and of the infallibility of the Pope, and by the assertion of the right of private judgment and of refusal to swear before courts of justice in Protestantism. The sooner people recognise that religion develops, like everything else, the sooner improvement will be possible in many backward communities. How often, like ostriches burying their heads in the sand, religious bodies have died out because they ceased to discern the march of events, and never realised that there might be other true things in religion besides their special creed.

Development in all religions.

Thus, while endeavouring to stick rigidly to facts, we may be permitted in some measure to study them as examples of the development of ideas and practices. It is true that for a full study of religious development we should need many volumes, and must include all extinct as well as existing religions. The former would be impossible, for it can hardly be doubted that there have been forms of religion which have left no records. But even those which survive in records, or in actual existence, are so numerous and include so much that only a brief review of some of them is possible.

It is not the mission or aim of this book to account for the religions which it describes. Its aim is to give information—to describe what is seen or known about their external phenomena, their present influence, their doctrines, their ordinances, their ritual, with a brief summary of their history. It may be thought that the study of the religions of the world for the purpose of giving an account of them, should lead to some explanation of them. No doubt the explanations of some facts are so obvious that they cannot but occur to an observer. But we disclaim any obligation

Facts our object.

to furnish an explanation of the manifold forms of religion, and leave the task to those who may be more confident or more in-seeing. The time during which religions have been studied in any comparative sense is too short as yet to afford grounds for sound general reasoning on the subject. The best history available is the best explanation; and in so far as the history becomes perfect and accurate may the explanation be approximately true. But behind all human history, as behind the mystery of life, is that other side, that infinite unknown, which we shall none of us know in this life, which would most probably alter so many of our notions.

A further remark must be addressed to those who look for their own views in these pages. This book is intended to be read by all classes of readers, of all schools of religious thought. It cannot therefore fitly be the vehicle of any special school; it cannot take up the rationalist's parable, and say every religion is a human or a natural product, or the view that one religion is exclusively divine and true, and all others are false and born of evil, or the other view, that one religion is as good as another. As far as possible we shall deal with facts, and leave them to teach their own lesson. It is only in the present century that the comparative study of religions can be said to have come into existence, it being previously considered useless to study "false religions," or forms of idolatry. These were very curious facts noticed by travellers, but they remained merely curious marks of the savage or pagan or heathen condition of the countries or peoples concerned. Studies of anatomy, of language, and of civilisation, and the doctrines of evolution or development as applied to mental phenomena, have all contributed to lead up to the comparative study of religions. The belief that man forms a single species, that his mental constitution is fundamentally the same everywhere, and that there may have been one original common language has suggested the study of the common elements in man's religions all over the world. Indeed, to obtain a view of man's development from a primitive condition, it is necessary to obtain a classification of his religions, and to find out what part they have played in his history. In this age we cannot rest content with knowing our own race, and its social and religious history. Our sympathies have expanded, our inquisitiveness has grown, till we take in all mankind, and want to explain as we want to sympathise with all. And to justify such an interest, such a curiosity, it is not necessary to prove that there is good in everything and in every form of religion. The belief that there is much that is bad everywhere, and even that some forms of belief or practice are wholly bad, is not inconsistent with a keen interest in knowing what our fellow-men have thought and done in matters pertaining to religion. Rather should we say with the old Roman, "I am a man; I consider nothing human is outside my sympathy and interest."

A book for all classes.

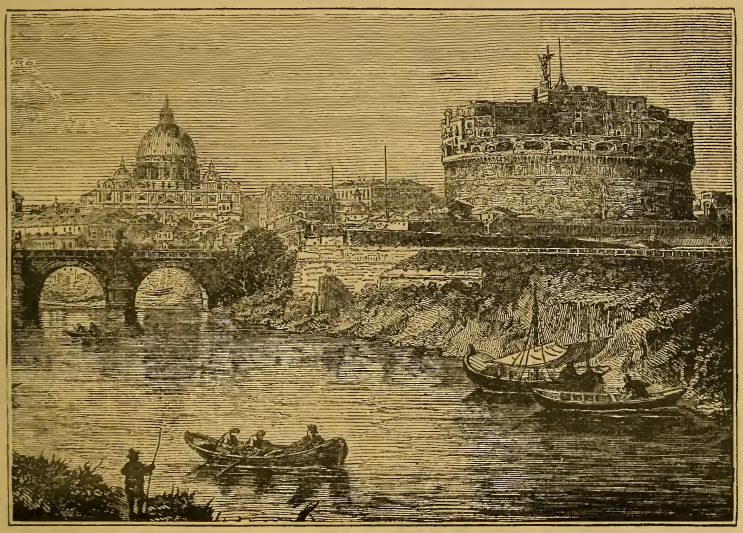
A very modern study.

Human interest in all religions.

But in a higher sense even than knowledge, classification, scientific explanation, we may claim that the study of religions is essential in reference to all efforts at evangelisation of non-Christian peoples. How often missionaries

have found that their efforts have been fruitless because of their not understanding the religious state of mind already existing in the people to whom they have preached. How often they have denounced a people as utterly given to barbarism, as having no religion but the grossest idolatry, when the fact was, that they never succeeded in gaining any admission to their religious rites, or in learning from the people themselves what their beliefs were. Let us imagine the attitude which many Christians would assume if a foreign missionary of some unknown religion should advance some totally different conception of the Deity from that which they and many generations of ancestors had believed in and reverenced, with which their most cherished hopes and aspirations were bound up, and which was ingrained in their moral and spiritual nature.

Relation to missionary effort.



ST. PETER'S, ROME, AND CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO.

We can realise this to some extent by recollecting the excitement created in modern times by the publication of the works of Strauss, Renan, Matthew Arnold, Colenso, and others. How then can we expect that unlearned, prejudiced, uncivilised savages should patiently listen to and accept what a foreigner teaches, if he proves that he knows nothing about their own belief, and does not appreciate any part of it? Especially is this important in dealing with the religious views of old and highly-civilised peoples like the Chinese, the Hindus, and others. We believe that it is now almost universally recognised that missionaries ought to begin by learning all they can about the religious beliefs or superstitions of the peoples to whom they are sent, and showing as much tolerance as possible to their views, and every encouragement to what is correct or beneficial in them. Not less

important is it for English-speaking people, who are in contact with men of many religions all over the globe, to have a knowledge, tolerance, and even respect for the religious convictions of other races. Those who send out missionaries are equally bound to study the conditions under which they are expecting these devoted men to work, and to have correct views of the difficulties they may experience. Finally, it may be claimed that we rise in the scale of reasonable beings in proportion as we take larger and more comprehensive views of our whole species, and especially of the attitude of mankind towards religion; and this can only be fully done after a rational study of the forms under which they reverence or regard the powers above and about them, seen or unseen.

Before proceeding to give a rough classification of religions, there are a number of terms which it is desirable to explain or define, and which are of importance in our study. The first we will take is "animism" (Lat. *anima*, soul), which has been brought into its present use by one of our greatest anthropologists, Dr. E. B. Tylor, and which represents in a convenient way the part played by the doctrine of souls and spiritual beings. No other term includes the same ideas without some other special reference: thus, "spiritualism" has acquired quite a peculiar meaning in reference to the doctrine of spirits, indicating a belief in the possibility and actual occurrence of direct communications between human beings and the spirits of the dead or other spirits.

Animism.

Some kind of animism is found to be almost if not quite universal, being believed to have two main sides—the idea of spirits being in natural objects or working in natural phenomena or forces, and the idea of a spirit or soul being in human beings when living, and becoming separate from them at death. It is the most natural reflection for mankind to make when viewing the dead body of a relative or friend, that something has departed from it which was the animating principle. When, from whatever cause, unconsciousness has occurred in any individual, and after a more or less prolonged period, the consciousness has returned, it is equally natural to conclude that the spirit had for a time departed; and if any operations have been resorted to, be they prayers, incantations, divinations, or sacrifices, during the interval, it is natural to believe that these processes have been the cause of the return of the spirit. Then, when death has really taken place, there is a tendency to repeat the same performances, in hope of bringing back the spirit; and thus a very simple origin of worship (from the natural point of view) is given, and one not inconsistent with the view of those who see in worship the result of a Divinely implanted instinct.

Spirits in natural forces.

Spirits of deceased human beings.

The phenomena of dreams must here be considered, for these must from the first have had a powerful influence. The absolute reality of things seen in dreams is never doubted by many savage races; and the fact that the figures of themselves and other human beings, and also those of animals and plants, can be seen in dreams, taking part in natural or in extraordinary actions, strengthens

Conclusions from dreams.

the belief in a spirit world. The belief in a ghostly semblance of itself being separable from the body may be inferred from appearances in dreams being coincident with the absence of a person at a great distance, or taking place when the body is dead, buried, or even wholly disintegrated.

Thus the ghost or spirit is imagined to be an image of the human or other being, unsubstantial but real; and it would be very natural to imagine such a spirit for all animals; it is even transferred to weapons and objects of luxury, or food and drink, for these are sacrificed to the dead in order that their "spirits" may be bestowed upon the dead. The bearing of this conception of spirits upon the idea of ghosts is evident, though we will here express no opinion as to the reality or nature of such phenomena as apparitions of the dead.

It is obvious that if animals and plants can be conceived to have souls or spirits, it is possible to transfer the same conception to grand material objects, especially such as perform or take part in visible changes on the earth or in the sky. Thus rivers, seas, clouds, sun, moon, and stars are imagined to have, or be inhabited by, spirits; and the basis is afforded for all kinds of religious developments.

From this soul-belief has arisen a whole series of beliefs about the dead, the state of existence of the departed, their relation to the living, and a future existence. We must be understood, of course, here to prejudge no question, and to imply nothing as to this having arisen by "inspiration" of the Creator. But in this connection we may mention the ideas of the spirits of the dead remaining in the neighbourhood of the survivors, or being removed to a distance, to some region where they continue to live a life much like the present, or a life either much more happy or much more miserable, according to their conduct or merit here. So that much of all moral teaching has come to be connected with the doctrine of a future life. **Continued existence of the dead.**

Then further, from such an idea of souls, the imagination has risen to the conception of a number of spirits of more or less power, but distinct from any being represented on earth or in the material heavens. So we get angels and demons and varied subordinate deities. Thus every phenomenon could be accounted for as the work of some deity or spirit, without any belief having necessarily arisen in a supreme Deity. Storms, floods, lightning, diseases, and all calamities came to be laid to the charge of special spirits; and the desire to expel these spirits has given rise to many forms of sorcery, divination, exorcism, etc. Many of these spirits are,—for what reason it is difficult to say,—held to be those of human beings, living or deceased; and thus the appeasing of their anger or securing of their propitious action has been combined with rites for or in connection with death. And here we have one of the springs, though probably not the only one, of the widely-extended ancestor-worship, especially that of powerful men or leaders of tribes. These men were conspicuous for their qualities while alive; and their souls are judged to possess the same great or powerful qualities (sometimes ma- **Angels and demons.** **Ancestor-worship.**

lignant) after death. Thus they must be revered and propitiated, or appeased, in the manner judged most desirable or successful.

Nature worship.

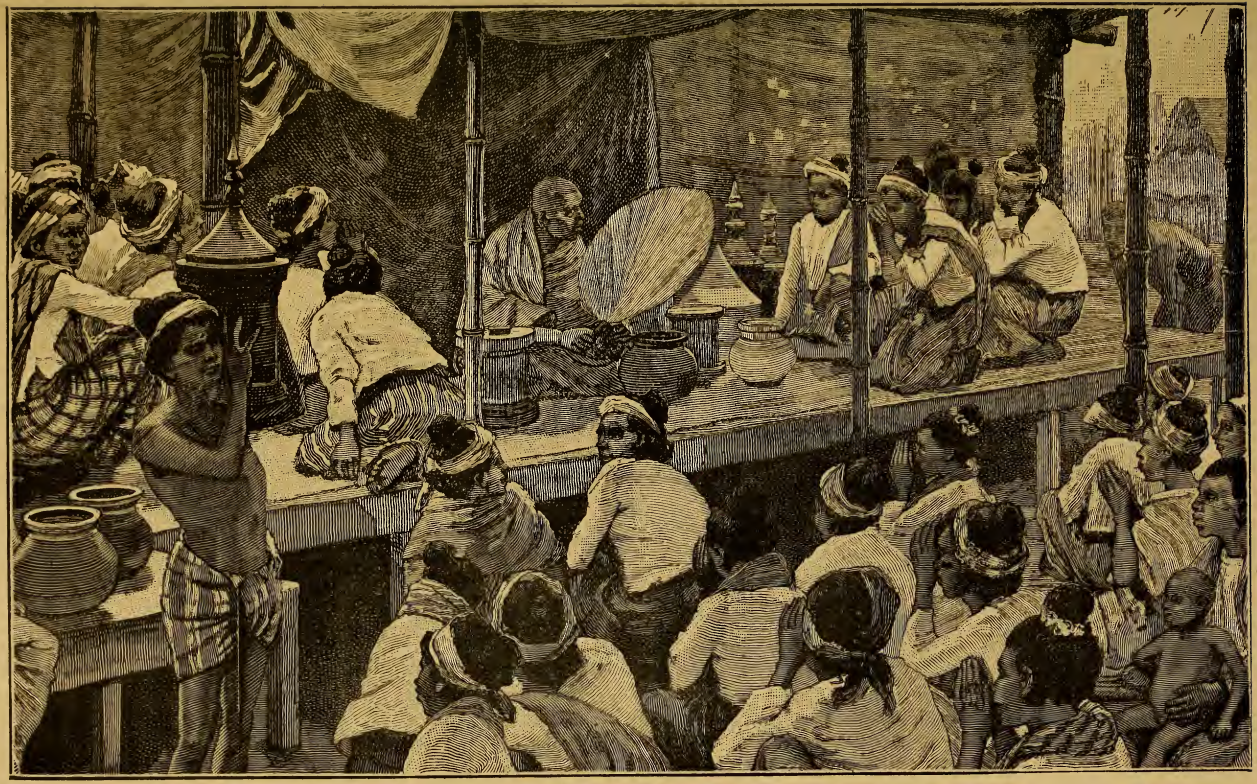
Nature worship in its infinite variety of forms arises from the belief in spirits animating everything, or from a reverence for the inexplicable powers at work in the world. A flood bearing away with irresistible force the works of man, the fire which in torrid climates burns up vegetation and devours man and beast, the lightning which kills in the twinkling of an eye, the sun which prostrates at noonday, all these were mysteries which we cannot be surprised that man in a low state of civilisation should worship. Nor is it astonishing to find that these spirits are classified into good and evil, favourable and malignant, or that the phenomena of the universe are attributed to great antagonistic powers of good and evil deities. By whatever influence it arises, we shall see how, in communities worshipping many gods, some one has gained pre-eminence, while in others, it may be, one of the tribal gods or the single god worshipped by the tribe has later been conceived as the universal God.

Anthropomorphism.

Anthropomorphism (Greek, *anthropos*, man, *morphe*, form) is in religion the representation of the Deity as having the form and performing the actions of a man, or in a similar way to a man. And it may be extended to every case where a spirit, more than human or other than human, is represented as like a man or as acting like a man in any way. The term is in philosophy extended still more widely, but we need not concern ourselves with this further development. It is evident that man being man, it is impossible for him to conceive God except through human faculties; and even the purest and best representation of the Godhead which he can have, must be tinctured by his own human qualities. Consequently attempts to entirely do away with anthropomorphism have resulted in the idea of God being reduced to an impalpable imagining which is ill-calculated to produce reverence or worship, such as the late Mr. Matthew Arnold's "the eternal not-ourselves which makes for righteousness." Here a middle course seems pointed out. Being human, it is impossible to keep ourselves from anthropomorphism to some extent; but we must remember, while discussing or thinking about the Deity, that our best ideas must be faint shadows of the truth, and cannot reach the full truth.

Idolatry.

The term idolatry originally designated all worship such as is forbidden in the Second Commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image; to no visible shape in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, shalt thou bow down or render service." Such a prohibition could have had no meaning, apart from the fact that such worship and service were frequent and prevalent in the world in which the Israelites moved. That it has existed, and does still exist, may be taken as an axiom in the study of religions. An "idol" included every object of reverence or worship among the people with whom the Israelites came in contact; and "idolatry" came to be used among the early Christians to designate all the practices connected with the forms of religion which they found existing around them, and antagonistic to



BUDDHIST SERMON, BURMAH.

Christianity. Thus the term idol, according to many, includes not merely images, or representations made by human workmen, whether in the form of pictures or sculpture, of any person, Divine or otherwise, taken from actual life or derived from the imagination, and made use of in religious services; but also any natural objects, living or dead, either worshipped or revered, though (it may be) only as signs of something not seen. It may be said with truth, that in most cases it is not the idol or image at all which is worshipped, for it is believed in merely as the representation of an absent god, or as the symbol of an idea, or as the dwelling-place, temporary or permanent, of a god, without being supposed to possess any supernatural quality itself. Nevertheless the more ignorant and degraded people have largely regarded the idol as itself embodying power of some sort, generally supernatural.

We thus come by a natural transition to fetishism, which is generally understood to signify a belief in peculiar or supernatural powers residing in certain ordinary material objects, which are consequently worshipped. This idea is specially connected in European minds with the alleged casual selection by West African negroes of any kind of object for adoration, prayer and sacrifice being made to it, while, if any calamity befall the worshipper, the fetish is accused of having brought it about, and may be deposed, and even beaten or destroyed. Now the word "fetish" was not a negro but a Portuguese word, *feitiço*, an amulet or charm; and the early Portuguese voyagers to Western Africa, finding small objects reverenced or worshipped by the negroes, somewhat resembling those so well known as amulets among themselves, spoke of them as the *feitiços* of the natives. Thus the word is properly restricted to inanimate objects, wooden figures, stones, etc., and is only improperly used to designate local nature-spirits or animals held in reverence. The fetishes of West Africa are, in fact, believed to be the ordinary abode of the deities either of village companies or of individuals. The local gods are believed, through the priests, to present those who require tutelary deities with certain objects (fetishes) in which they usually abide. These may be wooden figures, stones, calabashes, earthen pots, or even the most insignificant objects. The fetishes of village companies are deposited in some accessible place, and protected with branches as fences, which, when grown, constitute so-called fetish trees, which become sacred to the deity. Offerings of food, drink, and other things are regularly made to the fetishes. Families may obtain their fetishes as the result of dreams, but always through priests; if persistent ill-luck attends the family, the fetish may be burnt; the fact that it will burn or become injured by fire, being taken as proof that it is no longer the abode of a spirit. Individuals may also obtain, make, or select fetishes for themselves, and call upon a spirit to enter the object, which is then reverenced if good luck follows; these fetishes may work various ills upon enemies through the intervention of other objects, as charms.

Fetishism.

"Totemism" is a term which has in recent years become important both in the study of religions and in that of tribal organisation and social life

among uncivilised peoples. A totem is defined as a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that it protects him; he in return never kills it if an animal, or injures or gathers it if a plant. The more usual form of totem is a species of animal or plant, but sometimes a kind of non-living object. Totems are either common to a whole tribe or clan, the male or female sex of a tribe, or belong especially to an individual. As regards the clan, it is found that there is a belief that all members are descended from a common ancestor, more frequently the totem itself, by whose name they designate themselves in common. All of the same totem recognise certain obligations to one another and to the totem. Sometimes, in addition to not killing or injuring the totem, it is forbidden to touch it or look at it. In consequence of these ideas we frequently find that injurious or troublesome animals are allowed to multiply to an enormous extent, and are even fed and protected. When dead, they are mourned for as if they were human beings belonging to the tribe. Various penalties are incurred by disrespect to the totem, such as diseases and death. Correspondingly, if proper respect is shown to the totem, it will protect and refrain from injuring the members of the tribe. Sometimes if the totem (for example, a snake) injures a man, he is supposed to have offended it, and is put out of the tribe. In many cases signs given by or derived from the totem are made use of as omens; and in various ways they may be pressed to give favourable indications, or even punished for not doing so. Frequently the savage dresses himself in the skin, feathers, tusks, etc., of the totem animal, or imitates it in various ways, scarring, painting, or tattooing himself with this object. The totem sign is also used as a signature to treaties or agreements, and it is carved upon dwellings, canoes, weapons, and other possessions.

Totemism.

Omens.

Birth, marriage, and death ceremonies are largely tinctured by totemism, the different ceremonies being chiefly explicable by a desire to secure protection from dangers which cannot otherwise be guarded against, and are supposed to be supernatural. At death the idea is, to become one with the totem. Similarly, to celebrate the coming of age of a youth, he is formally and fully admitted into the totem. Sometimes attempts are made to recall a dead man to life by pronouncing his totem name; and other ceremonies may occur in which the totem is supposed to die and be restored. In some cases this ceremony is elevated into something which suggests that the totem becomes a god, dies for his people, and is revived again. When a totem is adopted by one sex only, it is said to be still more sacred than the totem of the tribe; for it will be ferociously defended against injury by the opposite sex, even though the same people may tolerate the killing of the clan totem. A special individual totem is frequently the first animal dreamt of during the fasts and solitudes marking the coming of age: in some tribes a man may not kill or eat his personal totem.

Totem ceremonies.

Totemism is very widely distributed, but it is not a system; rather, it is an indefinite growth, founded in certain natural or primitive notions of

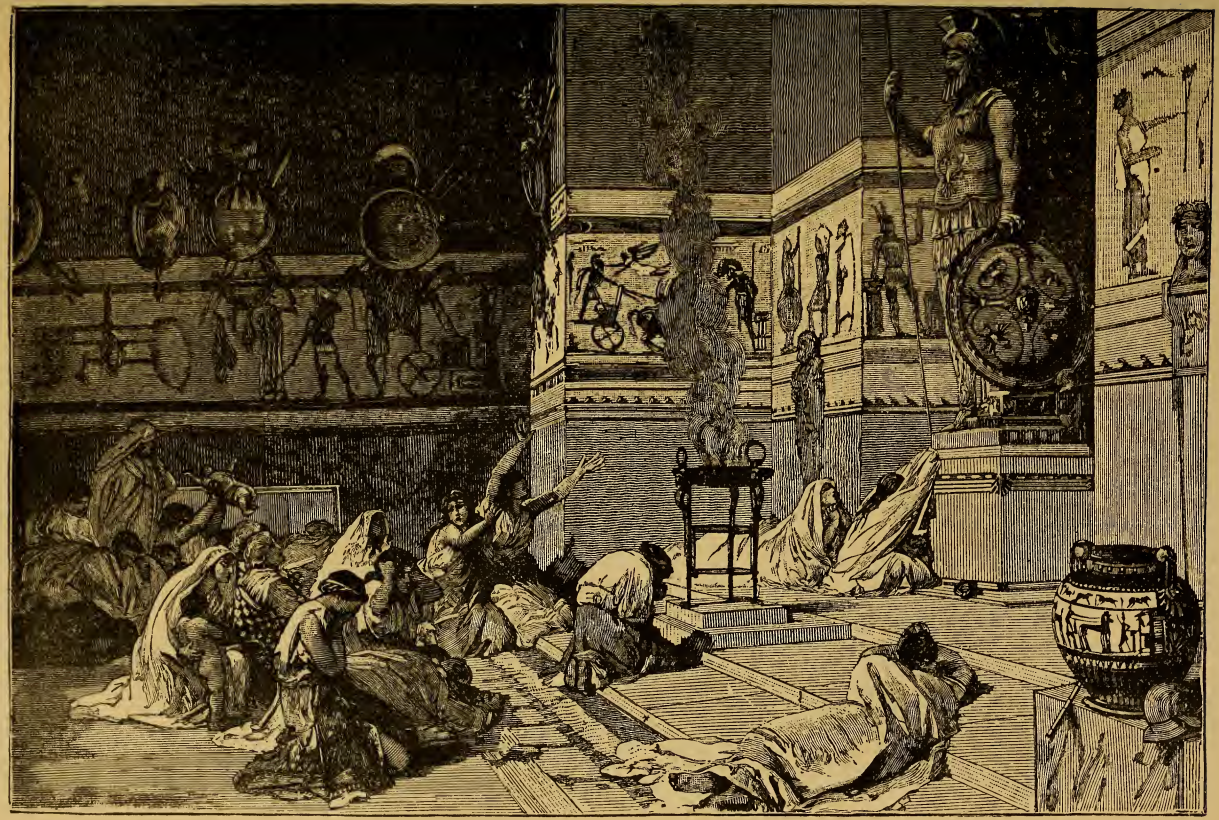
uncivilised man. As a subject it is the creation of students who have found in practices of mankind all over the globe common features, which may possibly, in many cases, have their root in a common origin of race, and have been developed in different directions owing to the migration and intermingling of tribes. But many of its characteristics are peculiar to isolated tribes. It is certainly largely connected with terror of or reverence for natural objects, and is believed in with a superstitious fear. It is best to regard it as a subject pertaining to religions, though not to be definitely classed as a religion.

The Taboo.

The word *taboo* refers to the system of religious prohibitions formerly so largely in force in Polynesia; it means primarily, "sacred," separate from ordinary use. It was an essentially religious observance, imposed by a priest or chief, and might be temporary or permanent, general or special. Thus idols, temples, chiefs and priests, and their property, were "taboo," or sacred; many things were specially tabooed to women. The penalties for disobedience were diseases or various punishments by the rulers. It became in practice a method by which the priests and chiefs took advantage of animistic beliefs to secure their power or their own ends. Extensive traces of similar practices have been found all over the world. Even the Nazarites' vow and the prohibitions of work or special actions on the Sabbath have been identified with taboo rules; and the Latin word "sacer" (meaning either sacred or accursed) is regarded as having essentially the same meaning as taboo.

Demonology.

Demonology may be separated as a subject of study in relation to religions, and has many curious facts and practices within its province. The Greek word *daimon* originally meant a spirit or deity, without reference to good or evil qualities. Then it was applied to the spirits of the deceased, who become guardians of the living; next they were regarded as good and evil beings occupying a position between gods and men. It is almost special to Christianity to regard demons as exclusively evil. Among savage races it is common to regard diseases, especially of the hysterical, epileptic, and maniacal kind, as caused by the entry of some other spirit into the sufferer. Convulsions appear to be due to the possession of the body by some other spirit; again, wasting diseases are readily accounted for by the action of some intruding or some malevolent spirit; and it is a simple transition to consider such calamities as brought about by the spirits of deceased enemies, or spirits which are to punish some evil conduct of the sufferer; and in such cases the particular spirit concerned may be identified by the conscience-stricken one. Thus many ideas of demonology are derived from beliefs about human departed spirits. In some cases this goes so far that the possessed one speaks in the character of the deceased person who is supposed to possess him. The way in which possessing demons are in many tribes talked to, threatened, cajoled, enticed, driven away by blows, etc., shows that they are regarded as spirits of human beings, still capable of being influenced by similar motives to the survivors. Consequently exorcism, or the expulsion of devils or spirits, has



ROMAN WOMEN PRAYING IN THE TEMPLE OF MARS.

its place in nearly all savage systems. It is only the progress of medicine which has disclosed the real nature of many of the cases formerly attributed to demoniacal possession; and the belief in the latter lasts to our own times not only in many foreign countries, but also among the less intelligent rural folk in our own country. As late as 1788, a solemn exorcism of seven devils out of an epileptic, by seven clergymen, was performed at the Temple Church, Bristol.

Among adjuncts of demonology, sorcery and witchcraft claim a place, though we cannot here enlarge upon them. All the practices included in these terms spring from the belief that spirits influence mortal affairs and can in turn be influenced by mortals who possess the right method. Special ceremonies at regular intervals are frequently held, to drive out all the demons from a locality. Guardian angels, on the other hand, are believed in widely, far beyond regions where the belief has been countenanced or encouraged by Christianity. The latter has also been connected with some of the most dreadful incidents in medieval history, witches and sorcerers having been subjected to most cruel treatment. Many of these have accounted for their performances by the influence of familiar spirits, which can be summoned by particular methods; and very many persons class modern spiritualism under the same heading. In many cases savage religions are almost entirely affairs of the good and bad spirits who manage most or all human affairs, the supreme deity being not concerned directly in such matters. Among the highest forms in which we find the conception of evil spirits is the Ahriman of the Parsees, and the Miltonic Satan with his attendant demons of various grades. Often the devils of one religion represent more or less closely the good deities of their enemies.

Sorcery and witchcraft.

Divination signifies the obtaining of knowledge about unknown and future events or facts by means of omens or oracles, the idea being, that some divine knowledge is communicated to the diviner or soothsayer, or person who becomes the means of communication. "Signs sent by the gods," include all communications by what were called "oracles," examination of entrails of animals killed in sacrifice, the flight of birds, behaviour of animals, prodigies, lightning, dreams, palmistry, astrology, etc., each of which might be made the subject of an entire book. We can devote only incidental mention to them under the various religious beliefs of nations, or the more important subjects of religion; but they all testify to the belief in a god or gods and in supernatural spirits.

Divination.

Shamanism is not the name of a religion, but of a form of religious belief and practice belonging to the old Mongolians, and which may almost be applied to the corresponding beliefs of the American Indians. A shaman is a kind of priest whose resources are chiefly wizardry and sorcery, apart from idols or fetishes. His influence (and that of the medicine-man of the Indians) rests on his assumed powers of influencing the good and evil spirits believed in (many of whom are ancestors). He has a ritual of magic and sorcery, procures oracles from the spirits, and offers sacrifices.

Shamanism.

The priest has developed on the one hand out of the medicine-man, shaman, exorcist, etc., and on the other out of the head of the family, the patriarch, the leader. The elder and the cleverer men naturally gained most influence, and their words were most attended to, and the rites they inculcated were performed. Gifts were given either to the gods or priests or both; and the offering of the gift became essential to gaining the favour of gods and priests. When once priests existed, no one could gain admission to the order without some special claim or discipline, which was made severe in most cases; but unauthorised priests have always existed in all grades, down to wizards and devil-doctors. From their fulfilling high functions and gaining high rewards, priesthoods have always attracted many of the ablest men; and in most religions they have included genuine and sincere believers in their worship and teachings. But they have also as a rule been conservative of established ordinances and very hostile to reformers, especially of religion. The traditional knowledge was almost exclusively in their hands till comparatively modern times; they alone knew how to appease or please the gods, or could perform the due rites, and thus their power has been enormous. On the other hand, numerous peoples have never had any powerful priesthood.

Priesthoods.

The word temple includes many kinds of buildings, all agreeing in one character, that they are supposed to be the special dwelling of a god or gods. In many cases the temple has not our modern signification as a meeting-place for worshippers; often it is only open to priests, and the altar or stone of sacrifice is set up in front of (outside) the entrance. In most religions the temple contains a statue of the god, or other sacred symbol indicating his presence; and treasures, chiefly gifts from worshippers, are accumulated in and around it. Hence the temple becomes peculiarly sacred ground, protecting the priests from all insult, injury, or removal for punishment, and usually acquiring in addition the power of protecting those who take refuge in it. No doubt the idea of a place sacred to a god or to spirits arose very early, as may be seen by the numerous cases in which unhewn stones, placed in certain positions, have probably served as temples in pre-historic times. We must look to a far-distant past for the beginnings of external worship around sacred trees or stones, which were only gradually fenced or covered in.

Temples.

The temple naturally suggests sacrifice, which originally meant any act or thing sacred to the gods, and only by specialisation came to signify gifts, or atonements to the gods. In very many religions the gods or spirits worshipped are honoured by gifts of vegetable food, libations of wine and oil, and consecration of animal flesh; and these are distinguished from gifts of treasure, garments, images, lands, temples, etc. Expiatory sacrifices, not found in all religions, form a distinct class; and in these the life of a victim is offered to appease the anger of the gods, or to gain their favour. The sacrifices or gifts in honour of the gods signify a view of the gods which is quite sure of their friendliness if properly worshipped and sacrificed to; and in a vast

Sacrifices.

Gifts.

number of cases, these gifts mean an offering of banquets to the gods, from which their servants are not excluded. The appropriate gifts are like a tribute to an earthly king. Often the seasons suggest the fitting occasions for special offerings—harvest, vintage, the birth of young animals. We find all stages of view as to these sacrifices, from that in which the god is supposed to really need the food given, to that in which it becomes only a conventional mode of showing respect.

Animal and human Sacrifices.

Animism pervades sacrifice very largely, especially when the sacrificial offerings are burnt; their spirit-essence being believed to ascend to the gods, and to satisfy them. From this, to the idea of slaughtering animals for sacrifice, *i.e.* that the god may have a meal of meat, is a natural transition. When, in any case, the faith in the old gods declined, and the sacrifices became diminished, a revival of religion, or its new development, included a demand for animal, and finally for human sacrifices, as expiation of the sins of the people; and the fact that human sacrifices primarily and generally consisted of enemies, is connected with the same practice in cannibalism.

Substitution and expiation.

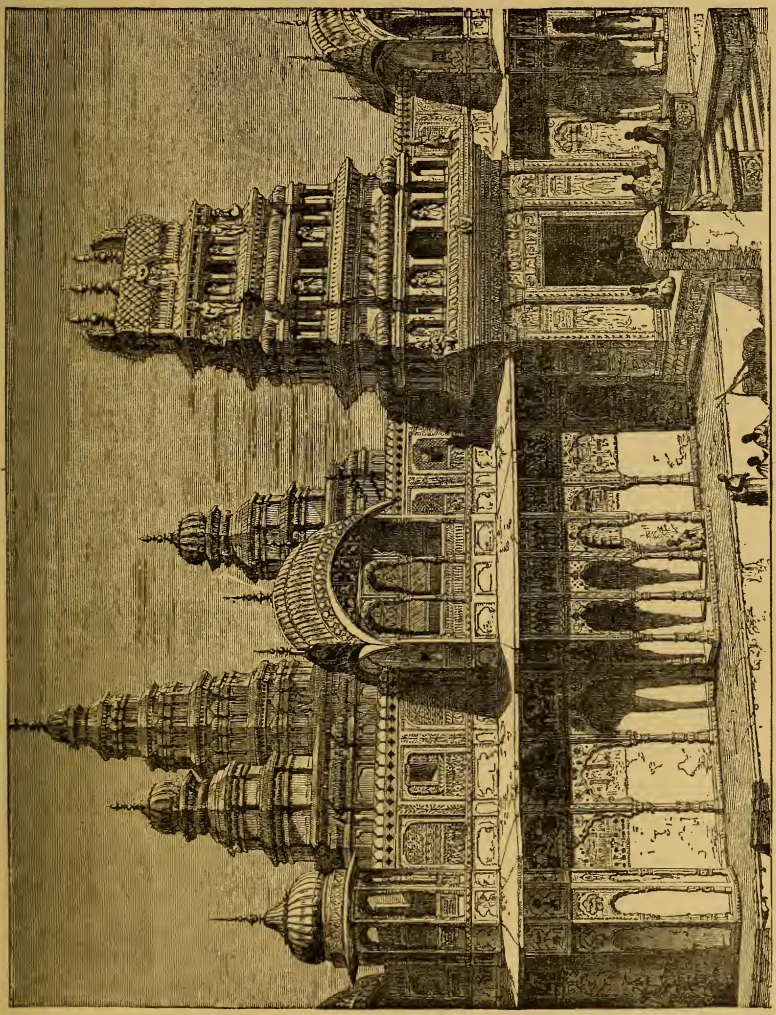
When a religion manifests a strong sense of sin, certain offences are deemed incapable of expiation, otherwise than by the sacrifice of life, either of the offender or of some one of his kin or tribe. When any great calamity occurs, it is believed that the deity has been offended, and nothing but the sacrifice of life will avail. Why, in certain cases, men sacrificed their eldest son is not clear; but it may have been on the principle of offering first-fruits or firstlings, or in the idea that only the blood of a very near kinsman would satisfy the god. The person held guilty can or will not be sacrificed, being important to the tribe, or in his own eyes, and so the idea of substitution arises, perhaps being stimulated by the idea that an innocent victim is more worthy than a guilty one. Often the substitute, when an animal, has been dressed up to resemble the guilty person, or the appropriate animal (sometimes the totem). Sometimes these human and expiatory offerings have become regular and periodic, to avert the anger of the gods, or to expiate sin frequently committed; often animals are regularly sacrificed as substitutes for human life; sometimes these sacrifices have degenerated into mere puppet sacrifices.

Sacramental mysteries.

A further development consists in sacramental feasts or sacrifices, as when paste idols or slain victims are eaten by the worshippers, with the idea that the sacred animal being eaten makes the worshippers one with the deity to whom it is sacrificed. Such sacrifices often take place in connection with initiation or celebration of blood-brotherhood.

"Even the highest forms of sacrificial worship," says Prof. Robertson Smith, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," "present much that is repulsive to modern ideas; and in particular it requires an effort to reconcile our imagination to the bloody ritual which is prominent in almost every religion which has a strong sense of sin. But we must not forget that from the beginning this ritual expressed, however crudely, certain ideas

which lie at the very root of true religion, the fellowship of the worshippers with one another in their fellowship with the deity; . . . and the piacular forms, though these were particularly liable to distortions



TEMPLE OF RAMA, POSHKUR, INDIA.

disgraceful to man and dishonouring to the Godhead, yet contained the first germs of eternal truths, not only expressing the idea of divine justice, but mingling it with a feeling of divine and human pity."

The word and the subject "Theism" is of the highest importance in religions. The word in combination enters into pantheism, polytheism, monotheism, and atheism. By itself it has a signification which it has not always when in combination. In its widest extension it includes the whole subject of Divine Being or Beings; but ordinarily it is restricted to much the same range as monotheism, the belief in one God. It then contradicts and is antagonistic to polytheism, pantheism, and atheism. Again, theism has been used as the contrary of deism, a form of belief in one God by the light of nature, or from natural religion. Deism is generally distinguished from pantheism in regarding God as distinct from the material world, and from theism, in imagining that the Divine Being has created the world and endowed it with certain powers and potentialities which are left to work out their results uninfluenced by the direct interference or action of God.

Theism.

Deism.

It would detain us too long to expound the history of theism since Christianity arose. It will be to some extent referred to later. We must note here that Christianity and Mohammedanism are the only two truly theistic or monotheistic religions; and that this title has been denied to Christianity by those who consider the doctrine of the Trinity, or Three Persons in the Godhead, as excluding it from monotheism. In past times many regarded monotheism as the primitive religion, from which mankind had fallen away by sin and degradation. Now-a-days a great proportion of students of man and religion believe that monotheism is a later growth than polytheism, or belief in more than one God. There is some ground for the belief that, in some religions at least, the idea of one supreme God arose by the exaggeration of the qualities of some particular god already worshipped, or out of the belief in a tribal God, originally peculiar to them and hostile to their enemies; but it is questionable if we can ever arrive at the true origin of religion, for the ancient races are dead and have left no records behind them, and there are no data for saying that all those peoples who had a religion have left records of it. The traces of religion in the oldest words and the earliest remains and records left show that animals, ancestors, powers of nature, and deities were then worshipped; and beyond this we cannot go.

Monotheism.

Pantheism is a mode of looking at the universe which identifies the creation with the Creator, regarding all finite things as different modifications, or aspects, or manifestations of one eternal, self-existent being, from which they are derived. Within or around this conception are grouped many views which represent the universe very diversely, some approaching very near to monotheism, or even being very properly described as forms of monotheism.

Pantheism.

Atheism (*a*, without, *Theos*, God) again, takes several forms. Dogmatic atheism, which has extremely few adherents, denies the existence of a Divine Being; critical atheism says that He has not been proved to exist; while philosophical atheism says that it is impossible for finite beings to know in any real sense that the Divine exists.

Atheism.

BLESSING DOMESTIC ANIMALS, BULGARIA.

Theology, as a technical term, needs a definition; it is as old as Plato and Aristotle, signifying "a discourse or doctrine concerning divine things."

Theology.

Thus the term may be used to include non-Christian as well as Christian systems. Its special use in Christianity will be referred to later. It is now generally understood to mean the system of doctrines which concern the person, attributes, and works of God. Theology which accepts the Bible as containing a revelation of and from God, is distinguished from natural theology, which only includes arguments derived from human thought, observation, and reasoning apart from revelation. Some persons would define theology as the study of what mankind have thought or felt about religion or about God; but it is more correct, as well as more in agreement with the feelings of most intelligent people, to make the term imply belief in God, and the attainability of knowledge about Him. A mere study of the phenomena of religion can never be as vitally interesting as one which regards it as of the utmost concern to know what is to be known on the subject.

Is there then such a thing as a science of religion or religions? Not yet, but there may be in the future; and we are working towards it. We

Science of religion.

may be told that this can never be a true science, for the ultimate object of religion cannot be comprehended by mortals; but that objection would be fatal to all other sciences, for the Infinite First Cause of all natural forces cannot be comprehended. The science of religion will be an explanation or comprehension of religion, mental, natural, or revealed; but the study which is to produce it must be free and intelligent, and its conclusions must be based on sufficient evidence, the sources of that evidence being found in the natural world, in the thoughts of men's minds, in history, and in all teachings purporting to be, or accepted as, Divine revelations.

We must just briefly indicate the term "theosophy" as designating a "divine wisdom," or wisdom about divine things, which is supposed to have

Theosophy.

special knowledge about the Divine nature and modes of working, either as the result of speculative philosophy or of special revelation; we can here have little to say of such systems. Hegel, Spinoza, Swedenborg, Boehme, Schelling, may be named among prominent theosophists.

We may next recognise the broad distinctness of primitive or nature religions, and those which are either tribal, national, or universal in their

Classification of religions.

scope. It is only a certain number of the latter which are specially associated with a certain name—that of Confucius, Lao-tze, Buddha, Mohammed, Moses, Jesus: although it cannot be shown that others were not quite as truly the product of individual minds, whose

Personal founders.

names have not been preserved. The great founders of religions mentioned above have given rise to ethical religions, religions putting prominently forward certain moral teachings; and further, preach-

Universal or missionary religions.

ing a way of salvation, and producing an organisation for the promotion and increase of the religion. Three religions now remain which may be called world-religions in their scope, Budd-

YORK MINSTER.

hism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity; all aiming at converting the world, and professing to be able to satisfy the needs of the world.

As regards other than universal religions, we may quote the view of Prof. Tiele of Leyden ("Outlines of the History of Religion"). "It is on various grounds probable that the earliest religion, which has left but faint traces behind it, was followed by a period in which animism generally prevailed. This stage, which is still represented by the so-called nature religions, or rather by the polydæmonistic tribal religions, early developed among civilised nations into polytheistic national religions, resting upon a traditional doctrine. Not until a later period did polytheism give place here and there to nomistic religions, or religious communities founded on a law or holy Scripture, and subduing polytheism more or less completely beneath pantheism or monotheism. These last, again, contain the roots of the universal or world-religions, which start from principles and maxims." We give this, not as in any way indicating a doctrine that ought to be accepted, but as a speculation of an earnest student. There is much more in religion than can probably be comprehended in any simple classification. We now proceed to give a classification of religions into families, which may be of some service in comprehending the following pages.

From nature religions to monotheism.

Animism, the primitive philosophy of spirits, has special manifestations among the Polynesians, Australians, negroes, Hottentots, Melanesians, Americans, the highest forms being reached by the Chibchas, the Mayas, the Mexicans and the Incas, and by the Finns. The Chinese and Japanese religions, Confucianism, Taoism, and Shin-toism, form a special class. The Egyptian religion stands almost apart, including much animism and magic, with features of a higher kind. The remaining principal religions may be classified into Aryan and Semitic respectively; the former, the Aryan or Indo-European group, including Brahmanism and Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Greek and Roman, Wendic, Slavonian, Celtic, Teutonic, and Scandinavian religions; the latter including Chaldean and Assyrian, Phœnician, and Canaanitish religions, besides Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism. Where so much is unknown or controversial, we shall not attempt what is called a genealogical arrangement; nor shall we give any further classification before proceeding to describe the several religions or religious practices. All that has hitherto been said, except the explanation of the meaning and significance of certain terms, may be taken only in so far as it may be borne out by the accounts which follow, or as interpreting the facts in a reasonable manner. No attempt is made to say what must or must not be believed. Every one should form his or her own conclusions as freely and independently as possible.

Groups of religions.

For further information on the subjects dealt with in this chapter, see Tylor's "Primitive Culture" and "Anthropology." Articles: Theism, Theology, Anthropomorphism, Animism, Totemism, Taboo, Demonology, Sacrifice, Priest, Temple, in "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition. Tiele's "Outlines of the History of the Ancient Religions." J. G. Frazer's "Totemism," and his valuable paper "On Certain Burial Customs as illustrations of the Primitive Theory of the Soul" ("Journal of Anthropological Institute," vol. xv.). Max Müller's "Science of Religion," "Comparative Mythology;" Hibbert Lectures.

BOOK I.

RELIGIONS OF UNCIVILISED PEOPLES.

CHAPTER I.

Races without a Religion.

IT was long believed that no race was entirely without religion. But it is impossible to resist the weight of evidence which shows that numerous tribes and peoples have been or are without anything in the shape of distinct religious belief or observance. The evidence is that of the most distinguished and accurate travellers, the most credited scientific investigators, and the most enlightened missionaries. Charles Darwin says ("Descent of Man," i. 143):—"There is ample evidence, derived, not from hasty travellers, but from men who have long resided with savages, that numerous races have existed, and still exist, who have no idea of one or more gods, and who have no words in their languages to express such an idea. . . . If, however, we include under the term "religion" the belief in unseen or spiritual agencies, the case is wholly different; for this belief seems to be universal with the less civilised races."

Several tribes of Brazilian Indians are said, by Bates, Wallace, and Burmeister, to have no religion whatever. The Gran Chaco Indians (South America) were declared by the early missionaries to have "no religious or idolatrous belief or worship whatever; neither do they possess any idea of God or of a Supreme Being. They make no distinction between right and wrong, and have, therefore, neither fear nor hope of any present or future punishment or reward, nor any mysterious terror of some supernatural power, whom they might seek to assuage by sacrifices or superstitious rites." Central and South Africa have furnished numerous examples of the absence of religious ideas. A Zulu once said, "If any one thinks ever so little, he soon gives it up, and passes on to what he sees with his eyes." Burchell found a tribe of Kaffirs with no form of worship or religion. They thought that everything made itself, and that trees and herbage grew by their own will.

American Indians.

Zulus.

Kaffirs.

The Caroline Islanders in the Pacific were without religion, having no temples, altars, offerings, nor sanguinary rites. The Queensland natives, according to Lang, had no idea of a Supreme Being, creator of the world, the witness of their actions and their judge.

Polynesians.

The Arafuras (Papuans) in the Aru islands have not the least conception of immortality. When questioned they said: "No Arafura has ever returned to us after death, therefore we know nothing of a future state, and this is the first time we have heard of it." Their idea was, When you are dead, there is an end of you. "Neither have they any notion," says M. Bik, "of the creation of the world. To convince myself more fully respecting their want of knowledge of a Supreme Being, I demanded of them on whom they called for help in their need, when their

Papuans.

vessels were overtaken by violent tempests. The eldest among them, after having consulted the others, answered that they knew not on whom they could call for assistance; but begged me, if I knew, to be so good as to inform them."

A conversation recorded by Sir Samuel Baker, in his "Albert Nyanza," is an excellent exemplification of this non-religious state of mind. He is interrogating Commoro, a chief of a Nile tribe, the Latookas.

The Latookas.

"*Baker:* Have you no belief in a future existence after death?

Commoro: Existence *after* death! How can that be? Can a dead man get out of his grave unless we dig him out?

Baker: Do you think man is like a beast, that dies and is ended?

Commoro: Certainly; an ox is stronger than a man; but he dies, and his bones last longer; they are bigger. A man's bones break quickly—he is weak.

Baker: Is not a man superior in sense to an ox? Has he not a mind to direct his actions?

Commoro: Some men are not so clever as an ox. Men must sow corn to obtain food; but the ox and wild animals can procure it without sowing.

Baker: Do you not know that there is a spirit within you more than flesh? Do you not dream and wander in thought to distant places in your sleep? Nevertheless, your body rests in one spot. How do you account for this?

Commoro, laughing: Well, how do *you* account for it? It is a thing I cannot understand; it occurs to me every night.

Baker: Have you no idea of the existence of spirits superior to either man or beast? Have you no fear of evil except from bodily causes?

Commoro: I am afraid of elephants and other animals when in the jungle at night, but of nothing else.

Baker: Then you believe in nothing, neither in a good nor evil spirit! And you believe that when you die it will be the end of body and spirit; that you are like other animals; and that there is no distinction between man and beast; both disappear, and end at death?

Commoro: Of course they do.

Baker: Do you see no difference between good and bad actions?

Commoro: Yes; there are good and bad in men and beasts.

Baker: If you have no belief in a future state, why should a man be good? Why should he not be bad, if he can prosper by wickedness?

Commoro: Most people are bad; if they are strong, they take from the weak. The good people are all weak; they are good because they are not strong enough to be bad."

But while thus asserting that some tribes have been or are without belief in religion in the higher sense, it must be admitted that there are but few, if any, of whom it cannot be said that they believe in spiritual beings of some kind. This phase of the religious sense has already been referred to in our Introduction, under the term "Animism" (p. 6).

Further proofs may readily be found in Sir J. Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times" and "Origin of Civilisation;" Archdeacon Farrar's paper on "The Universality of Belief in God and in a Future State" (*Anthropological Review*, 1864: ccxvii.); and Tylor's "Primitive Culture" (p. 35).

MORAI OF OAMO AND OBEREA, TAHITI.

CHAPTER II.

Religious Beliefs and Practices in Australasia, Polynesia, and Melanesia.

The Australians—Absence of worship—Sorcerers—Ideas of creation—Mode of discovering enchanters—Idea of becoming white after death—Burial—Ghosts—The Tasmanians—The future life an unwearied chase—Burial customs—Exorcists' methods—The New Caledonians—Feasts for spirits—Prayers—Rain-making priests—Strange burial customs—The Maoris—Deified ancestors—Legend of Maui—Atuas—Mythology—The abodes of spirits of the dead—The priests' duties—Modes of burial and mourning—The Friendly Islanders—Superior and inferior gods—Spiritual chief descended from the gods—Spirits of the dead—The Samoans—Guardian and village deities—Traditions—A stone rain-god—Functions of priests—The spirit land—The Hervey Islanders—Rev. W. W. Gill in Mangaia—Ideas of the universe and spirits—The father of gods and men—No idea of a Supreme Creator—Deified men and their exploits—The gods the life of men—The king's idols—Origin of a priesthood—Death due to sins—Exploits of Maui the fire-god—The dead thrown into chasms—Ideas of spirit-world—Mourning customs—The death-talk—The Society Islanders—Various deities—The future state—The priesthood—The Sandwich Islanders—Volcanic deities—Power of the taboo—The Fijians—The two spirits of man—The Fijian heaven—Passions of the gods—Human sacrifices—Fijian gods—The chiefs' funerals—The Papuans—Papuan idols—Burial of Papuans—The Dyaks of Borneo—The Sea-Dyaks' beliefs—Medicine-men—Superstitions of Land-Dyaks—Burial of Dyaks—Sumatran deities—Priests of the Battas—The Malagasy gods—Malagasy charms—Divination and sacrifices—Sikidy—Ideas of a future life—Burial rites.

THE AUSTRALIANS.

THE Australian natives are among the lowest in their conceptions relating to creation, nature, and religion. When discovered by Europeans they had no worship, nor any idea of a Creator; and it is not necessary here to give an account of various conceptions since developed, which resulted from their contact with white men. They have some belief in evil spirits who walk abroad and may be seen at night. Against the diseases caused by them, the aid of sorcerers was invoked; and they, by various performances and incantations, extracted the disease from the patient. The sorcerers were middle-aged or elderly men, specially initiated from some supernatural source, from ancestral ghosts, or spirits, and supposed capable of transporting themselves through the air, or rendering themselves invisible. The production of rain, wind, thunder, etc., was believed to be within their province. These men were not without some medical attainments of a rude kind. But they were believed to have the power, by various devices, of causing an enemy's

Absence of worship.

Sorcerers.

ruin or destruction. A valuable account of Australian medicine-men has been given by Mr. A. W. Howitt in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. xvi. (1887). The reality of dreams is strongly believed in by the Australians; during sleep the spirit is supposed to wander from the body and meet other spirits.

Various Australian tribes are stated to have believed that: (1) Some things are self-created, and these created other things. (2) Everything was made by a father, who lived among the clouds, and had three sons. (3) A huge serpent is the cause of everything. The South Australians believed that the sun, moon, and stars are living beings who once inhabited the earth.

Ideas of creation.

Sudden deaths are attributed to the enchantments of hostile tribes. "The method of finding out the enchanter is to clear the space round the deceased's grave, and smooth it so that the least traces of an animal passing over it may be detected—those of a beetle will suffice. The direction taken by this creature indicates the direction in which the enchanter lives; and one of the nearest of kin to the deceased sets out on his mission, travelling some hundreds of miles. Arrived at a place where there are natives encamped, he fraternises with them, staying with them for days till an opportunity presents itself of slaying the enchanter, who is already known by having coughed when eating some of the food which the stranger has taken care to distribute all round."[1] The souls of those who have not been buried are supposed to haunt the earth as evil spirits. One tribe of Australians believe that their ghosts people the islands in Spencer's Gulf.

Mode of discovering enchanters.

A Queensland tribe had the idea that their dead became white, because they saw this to be the case when they were flayed for eating; and when they first saw white men they actually believed they were the ghosts of their own dead that had returned. Sir George Grey was thought to be a returned son formerly speared to death at Swan River. "Yes, yes; it is he!" cried an old woman, who leaned her head on his breast and burst into tears.

Idea of becoming white after death.

The funeral rites of the Australians are simple, but very varied. The chief modes are burial, placing the body in a tree, and burning. Widows often shaved the head. White is their mourning colour, worn in the form of white clay. Eulogy of the departed in hymns and songs takes place after their death, according to their merits. Many Australians believed that at death the ghosts or souls survived, sometimes passing into some other person, or wandering about; and they begged it to cease its wanderings and enter some person. Some believed that they ascended to an upper region of the heavens, but could still visit their earthly abodes. Many of the detailed beliefs recorded about the Australians in modern times are, in fact, due to the influence of white men's visits and missionaries' teaching.

Burial.

Ghosts.

[1] Trans. Ethnological Society, New Series, vol. iii., p. 246.

THE TASMANIANS.

The aboriginal Tasmanians, now extinct, had very little more idea of religion than the Australians. They had an idea of a future life, where they should pursue the chase with unwearied ardour and unfailing success, and enjoy in vast abundance and with unsated appetite the pleasures which they sought during life. Some thought they were to go to the stars, or to an island where their ancestors were, and be turned into white people. They also believed in malevolent spirits inhabiting caves and forests. They did not like to move at night. In burial their customs varied, like those of the Australians; but they sometimes built a funeral mound, or placed a spear by the deceased, for him "to fight with when he is asleep." In mourning, the women would plaster their shaven heads with pipe-clay and cover their faces with a mixture of charcoal and fat, weeping and lacerating their bodies with sharp stones. Flowers were thrown on the graves, as well as the shaven hair of the women. Some of the bones of the deceased were often carried about in a bag hung round the neck. They believed in the return of the spirits of their departed friends to bless or injure them. During the whole of the first night after the death of one of their tribe, they would sit round the body, uttering a low, rapid, continuous recitative, to prevent the evil spirit of an enemy from taking it away.

The future life an unwearied chase.

Burial customs.

Wise men and exorcists exercised considerable powers over them. They used charms and arts like mesmerism to expel diseases, terrified by the rattle of dead men's bones, twirled round a magic mooyumbarr, or oval piece of wood. They also kept sacred stones, which must on no account be seen by women. They had a superstitious regard for the sun, moon, and various constellations, but could not be said to worship them.

Exorcists' methods.

THE NEW CALEDONIANS AND SOLOMON ISLANDERS.

The New Caledonians exhibited a more definite religious belief. They had a word which represented "dead men" as a sort of deity; and their deceased chiefs were prayed to by name. The living chief acted as high priest, praying aloud to this effect: "Compassionate father, here is some food for you; eat it; be kind to us on account of it." Feasting and dancing followed this ceremony. The natives of Aneityum, New Hebrides, supposed, says the Rev. W. Turner ("Nineteen Years in Polynesia"), that the spirit at death leaves the body, goes to the west end of the island, plunges into the sea, and swims away to a place of spirits called Umatmas, where it is believed there are two divisions, one for the good and another for the bad. Their heaven consists in abundance of good food.

Ancestor worship.

In New Caledonia, however, the spirits of the departed are supposed to go to the Bush. Every fifth month they have a spirit night, when heaps of food are prepared. The old men and women hide in a cave, and represent the spirits of the dead to the credulous juniors, singing in an unearthly fashion, which is followed by wild dancing outside. These

Feasts for spirits.

people are not without definiteness in their prayers. They pray to one god for the eye, that they may see the spear as it flies towards them; to another for the ear, that they may hear the approach of the enemy. Certain disease-makers are believed to produce sickness; and this was especially found to be the case in the island of Tanna, where they burn the refuse of food, the idea being that when it is all burned the person dies. "Whenever a person felt ill, a shell was blown for hours, as a call or prayer to the disease-maker, to stop burning the rubbish, and a promise of presents."

Prayers.

SACRED IMAGE, NEW GEORGIA, SOLOMON ISLANDS.

There is also a rain-making class of priests in New Caledonia. Their method is to pour water on the skeleton of a body exhumed. Almost every family has its priest, and the chief is high-priest. In Tanna no idols were found. The people used the banian-tree as a sacred grove, and they venerated some sacred stones. In Mallicolo, New Hebrides, however, there were in every village, in the sacred house, three or four images, life size, dressed as men, and painted like mummies, which appeared to be held sacred. All the deities are supposed to be malignant beings. Sorcery and witchcraft are universally believed in. They have a tradition

Rain-making priests.

that their islands were fished up by the gods, who afterwards made men and women.

Captain Cook found the grave of a New Caledonian chief decorated with spears, darts, paddles, etc., stuck upright in the ground. According to Turner, the body of the deceased is decorated with a belt and shell armlets. They raise and cut off the finger and toe nails whole to preserve as relics. They spread the grave with a mat, and bury all the body but the head. After ten days the friends twist off the head, extract the teeth as further relics, and preserve the skull also.

Strange burial customs.

In the Solomon Islands predominant reverence is shown to the spirits of dead men—practically not extending beyond grandfathers. Common men are believed to have gone to a neighbouring island where they wander about aimlessly; the more distinguished are believed to remain in the neighbourhood of their friends, and to give them help when prayed and sacrificed to. Certain prayers, handed down from father to son, are muttered. Witchcraft and charms are much believed in, and sharks are much reverenced. The canoe-houses often appear to be in the way to become sacred buildings, and they are ornamented by carved wooden figures, representing ghosts of various deceased people. Food is sometimes set before these, and their removal would be held to bring punishment from the dead man; but many of the carved figures of the Solomon Islands have no religious significance. See Rev. R. H. Codrington's valuable paper, "Religious Beliefs and Practices in Melanesia," *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, vol. x.

THE MAORIS.

The Maoris of New Zealand were not much beyond the New Caledonians. When Captain Cook visited them, he saw no appearance of religious ceremonies, except that once he observed a basket containing fern roots hung up in a small enclosure, and said to be an offering to the gods, to render them propitious, and obtain a good crop. Their chiefs appeared to become deified, and even the living chiefs were believed to be deified, or to express the opinions of gods. Te Heu Heu, a New Zealand priest and chief, once said to a European missionary: "Think not that I am a man, that my origin is of the earth. I come from the heavens; my ancestors are all there: they are gods, and I shall return to them." Maui was said to be their great ancestor, who drew the island out of the sea with a fish-hook. Spirits of the deified ancestors were believed sometimes to visit the earth in the form of lizards, spiders, and birds.

Deified ancestors.

Legend of Maui.

The Maoris applied the term *atua* to every kind of supernatural beings, but also included in it all active agencies of nature. They extended the same term to Europeans and their watches. The ghost of a departed chief was an atua, and might be benevolent or malevolent in the shadow world.

Atuas.

A certain mythology has been discovered among the New Zealanders,

strangely reminding one in some of its features of the old Greek mythology.

Mythology. Rangi and Papa—the Heaven and the Earth—begot six children or gods, and fathers respectively: (1) of men and war; (2) of food arising without cultivation; (3) of fish and reptiles; (4) of winds and storms; (5) of cultivated food; (6) of forests and birds. A conspiracy between these gods resulted in the separation of heaven from earth.

The New Zealanders believed there were two distinct abodes for the spirits of the dead: Rangi, in the sky, and Reinga, in the sea, the entrance being at the northern extremity of the island. They ascribed internal diseases to sorcery or witchcraft, and they could only be cured by incantations. Evil deeds were punished in this world, and the punishments were sent from deified ancestors.

The abodes of spirits of the dead.

CORPSE, AND CORPSE-PRAYING PRIEST, NEW ZEALAND.

There was not much distinction between priests and chiefs; sometimes the chief's brother was priest. The priests' duties were to see the laws of the tapu[1] enforced, to heal the sick, attend at funerals and births, to tattoo people, to instruct children in songs and traditions, to advise in time of war, and to interpret omens. They were also supposed to converse with the dead.[2]

The priests' duties.

In Cook's time the New Zealanders did not bury their dead. At Queen

[1] *Tapu*, from which we derive our "taboo," meant sacred, or separate from common use.

[2] For an interesting account of the Maori Race, see Mr. Kerry-Nicholls's paper in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xv.

Charlotte's Sound they threw them into the sea. The dead chiefs were wrapped in mats, put into canoe-shaped boxes, along with their club, and placed on elevated stages or suspended from trees, or interred in the houses where they died. Mourning by the relatives went on, with cutting of the body, for weeks. About a year afterwards the bones were cleaned and secretly deposited by priests in sepulchres on hill tops, in forests, or in caves. Food and water were placed at the graves of the dead, the spirit being believed to come at night and feed from the sacred calabashes.

Modes of burial and mourning.

THE FRIENDLY ISLANDERS.

Religious belief in the Tonga or Friendly Islands assumed a yet more developed aspect. The people believed in superior beings or gods, who dispensed good and evil to mankind according to their merits, and inferior gods who are the souls of deceased chiefs, with inferior powers. All evils were ascribed to the anger of the good gods, or the mischievous disposition of the bad gods. Mankind, they said, originally came from Bolotoo, the abode of the gods. They believed in a human soul (except for the lower classes), existing in Bolotoo in the form and likeness of the body, the moment after death.

Superior and inferior gods.

The Tongans had a spiritual chief, alleged to be descended from gods. The priest, when consulted, became emotional and "inspired," and declared the will of the god. Most of the gods had a separate temple and a separate priest; but there appeared to be no public or private religious rites without kava drinking as a part of it. They believed in omens and charms, and sacrificed to the departed spirits of chiefs, and consulted the gods before commencing any important undertaking.

Spiritual chief descended from the gods.

Among these people we meet with private and reserved burial grounds for the chief families. Like so many other races, they showed their mourning by cutting themselves with clubs, stones, knives, or sharp shells, shaving the head, and burning the cheeks.

THE SAMOANS.

The Samoans were conspicuous for the great number of their gods. Every one from birth had a protecting god; every village had its god, the names borne by them being, among others, "The Swift One," "The Sacred One," "Destruction," "The God of Heaven." They were supposed to appear visibly as some animal, the rainbow, shooting stars, etc. Scarcity of food they ascribed to one particular god. They had traditions of a time when the heavens alone were inhabited, and the earth was covered with water. The heavens a long time ago fell down. Fire was obtained from the earthquake god. In one district they had a stone rain-god. When there was too much rain, those who kept the stone put it to the fire to dry, and cause the rain to stop. If there was great drought, they took the stone to the water and dipped it, thinking that would bring rain.

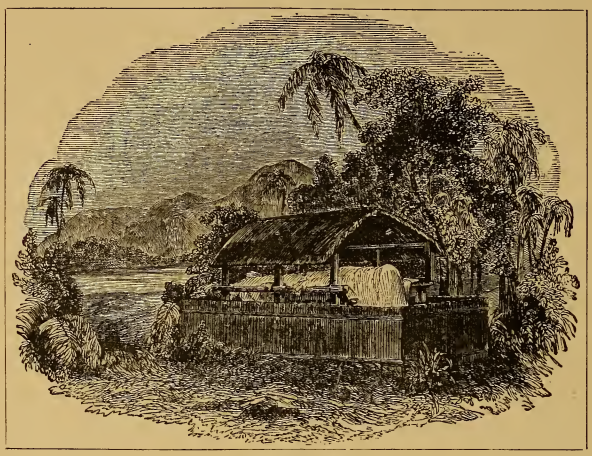
Guardian and village deities.

Traditions.

A stone rain-god.

The priests were either the chiefs, or the office was hereditary. The priests decided on peace or war, fixed the feast days of the gods, and received the offerings. Taboo was largely practised. To protect property, a rude representation of an animal or of some plague, by which it was hoped the depredator might be killed, was hung up. Thus there were the white shark, the sea pike, the ulcer, and the cross-stick taboo, the latter representing a disease running right across the body.

Functions of priests.



TAHITIAN BIER.

The Samoans believed that the souls of their chiefs were immortal, and that they were conveyed by spirits to an abode of ghosts beyond their islands, and very much like them. There was an imagined chief ruler of this land. At night these ghosts are able to revisit their old homes, and give counsel and predict the future to members of their family; to others they would carry disease and death.

The spirit land.

FUNERAL-DRESS OF THE NEAREST RELATIVE OF THE DECEASED PERSON, TAHITI.

THE HERVEY ISLANDERS.

By far the most complete and accurate account we have of the religion and mythology of any Polynesian people, is that given by the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, in "Myths and Songs from the South Pacific." Having lived for many years in Mangaia, one of the Hervey Islands, and gained the confidence of the last of their priests and of many others, he has been enabled to present us with an almost complete account, which is of extreme

Rev. W. W. Gill in Mangaia.

interest, and will enable us materially to shorten the accounts given of other Polynesians.

The Mangaians conceived of the universe as like the hollow of a vast cocoanut shell. The interior has a single aperture above, where the Mangaians dwell. At the bottom of the supposed cocoanut shell was a thick stem, tapering to a point, which was a spirit or demon, without human form, named "The Root of all Existence." Above this extreme point was a stouter spirit, called "Breathing or Life"; **Ideas of the universe and spirits.**

HUMAN SACRIFICE IN FORMER TIMES, TAHITI.

above again, a thicker spirit, "The Long Lived." These three were fixed sentient spirits, who together supported all the universe. In the interior of the supposed cocoanut lived a female demon, "The very Beginning," anxious for progeny. One day she plucked off a bit of her right side, and it became the first man, *Vātea*, the father of gods and men. Subsequent births from both her right and left sides by "The very Beginning," gave rise to lords of the sea, of the winds, etc., and one, named Tu-metua, "Stick-by-the-parent," living with the mother in "the mute land." Tu-metua, shortened to Tu, is a principal god in many Polynesian islands. A whole series of mythological events was assigned to these gods, almost as complex as the Greek mythology, and as interesting. **The father of gods and men.**

According to Mr. Gill, the Polynesians had no idea of a Supreme Being

creating a universe out of nothing. Co-ordinate with the spirits or demons above mentioned were deified men; and birds, fish, reptiles, insects, and specially inspired priests were reverenced as incarnations, mouthpieces, or messengers of the gods. There are numerous traditions about the exploits of these deified men, evidently former chiefs. Rongo, the offspring of Vatea, was the chief god of Mangaia, reigning in the night or "shades." Motoro was an ancestor god termed "the living god," co-ordinately worshipped. Makitaka, the last priest of Motoro, embraced Christianity. The image of Motoro is in the museum of the London Missionary Society.

No idea of a supreme Creator.

Deified men and their exploits.

"The word 'io,' commonly used for 'god,'" says Mr. Gill, "properly means pith or core of a tree. What the core is to the tree, the god was believed to be to the man. In other words, the gods were the life of mankind. Even when a worshipper of Motoro was slain in fair fight, it was supposed that the enraged divinity would, by some special misfortune or disease, put an end to the offender." On entering the god-house of the king, a rude reed hut, the first idol was Rongo, in the form of a trumpet shell; next came the honoured Metoro; then came eleven others, thirteen being the number admitted as national gods. The term applied to them, "dwellers by day," signified that they were continually busy in the affairs of mortals. These alone had carved images. Those who "dwelt in night" were, however, supposed frequently to ascend by day to take part in affairs.

The gods the life of men.

The king's idols.

A strange explanation is given of the origin of a priesthood. The gods were said to have first spoken to man through small land birds; but their utterances were too indistinct for guiding men, and consequently priests were set apart, in whom the gods took up temporary abodes. Hence they were called *god-boxes*, or briefly gods. When consulted, an offering of the best food, and a bowl of an intoxicating liquor had to be brought. The priest, in a frenzy, gave his response in language intelligible only to the initiated. No one being supposed to die a natural death except from old age, the people inquired of the priests what sins had occasioned any one's illness. If the priest bore any one a grudge, he had only to announce that the divinity willed it, and he was put to death.

Origin of a priesthood.

Death due to sins.

The exploits of Maui, the fire-god, are some of the most famous. He first captured fire from the nether world, raised the sky, and made the sun captive. Many other arts of mankind are traced by the natives to achievements of the gods. The intoxicating draught even is derived from that which the mistress of the invisible world gives to her victims. Thieving is taught by Iro, coming up on moonlight nights from spirit land. Everything in earth, air, or sea is traced to a supernatural source.

Exploits of Maui, the fire-god.

The dead were thrown down the deepest chasms, in which Mangaia abounds, and these were supposed to be openings into the vast hollow, the repository of the dead. The Mangaians be-

The dead thrown into chasms.

lieved the spirits occupied themselves like mankind—marrying, multiplying, sinning, quarrelling. Birds, fish, rats, beetles, cocoanuts, yams, all abound in this Hades. The high road thither is closed. The spirits had so molested men, brought disease and death upon them, stolen their food, etc., that to put an end to these annoyances a royal person rolled herself alive down the great opening, which then closed up. Since then the spirits of mortals descend by a different route, and the inhabitants of Hades no longer molest mankind.

Ideas of spirit world.

It is said that the first who ever died a natural death in Mangaia was Vectini, the only and beloved son of Tueva and Manga, who died in early manhood. The parents established those mourning customs which were ever afterwards observed. All the relatives blackened their faces, cut off their hair, gashed their bodies with sharks' teeth, and wore native cloth dyed red and dipped in black mud, forming a most odoriferous garment. Their heads were surrounded with fern singed with fire. These ceremonies occupied from ten to fifteen days.

Mourning customs.

Sometimes, in honour of distinguished persons deceased, grand tribal gatherings took place, to recite songs in their honour. This was called, a talk about the devouring, or a *death-talk;* for when a person died, it was customary to say he was eaten up by the gods. As many as thirty "weeping-songs" were often prepared: each adult male relative must recite a song. Numerous most interesting specimens of these are given by Mr. Gill. We can give only a few lines from one of them.

The death-talk.

> "Speed, then, on thy voyage to spiritland,
> Where a profusion of garlands awaits thee.
> There the bread-fruit tree, pet son, is ever laden with fruit;
> Yes, there the bread-fruit tree is ever in season, my child."

Human sacrifices were formerly offered by the Mangaians, and various families were at different periods condemned to furnish the victims; and horrible tales of atrocities in connection with them are preserved.

THE SOCIETY ISLANDERS.

The natives of the Society Islands worshipped many gods, some being gods of war and peace, others employed as heralds between gods and men, others in healing. Some were gods of localities or of professions. The gods even presided over games, wrestling, dancing, and archery, offerings being made to them both before and after the games. Earthquakes were believed to be under the control of a special divinity. Fishes and birds were also among their divinities. The turtle was always held sacred, and dressed with sacred fire within the precincts of the temple, part of it being always offered to the idol. Spirits of deceased chiefs and relatives were also worshipped, though with certain distinctions. Each notable spirit was honoured with an image, through which his influence was believed to be exerted. These images were kept in the Maraes, in houses raised from the ground on poles. The gods were believed to watch

Varied deities.

the people jealously, to be ready to avenge any disobedience to their injunctions conveyed through the priests. They attributed every calamity to the anger of the gods. Every disease was supposed to be inflicted for some crime against the taboo, or some offering made by an enemy to procure their destruction.

The future state.

The Tahitians had a vague idea of a future state. They imagined the spirit was seized by other spirits, conducted to the state of night, and usually eaten gradually by the gods. Some, however, were not eaten, but lived with the gods as deified spirits. They imagined a most beautiful heaven near a certain mountain; but they did not seem to assign this heaven to the good only, or to imagine that actions in this world influence the future state at all. A resemblance to other peoples far away is to be found in the fact that if, after repeated offerings for a chief's recovery, the god still refused to exert his influence, the Tahitians execrated the idol and banished him from the temple, and chose some other who they hoped would be more favourable.

The priesthood.

The hereditary priesthood had great power in Tahiti, and the king was sometimes chief priest and personified the god. The worship of their chief god Oro was attended by frequent human sacrifices. Before going to war these were especially offered. Religious rites were practised in connection with all the principal acts of life; and the priests received considerable offerings for their services. The Tahitians' maraes were used for burial as well as worship. In many respects their funeral customs resembled those described by Mr. Gill.

THE SANDWICH ISLANDERS.

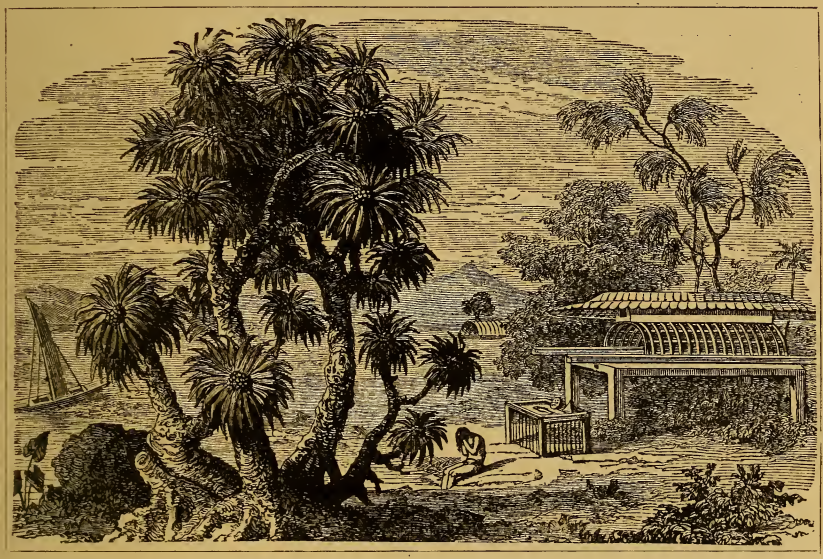
Volcanic deities.

The Sandwich Islanders did not differ very markedly from their more southern relatives in their religious ideas; but they attached great importance to certain volcanic deities, whose worship was doubtless inspired by the volcanic phenomena by which they have often suffered. These deities were asserted never to journey on errands of mercy; their only excursions being to receive offerings or to execute vengeance. Their idea of heaven was of a low order. A native remarked to Mr. Ellis, "If there is no eating and drinking, or wearing of clothes in heaven, wherein does its goodness consist?" They supposed that after the death of any member of a family, the spirit of the departed hovered about the places of its former resort, appeared to the survivors sometimes in dreams, and watched over their destinies. Captain Cook was worshipped by the Sandwich Islanders as a god, and his bones preserved as sacred.

Power of the taboo.

The taboo was as powerful in the Sandwich Islands as anywhere. Idols, temples, the person and name of the king, the persons of the priests, the houses and other property of the king and priests, and the heads of men that were devotees of any particular idol, were tapu or sacred. The flesh of hogs, fowls, turtle, cocoanuts, and almost everything offered in sacrifice was sacred, and forbidden to be eaten by women.

Certain seasons were kept tapu, from five to forty days in duration. These were either before some religious ceremony or war or during sickness. During the season of strict tapu, says Mr. Ellis ("Tour through Hawaii"), every fire or light must be extinguished. No canoe must be launched on the water, no person must bathe; and except those whose attendance was required at the temple, no individual must be seen out of doors. No dog must bark, no pig must grunt, no cock must crow. So the dogs' and pigs' mouths were tied up, and the fowls' eyes covered. The kings and priests must touch nothing, their food being put into their mouths by other persons. The priests and the chiefs united to keep up this system of taboo



MARAE AND ALTAR AT HUAHINE, SOCIETY ISLANDS.

by the rigid infliction of the death-penalty for its violation. The priests also acted the part of sorcerers and doctors, receiving of course heavy fees, a cloth, mat, pig, dog, etc., usually paid beforehand.

THE FIJIANS.

Coming back to the islands within a large circle round Australia, we have very extensive information about the religious ideas and practices of the Fijians before their conversion to Christianity. They believed in a future existence not only for all men, but also for animals, plants, houses, canoes, tools. "Some speak of man as having two spirits," says the Rev. T. Williams ("Fiji and the Fijians"). "His shadow is called 'the dark spirit,' which they say goes to Hades. The

The two spirits of man.

FIJIAN TEMPLE.

other is his likeness reflected in water or a looking-glass, and is supposed to stay near the place in which a man dies. I once placed a good-looking native suddenly before a mirror. He stood delighted. 'Now,' he said softly, 'I can see into the world of spirits.'"

The Fijian heaven.

In the Fijian's heaven he expected to lead a life of activity, with sailing, fishing, sporting, etc. He did not look for a separation between the good and the bad, although men who had slain no enemy would be compelled to beat dirt with their club, a most degrading punishment; and women not tattooed would be pursued by other women and finally scraped with shells and made into bread for the gods. The journey to the other world was imagined as being a journey to another distant island, attended with great danger. The Fijian peopled every lonely spot with invisible spirits, who however assumed the human form at will and appeared frequently.

Passions of the gods.

Each island, even each locality, had its own rival gods, who were of like passions with the natives, loving and hating, proud and revengeful, making war, killing and eating each other. They were said to tumble out of canoes, pay tribute to each other, trip each other up, go gaily dressed, etc. The priests asserted strongly that the people's success in war depended on their desire to gratify the appetite of the god, who was a great lover of human flesh. In fact in no religion was cannibalism more strictly enjoined. Chiefs sometimes killed some of their wives in order to supply the sacrifices for the gods. Capt. Erskine ("Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific") describes canoes launched over the living bodies of slaves as rollers, houses built on similar foundations, the immediate massacre of all shipwrecked persons, as having been strictly enjoined and enforced by the priests. Any man who could sufficiently distinguish himself by murdering his fellow-men could certainly secure deification after death.

Human sacrifices.

Fijian gods.

Among the Fijian gods may be mentioned *Ovē*, the maker of all men; *Ratumaimbulu*, who caused fruitfulness, during whose month it was tapu to sail, to go to war, to plant, or build houses; *U-dengei*, represented as a serpent merging into a stone, and having no passion but hunger. Some of the gods were mere monsters, one having eight arms, one eight eyes, and one eighty stomachs. In fact, every object that is specially fearful, vicious, or injurious was likely to be placed among the lower class of Fijian gods.

The chiefs' funerals.

If a Fijian chief died, one or more of his wives, his principal friend, and often many more, were strangled, to accompany him to the world of spirits. That he should appear there unattended was a most repugnant idea. The wives were killed even at their own request, knowing they would be insulted, and perhaps starved, if they lived. A club was placed in the dead man's hand, to enable him to defend himself against

his enemies; and whale's teeth were added, in order to propitiate the spirits.

Certain tribes in Fiji, according to the Rev. L. Fison (*Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xiv.), had a set of mysteries known as the Nanga, into which young men were initiated at full age, and which were performed in a sacred enclosure, where the ancestral spirits were to be found by their worshippers, offerings being taken thither on all occasions when their aid was invoked. The Nanga.

THE PAPUANS.

The Papuans of Dory, New Guinea, according to Mr. Earl, worship an idol called Karwar, with which every house is provided, a figure rudely carved in wood, about eighteen inches high, hideously disproportioned, and holding a shield. They regularly consult this idol, squatting before it, clasping their hands over the forehead, and bowing repeatedly, at the same time stating their intentions. It is considered necessary that the Karwar should be present on all important occasions, such as births, marriages, or deaths. They have also a number of carved figures which may be denominated fetishes. They are usually figures of reptiles, which are suspended from the roofs of the houses; the posts are also ornamented with similar figures, cut into the wood. All the natives possess amulets, which may be carved pieces of wood, bits of bone, quartz, or some trifle. Papuan idols.

When a death occurs among these people, the body is buried in a grave, resting on its side, and with a porcelain dish under the ear. If the head of a family is dead, the Karwar is brought to the grave and loaded with reproaches, and when the grave is filled up, the idol is left to decay on the roof built to shelter the grave. Burial of Papuans.

THE DYAKS OF BORNEO.

The Sea-Dyaks of Borneo have a chief deity called Batava, "a pure Sanskrit term for God, and probably a relic of their former intercourse with the Javan Hindus" (Low's "Sarawak"). They have a number of good and bad spirits, to both classes of which they make offerings, the larger share going to the wicked spirits. All sicknesses, misfortunes, and deaths are credited to them. At certain seasons these people go to the woods to commune in private with the spirits. Work is stopped at certain seasons of the moon; and what with bad omens, sounds, signs, dreams, and deaths, they lose a great deal of time from their work. The Sea-Dyaks' beliefs.

The Land-Dyaks have a principal deity called "Tuppa," or "Jerroang," who is beneficent, and always invoked at their agricultural and peaceful feasts; but in association with the sun and moon, and also with Rajah Brooke, who is worshipped by all classes of Dyaks who have come under the spell of his influence. The war-gods are malevolent, and imagined to be of fierce and wild appearance, covered with coarse red hair like an orang.

Superstitions are abundant among the Sea-Dyaks; and, as a natural consequence, medicine-men or priests flourish. The medicine-man is often old, sometimes blind and maimed; fees not unfrequently make him rich. At the launching of a new boat, preparatory to head-hunting, the spirits presiding over it are appeased and fed. The building of a house is sometimes attended by the sacrifice of a slave-girl to the spirits. The sick are pretended to be cured by the medicine-man, who assembles a great horde of people to make as much noise as possible with gongs.

Sea Dyaks' medicine men.

It is impossible to mention here more than a small part of the superstitions current among the Land Dyaks. One belief of theirs was, that man and the spirits were at first equal, and fought on fair terms; but that, on one occasion, the spirits got the better of man, and rubbed charcoal in his eyes, so that he can no longer see his spirit-foes, except in the case of the priests. They believe that a piece of cloth from Rajah Brooke, or the water in which his feet have been washed, put into the soil, or his presence at their village, will ensure good crops. Tapu exists among them, and they always have a superstition to explain events, especially accidents. Traces of the Hindu religion are to be found among them.

Superstitions of Land Dyaks.

Both burial and cremation are practised by the Dyaks. In some cases bodies are placed in coffins raised on posts, or on a raised platform. Weapons, ornaments, food, and property are frequently buried with them. Sometimes boats decorated with flags are placed near the graves for the use of the departed spirits in their migrations. On the death of a chief, or even of a prominent man, several tribes of Dyaks offer human sacrifices; the victims, mostly slaves, are destined to attend the chief in the other world. "Among some Dyak tribes it was a custom, for a chief at least, when one of his children died, to sally out, and kill the first person he met, even if it were a brother."[1]

Burial of Dyaks.

THE SUMATRANS.

The Sumatrans have scarcely as much religion as the Dyaks. Mr. Marsden found the Rejangs with no kind of worship, but vaguely believing in superior beings, visible or invisible at pleasure, causing them good or evil. The Sumatrans generally venerate the tombs of their ancestors; but they have no images of them. They imagine tigers to be inhabited by the spirits of departed men. The Battas have three deities which rule the world, the first bearing rule in heaven, the father of all mankind, the second ruling in the air, the third on earth. But their inferior deities are as numerous as earthly objects or circumstances. They believe also in four evil spirits, dwelling in four mountains, and causing all their evils. They regard insanity as due to possession by an evil spirit, which they attempt to drive away by putting the insane person into a hut, which they set fire to, leaving him to escape as best he can.

Sumatran deities.

[1] Spencer St. John, "Life in the Forests of the Far East."

The Battas have a kind of priest, occupied in foretelling lucky and unlucky days, making sacrifices, performing funeral rites, and administering oaths. **Priests of the Battas.** They sacrifice to the gods horses, buffaloes, goats, dogs, fowls, "or whatever animal the wizard happens on that day to be most inclined to eat." Oaths are administered by preference in the ancestral burying-ground, as most sacred. They swear by an old, rusty *kris*, a broken gun-barrel, or any old thing that is valued, dipping them in water, which the person swearing drinks of. Both the Javans and Sumatrans hold wakes and have prolonged funerals for the chiefs.

SOUTH SEA IDOL.

THE MALAGASY.

It is astonishing, considering their separation by such a wide distance, how closely the Malagasy beliefs resembled those of the Fijians and the Malays; but this is readily understood when we realise how near akin they are by race. Drury described them as worshipping a supreme god whom they called "The Lord Above," and four other lords of the four quarters of the world, the mediators between men and the god above. Ellis says that whatever was new or useful or extraordinary was **Gods of the Malagasy.**

called god; as silk, rice, money, thunder and lightning, and earthquakes, their ancestors, a deceased sovereign. It is related of King Radama "that, in a heavy thunderstorm, he amused himself with firing cannon. The British agent asked him his reason. 'Oh,' said he, 'we are answering one another—both of us gods. God above is speaking by his thunder and lightning, and I am replying by my powder and cannon.'" (Ellis.)

Malagasy charms.

The Malagasy had idols or charms belonging to each house, family, and even individual, some being pieces of wood of a human shape, others quite shapeless. When they caught sight of a herd of cattle, while hunting, they would implore the god to whom the herd belonged to grant them a few of his flock. They believed that snakes are the special agents of their gods, and they regarded the crocodile with superstitious veneration. Altars to the mighty dead are found erected on the principal mountains, and were till recently visited for prayer and sacrifice.

Divination and sacrifices.

The Malagasy had a great belief in divination, which was largely in the hands of the king and the chief man of each place. The idols were under the sovereign's special protection. Their temples were not considered places of worship. Sacrifices were made on the sacred stone of every village, or at a specially sacred grave.

The sikidy.

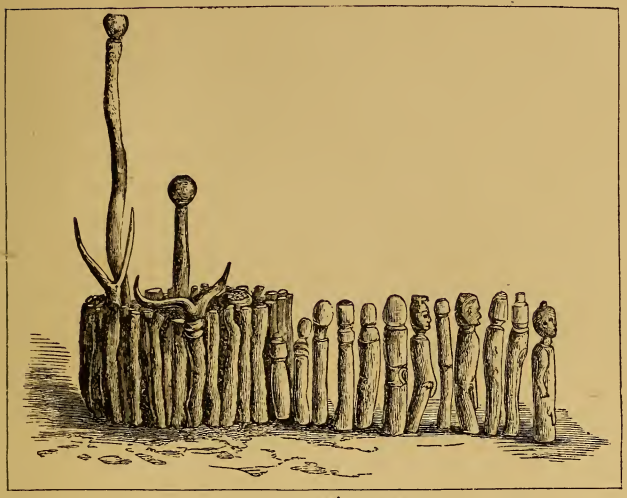
They had a form of divination called *sikidy*, worked out like a game of chess, by beans, rice, straw, sand, or any other objects that could be easily counted or divided, names being given to the different positions the numbers or lines formed. There were definite rules, the object being to ascertain what must be done in cases of real or imaginary, present or apprehended evils. The directions usually concerned a kind of offering to obtain favours, or a thing to be thrown away, so as to avert evils. Diseases could be averted by supplicatory offerings directed by the sikidy, which was also consulted to ascertain the destiny of a new-born child.

Ideas of a future life.

In almost the same breath, says the Rev. W. Ellis, a Malagasy will express his belief that when he dies he ceases altogether to exist, and yet confess the fact that he is in the habit of praying to his ancestors, which are supposed to hover about their tomb. They believed that if the funeral rites were duly performed, the ghost of the deceased would not associate with wild cats and owls, and with evil spirits, but enter on a state of rest or enjoyment. In Radama's tomb were placed a table, two chairs, a bottle of wine and one of water, and two tumblers. They religiously regarded dreams, thinking that the good spirit came and told them in their dreams when to do a thing, or to warn them of some danger.

Burial rites.

Before entering a burial-place to inter a deceased person, the Malagasy used formally to call on each dead member of the family who had been buried there, to say that a relative was to be buried there, and to express the hope that the new-comer might have a good reception. Large quantities of property were deposited in the graves, especially such as the deceased had been attached to. Dishevelled hair, ashes, coarse garments were the outward marks of extreme grief. The hair was torn, the breasts struck, and the deceased was called upon in an impassioned manner.



A BONGO CHIEF'S GRAVE.

CHAPTER III.

Aboriginal Religions of Africa.

The Bushmen—Superstitions—The Hottentots—The Namaqua Heitjeebib—Hottentot superstitions—The Damaras—Reverence for trees—Ideas of the future—The sacred fire—Ill-treatment of the sick—The Bechuanas—Morimo—The Kaffirs—Deities and priests—The East Africans—Mulungu—Return of spirits in dreams—Idols of the Balonda—Witchcraft and trial by ordeal—Beliefs of the Masai—The Congo tribes—Good and evil deities—Fetishism—Forms of fetishes—Witch-burning—Vagueness of African religion—Dreary view of the future—The Gaboon and other West African tribes—Idols of the Mpongwe—Mbwiri worship—View of idol temple—Deities of Mpongwe—Multitudinous fetishes of Congo Tribes—The gold coast tribes—Bulloms and Timmanees—Fanti superstitions—Fetish priests—No word for spirit or apparition—The other world—Removal of the sick—Horrible "medicine"—Interrogation of the deceased—Major Ellis on West African religion—Bobowissi and Tando—Nyankupon a new deity—Srahmantin and Sasabonsum—Local deities—The bohsum or tutelary deities—The family bohsum—The suhman—Alleged coercion of fetishes—The Dahomans—The grand customs—Their object—Deities—Snake-worship of Whydah—Tree and ocean worship—Dahoman fetishes—Head-worship—Initiation of fetish priests—Visiting dead-land—Fetishes as mediators—The Yorubas of Abeokuta—Beliefs—Shango and Oro—Olorun and other deities—Multitudinous impostures.

IN comparing African religions, it will be found that general resemblances are frequent, as amongst the Polynesian islanders, and consequently it would be profitless to repeat details to a wearisome extent. The number of tribes of whom we now have records is so great that it will be impossible to describe more than typical representatives. Some of the older accounts are the best, as representing the state of things when native ideas were less influenced by intercourse with Europeans than they are now. As far as possible the records of those who have lived long among the people have been employed.

THE BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS.

The Bushmen, perhaps the lowest African race, had little or no idea of

a god; but they had a great belief in magic. They ascribed to some evil power all evil that happens, especially rain, cold, and thunder, the latter of which they would violently abuse, shooting poisoned arrows at the lightning or throwing old shoes at it. They had weather-doctors, but did not hold them very sacred, for if one predicted falsely several times in succession, he was thrust out of the kraal, and might be put to death. They held sacred some species of antelope, and a caddisworm to which they prayed for success in hunting.

Superstitions of Bushmen.

The Hottentots have considerably more developed ideas. They seem to have a notion of a supreme deity. "The Namaquas," says Anderson (*Lake Ngami*), "believe in Heitjeebib, whom they consider to have the power to grant or withhold them success or prosperity. But whether Heitjeebib is a deity, a goblin, or merely a deified ancestor, I shall not presume to say. At all events, they affirm he exists in the graves of all deceased people: and whenever a Hottentot passes a burial-place, he invariably throws a stone, a bush, or other token of offering or affection, on the tomb, pronouncing the name of Heitjeebib, and invoking his blessing and protection."

The Namaqua Heitjeebib.

Peter Kolbe, who visited the Cape early in the last century, describes the Hottentots as worshipping an evil deity, the father of mischief, whom they called Tonquoa, and propitiated with offerings of an ox or a sheep. They have also been believed to worship the moon, which has been denied. They had a belief in the immortality of the soul, but not in a state of rewards and punishments after death. They believed that the spirit of the dead haunts the place of death. Sparrman says, writing before 1785, "The Hottentots shake, jolt, pummel, and cuff their dying countrymen, as well as such as are just dead; at the same time shrieking and hallooing in their ears, and casting a world of reproaches on them for dying."

Hottentot superstitions.

The Hottentots elected their priests, who took charge of worship, marriage, and funerals, but strange to say received no fee. They believed in charms, such as teeth and claws of lions and other beasts, and even pieces of wood and bone, roots, etc.

THE DAMARAS AND BECHUANAS.

The Damaras, according to Mr. Francis Galton,[1] have a creed which asserts that in the beginning of things there was a tree, of which came Damaras, Bushmen, oxen, and zebras, and everything living. Several great trees were treated with reverence. Omakuru is a sort of deity who gives or withholds rain. They have a vast number of small superstitions, and believe firmly in witchcraft and amulets. They bring provisions to the grave of a deceased friend, beseeching him to eat, invoking his blessing, and praying to him for success against enemies, abundance of cattle, numerous wives, etc. They believe

Reverence for trees.

Ideas of the future.

[1] "Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa," 1853.

the spirits of the dead appear after death, but seldom in their natural form, usually in the shape of a dog. Yet they do not appear to expect a future state, nor do they give evidence of a notion of right and wrong.

The Damara chiefs are priests, and bless the oxen, and their daughters are priestesses, and have to keep alive the sacred fire, the extinction of which is considered a great misfortune. Expiratory offerings of oxen attend its relighting. **The sacred fire.**

Very few Damaras die a natural death, says Mr. Galton. "A sick person meets with no compassion; he is pushed out of his hut by his relations away from the fire into the cold; they do all they can to expedite his death, and when he appears to be dying, they heap ox-hides over him till he is suffocated." When a poor woman dies, leaving a baby, it is usually buried alive with its mother. **Ill-treatment of the sick.**

The above description answered largely for the Bechuanas before their intercourse with Europeans and with missionaries. They did not practise any form of worship. They called their god Morimo, who was considered cunning and malicious. They never hesitated to express their indignation at any ill experienced, or any wish unaccomplished, by bitter curses; but when they had a good crop, they said he had blessed their fields. Some of their tribes practised divination by means of idols made of wood and clay. The priests are medicine men, and astrologers, and bless the cattle at the commencement of a war. Livingstone gives an account of their prophesying under the influence of frenzy, stamping, leaping, and shouting in a peculiar manner, or beating the ground with a club. **Morimo of the Bechuanas.**

THE KAFFIRS.

Essentially similar is the Kaffir idea of the spirit world. They cannot be said to practise any form of worship. They believe in an invisible god, but do not represent him by an image. Their tradition speaks of a Being whom they call the Great-Great (Unkulunkulu) and the first Appearer or Exister. They also believed in an evil principle. Their ancestor-worship is more definite, combined with a belief that the spirits of their ancestors inhabit serpents, which they reverence greatly. Prosperity is ascribed to the favour of ancestors, misfortune to their anger; and they are believed to watch over their descendants only. Sacrifices of animals are made to them. The Koossas have no priests but enchanters, often old women. Oaths are sworn by Kaffirs, in the name of living or deceased chiefs. Only the chiefs and their wives are buried. The owner of a kraal is buried within it in a sitting posture, with many of his personal possessions. The deceased's assegais are broken or bent, so that the ghost when he returns may do no harm with them. **Kaffir deities and priests.**

THE EAST AFRICANS.

The East Africans, including in that term people up to Zanzibar and

the Equator, may be described as very rudimentary worshippers. Many are said to have "neither god nor devil, nor heaven nor hell, nor soul nor idol." Mulungu is a word applied to a vague superior being, who is variously explained as "thunder," "the sky," "the being that causes diseases," while some believe that every man becomes a Mulungu after death. Sir R. F. Burton says that the sentiment generally extracted from East Africans by a discourse on the subject of a Deity was a desire to see him in order to revenge upon him the deaths of relatives, friends, and cattle. They believe in the return of spirits in dreams, and the good spirits are propitiated by medicines or honoured by offerings of beer and meal, or anything they loved while in the body. A man with headache was heard by Livingstone to say, "My departed father is now scolding me: I feel his power in my head"; and then he removed from the company, making an offering of a little food on a leaf, and praying. It is believed also that the souls of departed chiefs enter into lions and render them sacred.

Mulungu.

Return of spirits in dreams.

The Balonda have idols, among which are human heads fastened on a pole, figures of lions and alligators, made of grass and plastered with clay, etc. To these they make offerings, and ascribe the gift of prophecy.

Idols of the Balonda.

Witchcraft is universally believed in, and trial by ordeal of poison frequently resorted to; and they have the idea that books are the Europeans' instruments of divination. They use bits of wood, horn, knuckle-bones of various animals, etc., which are thrown on the ground, and, according to the way in which they fall, the diviner answers inquiries. In some tribes, if a man is either bitten by an alligator or splashed by his tail, he is expelled from the tribe; and they even pray to these reptiles.

Witchcraft and trial by ordeal.

The Mganga or Mfumo in Eastern Africa is both doctor and priest, diviner, rain-maker or stopper, conjurer, augur, and prophet. "In elephant-hunts," says Burton, "he must throw the first spear and endure the blame if the beast escapes. He aids his tribe by magical arts in wars." He also loads guides with charms.

The Masai, who are not Bantu, but more or less allied to the North Africans, call their vague supreme being Engai, whom they sometimes suppose to dwell on the top of Mount Kilima-njaro. With this being they especially associate rain and grass, and they propitiate him with loud shouting, singing, and dancing. They also have a weaker divinity, a kind of earth-spirit, En-naiter Kob, which they often call upon to mediate with Engai, and obtain the granting of their prayers for rain, success in war, or many male children. They venerate the summits of the great snowy mountains, both Kilima-njaro and Kenia being the residences of these gods and fit places for mediation. After death, the name of a deceased person is never mentioned, lest his spirit should obey the call and return. Yet they have very little fear of or belief in ghosts,

Beliefs of the Masai.

and they mock at the various Bantu people near them for their elaborate propitiation of the ghosts of the departed.[1]

THE CONGO TRIBES.

Passing now to the West Coast about the Congo and the equatorial region, we find ourselves in the very home of fetishism, where the belief in a supreme deity is quite vague or absent, and where even ancestor-worship is not very pronounced. The negroes believe in a good and evil principle, both supposed to reside in the sky, the former sending rain, the latter withdrawing it. They do not believe in a state of retribution, though they have a vague idea of a future state. In Loango the souls of the good are said to go to God; those of the bad appear again, and rustle in the leaves of the bushes.

Good and evil deities.

WORSHIPPING FETISHES, CONGO.

The fetishes are little more than charms. The negroes have a fetish for the wind, against thunder, for sea-fish, for river-fish, against thorns getting into the feet, against wild beasts, to protect from failing health, for good fortune, for clear eyes, for strong legs, for cheap purchases, etc. When a man is about to commit a crime, or do what he feels he ought not to do, he lays aside his fetish and covers it up, so that he may not know.

Fetishism.

It is not at all essential that a fetish should represent a human or animal figure. One common form is a red, round ball of cloth, in which the fetish priest has sewn a strong medicine, generally a vegetable extract. Tuckey describes the village fetishes, above the Yellala Falls, as the figure of a man, the body stuck over with bits of iron, feathers,

Forms of fetishes.

[1] See H. H. Johnson, "The Kilima-njaro Expedition."

old rags, etc., and resembling nothing so much as one of our own scarecrows. Some, however, are made even of buffalo's hair and dirty rags, or of plaited twigs. Certain things are said to be fetished, which reminds one of the tapu of the Polynesian. Children must abstain from certain foods; if they eat of them, they are fetished. Women are fetished for eating meat the same day that it is killed. When a man applies to a Ganga or priest for a domestic fetish, he is instructed from what foods he must abstain.

Witch-burning.

Witch or wizard-burning, according to Mr. Johnson, is very common among the debased tribes of the coast, and the poison-ordeal prevails largely. At Pallaballa, somebody or other is suspected of having caused every death by supernatural means, and the witch-doctor is called upon to detect the guilty person, who, if unable to buy himself off, is compelled to swallow poison, which is either vomited, which means safety, or death takes place. Sometimes neither occurs, and the victim is hacked to pieces or burnt. Epileptic diseases are ascribed to the possession of spirits, and the medicine man professes to work a cure.

The supposed inspiration of their priests is attended with great frenzy. In some parts the priest answers questions in the first person, as if he himself were the god. In most villages are one or two fetish-priests, generally with a group of pupils, who make the fetishes. When a person has died, the relatives will often question him for two or three hours as to why he died. In some parts the bodies of the chiefs are smoked, wrapped in a great quantity of cloth, which is increased as putrefaction goes on; in this condition the bodies are kept for a long time.

Vagueness of African religion.

Sir R. F. Burton[1] has given some interesting general views of African religion. He says, "The missionary returning from Africa is often asked, What is the religion of the people?" If an exact man, he will answer, "I don't know." A missionary of twenty years' standing in West Africa, an able and conscientious student, assured me that during the early part of his career he had given much time to collecting and collating negro traditions and religion. He presently found that no two men thought alike on any single subject. . . . Africans believe not in soul, nor in spirit, but in ghost. They have a material, evanescent, intelligible future; the ghost endures only for a while and perishes. Hence the ignoble dread in East and West Africa of a death which leads to a shadowy world and eventually to utter annihilation.

Dreary view of the future.

Seeing nought beyond the present future, there is no hope for them in the grave; they wail and sorrow with a burden of despair. "Ame-kwisha"—he is finished—is the East African's last word concerning kinsman and friend. "All is done for ever," sing the West Africans. Any allusion to loss of life turns their black skins blue: "Yes," they explain, "it is bad to die, to leave house and home, wife and children; no more to wear soft cloth, nor eat meat, nor 'drink' tobacco or rum." "Never speak of that," the moribund will exclaim with a shudder.

[1] "Two Trips to Gorilla Land and the Cataracts of the Congo."

THE GABOON AND OTHER WEST AFRICAN TRIBES.

The Mpongwe of the Gaboon river, says Burton, have advanced a long step beyond the East Africans. "No longer contented with mere fetishes, the charms in which the dreaded ghost 'sits' or is bound, they have invented idols. . . . In Eastern Africa I know of but one people, the Wanyika, who have certain images called 'Kisukas'; and they declare that this great medicine, never shown to Europeans, came from the West, and Andrew Battel (1600) found idols amongst the people whom he calls Giagas or Jagas, meaning Congoese chiefs. Moreover, the Gaboon pagans lodge their idols. Behind each larger establishment there is a dwarf hut, the miniature of a dwelling-place, carefully closed; I thought these were offices, but Hotaloga Andrews taught me otherwise. He called them in his broken English "compass houses," a literal translation of "Nágo Mbwiri," and sturdily refusing me admittance, left me as wise as before. The reason afterwards proved to be, that 'Ologo, he kill man too much.'

Idols of the Mpongwe.

"I presently found out that he called my pocket-compass 'Mbwiri,' a very vague and comprehensive word. Men talk of the Mbwiri of a tree or a river; it is also applied to a tutelar god; and it means a ghost. In Nágo Mbwiri the sense is, an idol, an object of worship, 'a medicine,' in contradistinction to Munda, a talisman or charm. Every Mpongwe, woman as well as man, has some Mbwiri, to which offerings are made in times of misfortune, sickness, or danger. I afterwards managed to enter one of these rude and embryonal temples so carefully shut. Behind the little door of matting is a tall threshold of board; a bench lines the far end, and in the centre stands 'Ologo,' a rude imitation of a human figure, with a gum torch planted in the ground before it, ready for burnt-offerings. To the walls are suspended sundry mystic implements, especially basins, smeared with red and white chalk-mixture, and wooden crescents decorated with beads and ribbons." During worship certain objects are placed before the image, the supplicant at the same time jangling and shaking the Nchake, a rude beginning of the bell, the gong, the rattle, and the instruments played before idols by more advanced peoples.

Mbwiri worship.

View of idol temple.

The beliefs of the Mpongwe as to higher powers, according to Burton, are mainly these:—1. The First Cause they call Anyambia, a vague being, too high and remote to interfere with human affairs, not addressed in prayer, nor represented in human form, nor lodged in temples. 2. Subordinate to Anyambia is Mbwiri, the good god, and Onyambe, the bad spirit, whose name is never mentioned but with bated breath. "They have not only fear of, but also a higher respect for, him than for the giver of good, so difficult is it for the child-man's mind to connect the ideas of benignity and power." 3. Ovengwá is a vampire, the apparition of a dead man, tall as a tree, always winking and clearly seen, which is not the case with Ibambo and Ilogo, the plurals Obambo and Ologo. There are vulgar ghosts of the departed, the causes of possession, disease and death, everywhere worshipped and propitiated in private.

Deities of Mpongwe.

The superstitions of the Congo country have also been well described by Burton. "Every house is stuck inside and outside with idols and fetishes, each having its own jurisdiction over lightning, wind, and rain; some act as scarecrows; others teach magic, avert evils, preserve health and sight, protect cattle, and command fish in the sea and river. They are in all manner of shapes, strings of mucuna and poison-beans; carved images stuck over with feathers and tassels; padlocks with a cowrie or a mirror set in them; horns full of mysterious medicine; iron-tipped poles, bones, birds' beaks and talons, skins of snakes and leopards, and so forth. No man walks abroad without his protecting charms, Nkisi or Nkizi, slung or hanging from the shoulder; these are prophylactics against every evil to which man's frailty is heir. Like the idols, these talismans avert ill-luck, bachelorhood, childlessness, poverty, and ill-health; they are equally powerful against the machinations of foes, natural or supernatural, against wild beasts, the crocodile, the snake and the leopard, and against wounds of lead and steel. They can produce transformation and destroy enemies, cause rain or drought, fine or foul weather, raise and humble, enrich and impoverish countries, and above all things, they are sovereign to make man brave in battle."

Multitudinous fetishes of Congo tribes.

THE GOLD-COAST TRIBES.

The Bulloms and Timmanees near Sierra Leone believed in superior and inferior spirits, the former inhabiting chiefly the deepest recesses of the forests. Remarkable natural objects, such as very large and venerable trees, rocks of peculiar form rising in the midst of rivers, etc., were dedicated to these. Before they began to sow their plantations they would sacrifice some animal to these spirits, to beg that their crop might abound; for if this were neglected, they were persuaded nothing would grow there. The inferior spirits were said to reside in the outskirts or even within the villages. Every person was supposed to have one of them as his tutelary spirit, to which he never sacrificed except in case of sickness.

Bulloms and Timmanees.

In addition to remarkable natural objects, the Fantis regarded lakes as well as rivers with veneration. Numerous animals and serpents were considered as messengers of the spirits or as incarnations of them. In some places the crocodile is worshipped; in one a number of flies are carefully preserved in a small temple and honoured as fetishes. Arbitrary forms are added to the vast variety of imitations, and covered with red ochre and eggs look sufficiently appalling.

Fanti superstitions.

The fetish priests on the Gold Coast, as in other quarters, are applied to in almost every concern of life—to detect thefts and all social misdeeds, to avert misfortune, to procure blessings, and to reveal future events. As soon as a child is born the priest is sent for to bind it up, as a protection against sickness and other evils. Ventriloquism is regularly used by them as a means of maintaining their influence.

Fetish priests.

Here as elsewhere the ancestor-spirits are extensively worshipped with

sacrifices and libations. Clay figures of departed chiefs are placed in groups under the village tree. The Bulloms and Timmanees, according to Winterbottom, had no fixed opinion respecting a future state, and did not believe that the spirits of their deceased friends returned to visit their former abodes, nor had they any word in their language to express "spirit" or "apparition." According to Bosman, writing at the beginning of the last century, the Gold-Coast natives believed that immediately after death people went to another world, where they lived in the same character as here, and made use of all the offerings made by their friends and relations to them after death. They had little or no idea of future rewards and punishments. They attributed disease to the displeasure of the fetish, the malice of evil spirits, the incantation of some wizard, or the uneasiness of the spirit of some deceased relation, whose obsequies perhaps had not been properly performed. Among the Bulloms and Timmanees, when any person of consequence fell sick, he was immediately removed from his home to a town at some distance, where the witchcraft which caused his illness was supposed to be ineffectual. If recovery did not take place soon, a hut was built in a deep recess of a forest, whither he was carried, and the place of his retreat was kept a close secret.

No word for spirit or apparition.

The other world.

Removal of the sick.

The Ashanti fetishmen before a war make a mixture of hearts of enemies, blood, and consecrated herbs. "All who have never before killed an enemy," says Beecham,[1] "eat of the preparation; it being believed that if they did not, their energy would be secretly wasted by the haunting spirits of their deceased foes."

Horrible "medicine."

Sometimes a dead man's body is questioned by his neighbours as to the cause of his death; sometimes he is reproached for leaving his friends; sometimes his spirit is besought to watch over them and protect them from evil. Up to recent periods a chief's death was followed by the slaughter of many of his slaves, and not unfrequently of his wives and friends, so that he might not be unattended in his new existence. "At the end of the funeral customs," says Burton, "especially in the Old Calabar River, a small house is built upon the beach, and in it are placed the valuables possessed by the deceased, together with a bed, that the ghost may not sleep upon the floor, and a quantity of food upon the table."

Interrogation of the deceased.

Major Ellis has given an admirable account of the religious ideas and practices of the Gold Coast tribes speaking the Tshi group of languages, of whom the Fantis are the chief.[2] His view is, that in these tribes religion is not connected with morals as we understand them. Sin to their minds means insult to or neglect of the gods; while murder, theft, etc., are matters in which the gods take no interest, unless persuaded to do so in the interest of a faithful worshipper. The belief in the malevolent spirits of nature is strongly promoted by the priests and

Major Ellis on West African religion.

[1] "Ashanti and the Gold Coast."

[2] "The Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa." By A. B. Ellis. 1887.

priestesses for their own gain. "They frequently talk about them and profess to have met them. They introduce their imaginary meetings with the local gods, artfully and without apparent design, into general conversations. . . . Every misfortune proceeds from and can only be averted by the gods; nothing remains for man to do but to propitiate them."

Bobowissi and Tando.

Till the appearance of Europeans on the Gold Coast only two general deities were worshipped, one, Bobowissi, by the southern, and the other, Tando, by the northern tribes. These were believed to have appointed all the local deities. A yearly feast, with human sacrifices, was held in their honour; and their stool, or local symbol of authority, was washed in human blood. At a later date these people adopted a new god, with characteristics derived from intercourse with Europeans, namely, Nana-nyankupon (Lord of the sky), superior to Bobowissi, but too distant from mortals to interfere directly in their affairs; but he was especially considered to be the author of the dread disease, small-pox, introduced by the Europeans. He has, however, no special worship. In time of war, and when travelling, Bobowissi is still invoked, and sheep instead of human beings are sacrificed to him.

Nyankupon, a new deity.

Srahmantin and Sasabonsum.

Srahmantin and Sasabonsum are deities intermediate between the general and the local deities; or rather, they are names for a class of deities, but are believed in each locality to designate individual deities. The former, a female deity, always lives among the huge silk-cotton trees; the latter may also be found in hills or forests where the soil is red; both are malignant. Indeed, Sasabonsum is the most malignant of all the gods, and waylays and eats solitary travellers. Once angered, even unintentionally, he can never be propitiated. Red soil is his special abode, the colour being caused by the blood of the victims he has destroyed. Originally human victims were offered to him, but within European influence a sheep is now the offering. He is also an earthquake god; and in Ashanti several persons are always put to death after an earthquake as a sacrifice to Sasabonsum and in hope of satiating his cruelty for the time. "In 1881 a slight earthquake shock threw down a portion of the wall of the king's residence in Coomassie. The king, Mensah, consulted the priests as to what should be done, and the latter declared that the damage was the act of Sasabonsum, and that the ruined portion must be rebuilt of mud (*swish*) moistened with the blood of virgins. Fifty young girls were accordingly slaughtered, and the wall was rebuilt with *swish* kneaded in their blood." Srahmantin also waylays solitary travellers, but does not eat them; they are supposed to be kept by her for four or five months, learning the mysteries of her worship, when they are returned to mankind as fully qualified priests or priestesses of the deity.

Local deities.

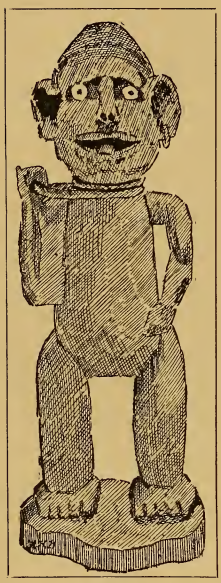
The multitude of local deities, termed Bohsum, apparently meaning "producer of calamities," is so great that we cannot mention them in any detail. It is evident to residents on the Gold Coast that their malignity has diminished in proportion to the spread of European influence; but beyond that area human sacrifices and licentious and cruel practices

WITCH DOCTOR CURING WITCHCRAFT, CONGO.

continue in undiminished strength. Various days are sacred to local gods, and the priests are ready, for a sufficient consideration, to use their influence to gain for any individual the objects he may desire, or to avenge any injury or wrong done to him. It is the height of sacrilege to cut down a bush or a tree, or disturb the soil where a local deity resides, and such insult is often visited with death. Each god assists the people in his own manner: a war-god by stimulating their courage and destroying the enemy; a god of pestilence by sending an epidemic among the enemy; a river-god by obstructing the passage of the enemy, or overwhelming him when crossing the stream.

The name Bohsum is also given to the tutelary deity of particular communities of people, town or market companies, or families; and these are supposed to be appointed by the local deities through the agency of a priest. While the local deities dwell in their own local dwelling-places,—in forest, hill, river, or sea,—they sometimes enter the images which are their symbols; but with regard to the Bohsums, they have their ordinary dwelling-place in certain material objects assigned by the local deities through the priests. It is to these objects that the term fetish (see p. 10) is generally applied, as well as to the Suhman of p. 55.

The Bohsum, or tutelary deities.



WEST AFRICAN FETISH.
(With a rope round its neck, as if hanged.)

The following is, in brief, Major Ellis's account of the mode of obtaining such an object at the present time. When a new town-company is formed, its members go to the priest of a local deity with presents, and acquaint him with their wishes. If their gifts are satisfactory, he goes with them to the abode of the local deity, with which he communicates by mysterious sounds and ceremonies. On a day appointed for receiving an answer, the priest performs a weird dance, foams at the mouth, rolls his eyes, and utters strange sounds, as if possessed by the local god. He lets fall certain words which are the god's instructions to go to a certain place and take from it a stone or some earth, or to make a wooden figure from the wood of a certain tree. Having carried out these instructions and poured some rum on to the ground, he takes the object, which is now believed to be the abode of a deity (Bohsum), to some spot near where the majority of the company live, and places it on the ground. Branches from some neighbouring tree are planted round it, and the whole is enclosed with a palm-stick fence. These branches become what are often termed fetish-trees, and supposed to be worshipped. When such a tree falls or is blown down, the company or the market is believed to have lost the protection of its deity owing to some offence given to him; and, on application to a priest, the offence is atoned for by ceremonies, and a new dwelling-place for the god is constructed. Very similar proceed-

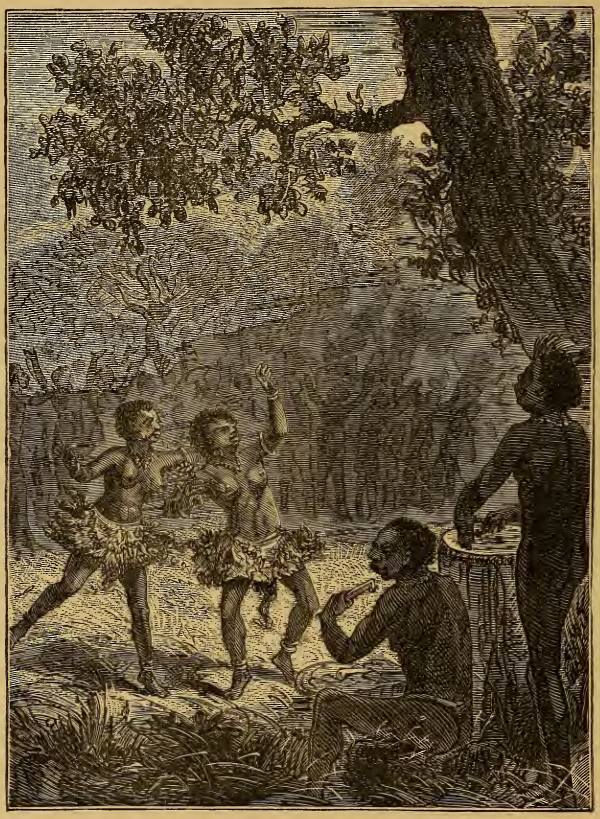
ings take place in relation to the guardian deities of towns and families, although, in the latter case, a dream often furnishes guidance as to the object to be selected as the abode of the deity.

If a family should be visited with persistent ill-luck, sometimes the priests put the Bohsum to the test by fire; if it is unconsumed, it is considered to be genuine, and entitled to renewed gifts; if it is even slightly injured by the fire, it is thrown aside, and a new one must be chosen. The head of the family looks after the Bohsum's wants, and its festival is held on appointed days, when all wear white, either cloth or paint, and appropriate offerings are made. The family Bohsum.

But individuals also have their special deities, termed "Suhman," each of these being a subordinate spirit belonging to Sasabonsum, obtainable by the individual for himself without a priest. The chief function of these is to destroy persons who have injured or offended the individual. To get a Suhman, a man goes into a dark forest recess where a local Sasabonsum resides, and, after pouring a little rum on the ground, he cuts a small branch from a tree and carves it into a rough resemblance to a human figure, or he takes a stone and binds it round with fibres (vascular bundles) of bamboos, or he takes the root of a plant or some red earth and makes it into a paste with blood or rum, putting it into a little pan and sticking the red tail-feathers of a parrot into it. He then calls upon a spirit of Sasabonsum to enter it, promising to pay it due reverence. It is then said that he picks some leaves and squeezes their juice upon the object, saying, "Eat this, and speak." Then, if a spirit has entered it, a low hissing noise is heard. He then obtains answers in the same way to several questions as to how the Suhman is to be kept and treated. But if after all this the man finds that things do not go well with him, he concludes that a spirit did not enter the object, and he throws it away, but not until he has made an offering to it in case it should be angry. It is, however, an exceptional thing for natives to have these Suhmans, and those who have them are much dreaded, being supposed to be able to procure the death of those who offend them. This account supports Mr. Ellis's statement, "that the belief that the negroes of the Gold Coast take at random any ordinary object and invest it with the character of a god is entirely without foundation. . . . The indwelling god cannot be lost sight of, because he so frequently manifests himself by leaving the object in which he ordinarily dwells and entering the body of a priest. . . . The negroes of the Gold Coast are always conscious that their offerings and worship are not paid to the inanimate object itself, but to the indwelling god; and every native with whom I have conversed upon the subject has laughed at the possibility of it being supposed that he could worship or offer sacrifice to some such object as a stone." It may be thought by some that it is immaterial to distinguish between worship of an idol as a material object and worship of a spirit which has taken up more or less permanent abode in such an object. But besides the paramount necessity for accuracy, it will appear to most candid students that there is all the difference in the world between worship of a material The Suhman.

object and worship of a spirit, however limited or degraded or evil in its results the belief may be. There has been too much tendency in the past to estimate uncivilised peoples by their supposed low position as worshippers of inanimate objects selected at random.

Major Ellis is also satisfied that the natives of the Gold Coast never



MOON DANCE, CENTRAL AFRICA.

think they can coerce their gods, nor attempt to do so. It is by propitiation and flattery, and promises of offerings and worship that the deities are believed to be influenced; and the natives so implicitly believe in the superhuman power of their gods, and hold them generally in such awe, that they would expect a terrible calamity to follow any ill-treatment even of the Bohsum or Suhman. In other respects the religion of the Gold Coast has a marked resemblance to the animism of other races.

Alleged coercion of fetishes.

THE DAHOMANS.

The extreme instance of human sacrifice as connected with religion at the present day is to be found in Dahomey. Extraordinary as it may appear, the horrible and frequent massacres which still exist in Dahomey, to the disgrace of mankind, are really manifestations of filial piety. The Dahoman sovereign must enter Dead-land with royal state, accompanied by a ghostly court of leopard wives, head wives, birthday wives, Afa wives, eunuchs, singers, drummers, king's devils, band, and soldiers. This is the object of the "Grand Customs," when the victims may amount to five hundred. Every year, however, the firstfruits of war and all criminals must be sent to join the king's retinue, and this accounts for the annual customs. However trivial an action is done by the king, such as inventing a new drum, being visited by a white man, or even removing from one palace to another, it must be dutifully reported by some male or female messenger (slain) to the paternal ghost. The king of Dahomey on a certain day cut off the heads of four men, a deer, and a monkey. One man was to go to all the markets and tell all the spirits what the king was about to make for his father; the second was to go to all the waters and tell all the animals there; the third to all the roads and tell all the spirit-travellers; the fourth to the firmament and tell all the hosts there; the deer was to go to the forests and tell the beasts; the monkey to go to all the swamps and climb the trees and tell all the animals there. A man had been previously killed at the late king's tomb to carry the message to him.

The grand customs.

Object of the customs.

The supreme deity of the Dahomans is Mau, "the unknown god." Mau is also the moon, a feminine principle which, in conjunction with Lisa or Se, a male spirit, representing the sun, made man. Mau is too high to care for man, and is neither feared nor loved; yet it is believed that he can be influenced by the intercession of many fetishes or worshipped objects. All kinds of natural objects are among these. A man about to undertake anything new seeks supernatural aid, and, it is said, often takes the first object, bird or beast, stock or stone, seen in the morning on leaving his house, and makes it his fetish. If he is successful, it is worshipped; if not, better help is sought. Mau is said to have an assistant who records the good or evil deeds of every person by means of a stick, the good being notched at one end, the bad at the other. When any one dies, his body is judged by the balance between the two ends of the stick. If the good preponderates, it is permitted to join the spirit in Dead-land; but if the evil outweighs the good, it is utterly destroyed and a new body created for the spirit.[1]

Deities of Dahomans.

The source of much of the Dahoman religion has been the little kingdom of Whydah. We have a record of their religion dating as far back as 1700, when Bosman wrote. They had then three orders of gods, the first the Danh-ghwe, a python, the supreme

Snake worship of Whydah.

[1] J. A. Skertchly: "Dahomey as it Is."

bliss and general good, with a thousand snake-wives or priests of both sexes; its influence cannot be meddled with by the other orders, which are subject to it. Formerly, whoever killed one of these pythons was put to death. This snake is believed to be almost omnipotent in procuring the welfare of its devotees, and no important undertaking is begun without sacrificing to it. A number of living pythons are kept in the snake-house in every considerable village. The worshipper goes to the snake-house and pays his fee to the priest, who assures him that his prayer shall be heard. The second order, the Atin-bodun, is represented by various lofty and beautiful trees, especially the silk-cotton (Bombax), and the Loko or poison tree. They are believed to be able to cure and avert diseases. The third in order of the gods is Hu, the ocean, whose priest is a great dignitary at Whydah, and at stated times repairs to the beach to beg the sea-god not to be boisterous, and throws in rice, corn, oil, beans, cloth, etc. Sometimes the king sends as a sacrifice a man in a hammock with a special dress, stool, and umbrella; he is taken out to sea and thrown to the sharks. This system of deities is now established at Dahomey, with a fourth, "So," the thunder-fetish, who has a thousand "wives" or priests.

Tree and ocean worship.

Burton has given a list of some of the very numerous spirits and fetishes he found powerful in Dahomey.[1] Afa is the messenger of fetishes and of deceased friends. Its priests are called Bukonos. The people say, "The priest who is most cunning takes to Afa," meaning that it pays best; consequently Bukonos swarm. When Afa predicts evil, the following ceremony must be gone through. A mat is spread on some ground cleared near the house or in the bush, and a peg is driven through the mat. The priest taps a small cymbal with an iron rod, while the worshipper pours upon the wood first water, and then the blood of a fowl, the body of which is then handed to the priest. The leopard, the crocodile, and the hippopotamus are of course included; but among the most interesting are Kpate, the first Whydah man who brought a ship to anchor by waving a cloth tied to a long pole, and led the captain into the town; and Aizan, one of the street gods, which protect the market and the gate, a cone of clay with a pipkin or a stone at the top or base, on which consecrated offerings are placed.

Dahoman fetishes.

The Dahomans also worship their own heads, in order to procure good fortune. The worshipper, after providing a fowl and other offerings, bathes, dresses in pure white, and sits on a clean mat. Then an old woman, with the tip of her middle finger dipped in water, touches successively his forehead, crown, neck, and breast. She then breaks a Kola fruit into its natural divisions, throws them down like dice, chooses a lucky piece, which she causes a bystander to chew, and with his saliva retouches the same parts as before. The fowl is then killed and boiled, its head and other parts being touched both before and after. Meanwhile rum and water are drunk by those present.

Head worship.

[1] "A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome."

The adoption of the fetish-priest profession is, usually attended by an ecstasy, during which the candidate rushes in distraction to the idol and falls fainting to the ground. When he recovers, the chief priest informs him what fetish has come to him, and this is adopted for life. He removes to the priests' quarter and by degrees learns the special passwords and the ceremonies of fetishism. After two or three years, he is brought home by his relatives, who make large offerings to the fetish priests. Many retain ordinary callings, but they have many privileges.

Initiation of fetish-priests.

One of the most peculiar ideas of the Dahomans is that the next world is their home, while this is only their plantation, and the only world in which rewards and punishments exist. It is even pretended that the fetish-priests can visit it. A man, when sick, often believes himself summoned by some ancestral ghost. He consults certain priests, such as those of the small-pox or the poison tree, and pays a fee for him to descend to Dead-land and get him excused. The priest covers himself with a cloth, and after a trance reports that he found the ghosts eating, drinking, and merry-making. According to Skertchly, another singular belief is that of the possibility of the same spirit being in more than one place at the same time. This was exemplified in the So-Sin custom, where Gézu's ghost was in his shed, on his war-stool, and in his own fetish-priestess at the same time. Again, a ghost will sometimes remain in Dead-land and at the same time come back to earth in a new-born infant; so nearly all the king's children are regarded as the spirits of the old kings. Their mind does not grasp the idea of a god incorporeal and omnipresent; so the deity must be worshipped through a mediator in a tangible form. "Their religion must not be confounded with polytheism, for they only worship one god, Mau; but propitiate him through the intervention of fetishes, who are not inferior deities, but only beings of an intermediate order, who have powerful influence for good or evil with Mau.

Visiting Dead-land.

Fetishes as mediators.

THE YORUBAS OF ABEOKUTA.

At Abeokuta, where another large branch of the Yorubas is settled, Burton found certain points of belief settled, others very variable. Before two days' residence in the city, he says, you hear of Shango and Oro. The latter personifies the executive power, or public police, deified, or "punishment." When a criminal is killed, he is "given to Oro." He is supposed to haunt the woods, and to appear nightly to strike terror. Women must fly within doors at the sound of his name in the streets, under penalty of a violent death. Shango is derived doubtless from an ancestor. He went alive to heaven, where he reigns, hunts, fishes, and fights. Whole series of relations are assigned to him; he is the deity of thunder, lightning, and fire, and favours the good, especially hunters, fishermen, and warriors.

Beliefs in Abeokuta.

Shango and Oro.

The Creator is called Olorun, meaning lord of the sky. Though his

personality is vague, the Egbas say, "Olorun bless you," "Olorun give you children, farms, cowries," "Olorun aku," salutation to God. They talk of seeing him after death. It is doubtful, however, whether some of these ideas may not have sprung from contact with Mussulmans. Among the subordinate deities Obatala is chief, who created the first man; Afa is the revealer of futurity and the patron of marriage and childbirth; Ogun is the god of blacksmiths and armourers, of hunters and warriors. The worshipper's own head is adored as "Ori"; also the foot, when proceeding on a journey. Oriskako is the patron of farms. Eshu is an evil being, meaning "the rejected," often identified with the Hebrew devil. Egugun, meaning "bones," is supposed to be a dead man risen from the grave. He is, however, an imposture, intended to terrify slaves, women, and children—like the Mumbo-Jumbo of Bonny. To these, as being palpable impostures, we cannot devote space, nor to the infinite variety of sorceries which only furnish examples of one world-wide subject. Beginning in a simple awe of unknown powers, and a tendency to believe those who imagined or professed that they knew their secrets, they have branched into all the variety of forms of imposture and quackery; and when we know one, we know all, though we may be perpetually astonished at the depth of human credulity.

Olorun and other deities.

Multitudinous impostures.

A large number of the peoples of the Soudan and of Northern Africa have been converted to Mahometanism. Little is known of their primordial religion, or of the present beliefs of those who are not Mahometans. But it appears that many of them have beliefs similar to those held on the West Coast of Africa, while others have no religious beliefs at all. The illustration which heads this chapter represents a series of wooden figures, life-size, seen by Schweinfurth, erected over the grave of a Bongo chief. Roughly carved, they depict the chief followed in procession by his wives and children.

Many of the races visited by Schweinfurth, west of the Upper Nile, appeared to have little or no religion. The Niam-niam always take an augury before commencing anything important, by rubbing a smooth block of wood upon a smooth stool, the surfaces being moistened with a drop or two of water. The undertaking will prosper if the wood glides easily along. Many forms of ordeal are also in vogue. The forest is supposed to be the abode of malignant spirits, which talk to one another in the rustling of the leaves.

MANDAN PLACE OF SKULLS.

CHAPTER IV.

Aboriginal Religions of America.

Beliefs of the Eskimo—The Angakoks—Witchcraft—North American Indians—General religious ideas—Gods of the Iroquois—The Creek Indians—The Haidahs—The Nootkas—Californian tribes—The Dakotas—Wakan—The Onkteri—Sacrifices—Various deities—Powers of the Wakan men—Manetos, or guardian spirits—Totems—Duality of the soul—The Happy Hunting Grounds—Sacrifices of dogs—The cold hell of the Mandans—Beliefs about the future—Festivals of the Iroquois—Creek festivals of firstfruits—Funeral customs—A circle of skulls—Funeral rites of the Creeks—Burial among the Comanches—The Central Americans—The Aztec religion—Teocallis or temples—Prayers—Burial of a king—Religion of the Mayas and Quichés—The South Americans—The Indians of Guiana—The spirit-world—Existence after death—Ideas of heaven—Powers of spirits—The Indians' worship—The Kenaima or vengeance-taker—The peaiman or medicine man—Burial customs—Beliefs of Brazilian tribes—The Uaupés—The Araucanian deities—The future state—The gods of the Patagonians—The wanderers without—A diviner's performance—Funeral rites and mourning—Burying the skeletons—Fuegian good and bad spirits—The Incas children of the Sun—The gods of the Peruvians—Temples—Sacrifices—Human offerings—The priesthood—Festivals—The Virgins of the Sun—Moral inquisition—The future life.—The Chibehas.

THE ESKIMO.

MANY of the beliefs attributed to the Eskimo, as also to the American Indians, bear signs of having been developed since Europeans introduced their religious beliefs; and it is not easy to be certain that we have ascertained the genuine aboriginal beliefs. Dr. Rink is the most satisfactory investigator of the Eskimo, especially those of Greenland. He concludes that the primitive Eskimo did not speculate as to the origin of the world, but had an animistic religion, recognising the separate existence of the soul after death. They believed in nature-powers or owners, each having defined limits. These powers are known as inuas, and the inuas of certain mountains or lakes, of physical strength, and of eating, were spoken of. The earth was believed to rest upon pillars, and the underworld, warm and rich in food, was the heaven of the Eskimo, while the upper-world, beyond the blue sky, cold and deficient in food, was dreaded as a dreary residence. The only approach to a supreme ruler was in the

Beliefs of the Eskimo.

idea of *tornarsuk*, the power which was appealed to by the angakoks, or wizards, to enable them to influence the invisible powers.

It is remarkable how great a resemblance there is between the shamans of Siberia and the angakoks of the Eskimo. The latter are trained by older angakoks from infancy, and subsequently disciplined by fasting and invoking Tornarsuk in solitary places; finally Tornarsuk appears and provides the novice with a tornak, or guardian spirit, whom he may call to his aid at any time. Later, the angakok was said to gain control over many tornaks, including inuas of land and sea, the souls of the dead, or of animals. To aid their followers, they used simple medical arts, also summoned their tornaks, and pretended to do many extraordinary things, such as repairing a soul, divining and conjuring. The intercourse with the tornak was held in a dark house in the presence of auditors. "The angakok was tied with his hands behind his back, and his head between his legs, and thus placed on the floor beside a drum and a suspended skin, the rattling of which was to accompany the playing of the drum. The auditors then began a song, which, being finished, the angakok proceeded to invoke the tornak, accompanying his voice by the skin and the drum. The arrival of the tornak was known by a peculiar sound and the appearance of a light or fire. If only information or counsel were required, the question was heard, as well as the answering voice from without, the latter generally being somewhat ambiguous." Sometimes the angakok made a spirit flight through a hole which was said to appear of itself in the roof, in order to accomplish what was necessary. The angakok gave counsel in all cases involving knowledge beyond that of humanity in general, discovered the causes of disasters and the fate of missing persons, procured favourable weather and success in hunting, and consoled the dying if their death appeared inevitable. No doubt, while upholding superstition, the angakoks possessed most of the higher knowledge and intellect of the people.

The Angakoks.

Witchcraft, counteracting the influence of the angakoks, and perhaps believed to depend upon an evil power opposed to Tornarsuk, was practised as a means of selfish gain or of procuring the injury of others, by people who for the most part kept their actions in the background, concealed from the angakoks. Magic spells, sorcery, and various parts of human or animal bodies, were made use of by these persons. The angakoks also used certain recognised spells and invocations sung with particular tunes; these were supposed to have power of themselves, and were sometimes expressly addressed to the souls of ancestors. These invocations were chiefly practised by old men. Amulets and charms were in full use; but a rather distinctive feature of the Eskimo was the art of making artificial animals, which were secretly made and then sent out to destroy the maker's enemies.

Witchcraft.

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The multiplicity of tribes in both North and South America is so great and the resemblances among their beliefs are so clear, that it is necessary

to a large extent to group them. The main features of their religious beliefs can be shortly stated. They had a belief in beneficent divinities in all nature, but it is doubtful whether the idea of a single personal divinity had been developed by them previous to intercourse with Europeans. The number of spirits they believed in was practically unlimited. Communication with them was in the hands of medicine-men, who, while possessing such knowledge as had been handed down from generation to generation, were also to a large extent conjurors and magicians, and professed to possess the power of bringing on rain and storms, as well as the gifts of second sight and of prophecy. General religious ideas.

The Iroquois may be taken as types. They appear to have believed in one supreme good spirit, who not only created the world, but adapted all creation to the wants of man. They also believed in an evil spirit, brother of the good, and also eternal, and having some creative power. Thus he created all monsters, poisonous reptiles, and noxious plants. They also recognised inferior beings, good and evil, believed to be subordinate to the great spirits. To these latter they made offerings. "To propitiate the god of the waters," says Charlevoix, "they cast into the streams and lakes tobacco, and birds which they have put to death. In honour of the sun, and also of inferior spirits, they consume in the fire a part of everything they use. On some occasions they have been observed to make libations, invoking at the same time, in a mysterious manner, the object of their worship. These invocations they have never explained,—whether it be that they have, in fact, no meaning, or that the words have been transmitted by tradition, unaccompanied by their signification, or that the Indians themselves are unwilling to reveal the secret. Strings of wampum, tobacco, ears of corn, the skins and often the whole carcases of animals, are seen along difficult or dangerous roads, or rocks, and on the shores of rapids, as so many offerings made to the presiding spirit of the place. In these cases, dogs are the most common victims, and are often suspended alive upon trees by the hinder feet, where they are left to die in a state of madness." Gods of the Iroquois.

Most natural objects were in care of or inhabited by a spirit. Corn, squashes, and beans were regarded as a special gift of the great spirit, and were each in the care of a separate spirit, having the form of a beautiful female. These three were very fond of each other and loved to dwell together.

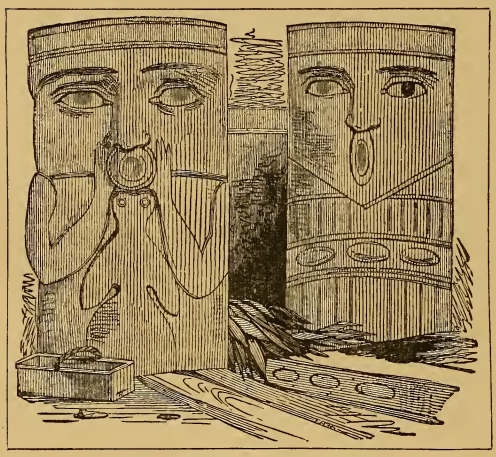
The Creek Indians believe in a good spirit whom they style god or Master of Breath; and, in a bad spirit, the sorcerer. The good spirit, they say, inhabits some distant region where game is abundant, corn grows all the year round, and the springs are never dried up. The bad spirit, on the other hand, lives a great way off in a dismal swamp full of briars, and usually half-starved, having no game or bears' oil in all his territory. Droughts, floods, famines, and defeats are ascribed to the bad spirit. The Creek Indians.

The Northern Indians, stretching across the Canadian Dominion, present

a considerable contrast. They appear to have little idea of a single supreme being, but they believe in good and bad spirits peopling earth, sea, and air. They do not reverence or respect these spirits, but propitiate them occasionally.

The Haidahs. The Haidahs of Queen Charlotte's Islands and adjacent mainland believe in a great sun-spirit who is creator and supreme ruler. They have no form of worship, and do not appear to regard themselves as responsible for their actions to the great spirit. They also believe in an evil spirit.

The Nootkas. The Nootkas, or tribes of Vancouver Island and its opposite main, says H. H. Bancroft in his great work, "The Native Races of the Pacific States," acknowledge a great personage called Quabootze, whose habitation is apparently in the sky, but of whose nature little is known. When a storm begins to rage dangerously, the Nootkas climb to the top of their houses, and looking upwards to this great god, they beat drums and chant, and call upon his name, imploring him to still the tempest. They fast, as something agreeable to the same deity, before setting out on the hunt, and, if their success warrant it, hold a feast in his honour after their return. This festival is held usually in December, and it was formerly the custom to finish it with a human sacrifice. . . . Matlose is a famous hobgoblin of the Nootkas; he is a very Caliban of spirits; his head is like the head of something that might have been a man but is not; his uncouth bulk is horrid with black bristles; his monstrous teeth and nails are like the fangs and claws of a bear. Whoever hears his terrible voice falls like one smitten, and his curved claws rend his prey into morsels with a single stroke."



CARVED IMAGES OF NOOTKA INDIANS.

In common with other American Indians, the Nootkas have a tradition of a supernatural teacher and benefactor who came up Nootka Sound long ago in a canoe of copper, with copper paddles. He is said to have instructed the people, told them that he came from the sky, that their country would ultimately be destroyed, and they would die; but that after death they would rise again and live with him above. In anger they rose up and slew him; but they retain large wooden images representing him. They also believe in numberless spirits.

The Californian tribes, taken as a whole, according to Bancroft, are pretty uniform in their religious beliefs. "They seem, without exception, to have had a hazy conception of a lofty, almost supreme, king, for the most part referred to as a Great Man, the Old Man Above, the One above, attributing to him, however, nothing but the vaguest and most negative functions and qualities." But they were most interested in the powers of a demon, or body of demons, wholly bad, and working all evil things. Californian tribes.

The beliefs of the Dakotas of Minnesota have been carefully described by the Rev. G. H. Pond.[1] Their most prominent characteristic is that which they express by the word *wakan*. This word signifies anything they cannot comprehend. Whatever is wonderful, mysterious, superhuman, or supernatural is *wakan*. The generic name for gods is *Tahu-wakan*, *i.e.* that which is *wakan*. There is nothing which they do not revere as god. The only difference they make is that some things are *wakan* to a greater or less degree. Mr. Pond does not believe that the Dakotas ever distinguished the great spirit from others till they learned it from their intercourse with white men. They have no chants, feasts, dances, nor sacrificial rites referring to such a being. It is true they sometimes appeal to the great spirit in council with white men, but it is as the being whom the white man worships. The Dakotas. Wakan.

All the gods of the Dakotas are mortal and propagate their kind. Their Onkteri resemble the ox on a large scale, and can instantly extend their tail and horns so as to reach the sky, the seat of their power. The earth is believed to be animated by the spirit of the female Onkteri, while the water, and the earth beneath the water, is the abode of the male god. They call water, in a religious address to it, grandfather, and the earth grandmother. The Onkteri, like all their other gods, have power to issue from their bodies a mighty *wakan* influence called *tonwan*, signifying a god's arrow. The Onkteri.

The sacrifices which the Onkteri require are the down of the female swan and of the goose, dyed scarlet, white cotton cloth, deerskins, tobacco, dogs, *wakan* feasts and dances. Subordinate to the Onkteri are the serpent, lizard, frog, leech, owl, eagle, fish, spirits of the dead, etc. These gods made the earth and man, instituted the medicine-dance, prescribed the manner in which earth-paints must be applied, which have a *wakan* virtue to protect life, and are often worn by the warrior for this purpose on the field of battle. Among all the Dakota deities, the Onkteri are the most respected. Sacrifices.

The Wakinyan are the gods of thunder, but the name signifies "flyers," and they are represented as having numerous winged forms. They are ruthless and destructive, caring for no other beings, and especially hating the Onkteri, who return the hatred. It is believed that neither group can resist the *tonwan* of each other's *wakan;* and it is unsafe for them to cross each other's track. The Wakinyan are the Dakotas' chief war-gods, from whom they received the spear and tomahawk.

[1] Schoolcraft: "Indian Tribes of the United States," Part VI.

Another god has a long name signifying "that which stirs." He is invisible and omnipresent, but very cunning and passionate, and controlling both mind and instinct. He resides in the consecrated spear and tomahawk, in boulders (which are universally venerated by the Dakotas), and in the four winds. He is never better pleased than when men fall in battle, and the converse. Subject to this god, are the buzzard, raven, fox, wolf, and other fierce and cunning animals. Other forms of gods, as the Heyoka, aid men in gratifying their desires, in the chase, in inflicting diseases, in restoring health. They express joy by sighs and groans, and sorrow by laughter; they shiver when warm, and pant and perspire when cold; they feel perfect assurance in danger, and are terrified when safe; falsehood to them is truth, and truth falsehood; good is their evil, and evil their good.

Various deities.

Turning now to the powers claimed by or believed to reside in the Dakota priests or *wakan* men, we may say, comprehensively, that they include all that is ascribed to the gods. They are believed to pass through a succession of inspirations with different classes of divinities till they are fully *wakanized* and prepared for human incarnation. They have imbibed their spirit, and learnt all the chants, rites, and dances required by the gods; they are supposed to be taught how to inflict diseases and heal them, to manufacture weapons and impart to them the *tonwan* power of the gods, and to apply paints so as to protect from enemies. To establish their claims, these men and women lay hold of all that is strange and mysterious, and assume familiarity with it, often predict what will happen, and assert that they have brought it about. They are most ingenious in devising proofs of their divine inspiration.

Powers of the wakan-men.

"As a priest," says Mr. Pond, "with all the assurance of an eye-witness, the *wakan* man bears testimony for the divinities, reveals their character and will, dictates chants and prayers, institutes dances, feasts and sacrificial rites, defines sin and its opposite. . . . Sin consists in any want of conformity to, or transgression of, the arbitrary rules imposed by the priest, or want of respect for his person; and holiness consists in conformity to these rules, and well-expressed respect for the wakan men; while the rewards and punishments are of such a nature that they may be appreciated by the grossest senses."

In reference to war the wakan man is supreme. He makes and consecrates spears and tomahawks containing the spirit of the gods, and only bestows them on humble suppliants who go through fastings, prayers, and other rites of an exhausting nature. These weapons are sacredly preserved, wrapped in a cloth cover, and laid outside of the tent every day, except in storms. As doctors, the wakan men are believed to have in their bodies animals or gods, which give them great powers of suction and inspiration. With great ceremonies they violently suck out diseases from the affected parts of patients. It seems to be the general impression that there are wakan men who can repel any foe to health until the superior gods order otherwise; but it is difficult to obtain their aid. They can inflict diseases

as a punishment for want of respect to themselves, and death is often believed to be the result of this wakan power.

Every object is believed to have an animating spirit, and in many cases the Indians select birds and beasts as personal "manetos." Maneto is a synonym for spirit, and may have a good or bad meaning attached to it. Among the Algonquins Manabozho was a sort of terrene Jove, who, though he lived on earth, could perform all things. He survived a deluge which is spoken of in their mythology, having climbed to the summit of a high mountain, where he remained till the subsidence of the waters. The four cardinal points are personified, and each has its distinctive sphere. Dreams they believed to be direct communications from the spirit-world. An entire army would retrace its steps in accordance with the dreams of the priest, who carried a "medicine-sack" containing carved or stuffed images of animals, charms and bones, held most sacred. The Indian youth anxiously sought dreams, often fasting in solitude many days, till he was impressed with the image of some animal, which he took as his maneto, and followed the occupation it indicated.

Manetos as guardian spirits.

The manetos are clearly often identifiable with the totems of the clan or of the individual. The totem of a North American Indian protects him, and he refrains from killing it. The whole of a clan or tribe are believed to be descended from the common totem, and are bound to support and protect each other. They are bound to respect it, and if it is a species of animal or plant, it must not be killed, plucked, or injured. Sometimes they may not even touch or look at it. The totem is supposed to benefit the clansmen or the individual, and to give information by means of omens. The totem mark is affixed as a signature to treaties and other documents, and various ceremonies at birth, marriage, death, etc., are connected with the totem.

Totems.

"It is an opinion of the Indians," says Schoolcraft, "I know not how universal, that there are duplicate souls, one of which remains with the body, while the other is free to depart on excursions during sleep. After the death of the body, the soul departs for the Indian elysium, or land of the dead; at which time a fire is lighted by the Chippewas on the newly-made grave, and rekindled nightly for four days, the period allowed for the person to reach the Indian elysium. . . . Having requested a Chippewa Indian to explain the duality of the soul, 'It is known,' he replied, 'that during sleep, while the body is stationary, the soul roams over wide tracts of country, visiting scenes, persons and places at will. Should there not be a soul at the same time to abide with the body, it would be as dead as earth, and could never reappear in future life.'"

Duality of the soul.

As to the future life, their belief in the "Happy Hunting-Grounds," so often referred to, is with the majority firm and unquenchable. Mr. W. W. Warren, himself descended from the Ojibwas on the maternal side, expressed their beliefs thus: "The Ojibwa believes that his soul or shadow, after the death of the body, follows a wide, beaten path which leads towards the west, and that it goes to a country abounding

The Happy Hunting-Grounds.

in everything that the Indian covets on earth—game in abundance, dancing and rejoicing. The soul enters a long lodge, in which all his relatives for generations past are congregated, and they welcome him with gladness. To reach this land of joy and bliss, he crosses a deep and rapid water." This water they have to cross on a huge snake. Those who have been good are free from pain; those who have been bad are haunted by the phantoms of the persons or things they have injured. If a man has destroyed much property, he is obstructed by the phantoms of the destroyed property; if he has been cruel to his dogs or horses, they also torment him after death.

The mention of dogs reminds one of the frequency with which they are sacrificed by Indians, as being valuable offerings. Two, three or five dogs are customary offerings. At the mouth of the Qu'appelle River, an Indian, in June, 1858, set his net and caught a large fish which was new to him. He at once pronounced it a manitou, returned it to the water, and sacrificed five dogs to appease the supposed spirit.

Sacrifices of dogs.

Catlin says that the Mandans (a tribe included by Schoolcraft among the Dakotas), who lived in a very cold climate, described their hell as barren and hideous, covered with eternal snows and ice. Their heaven was warm and delightful, abounding in buffaloes and other luxuries. Their Great Spirit dwelt in the former, and received and punished those who had offended him. The bad spirit they believed to reside in paradise, still tempting the happy.

The cold hell of the Mandans.

The beliefs we have given may be contrasted with those of other tribes who believed that the good spirit will receive all, without exception, in the Happy Hunting-Ground, and with those tribes who had so little conception of soul or immortality that missionaries found it exceedingly difficult to explain them. Among the Californians were some tribes who identified death with annihilation, yet were afraid to pronounce the name of a deceased person lest he should rise from dark oblivion. "The Cahrocs," says Bancroft,[1] "have a distinct conception of future reward and punishment, and suppose that the spirit, on its journey after death, comes to two roads, one strewn with flowers, and leading to the bright western land beyond the great waters; the other, bristling with thorns and briars, leading to a place full of deadly serpents, where the wicked must wander for ever. The Tolewahs place heaven behind the sun, and picture hell as a dark place where souls shiver for ever before the cold winds, and are harassed by fiends. The Modocs' spirit-land is situated in the air above the earthly home, where souls hover about, inciting the living to good and evil. The Allequas imagined that before the soul could enter the evergreen prairies to live its second life, free from want and sorrow, it expiated its sins in the form of some animal, often passing from a lower to a higher grade, according to the earthly conduct of the deceased. By eating prairie-dogs and other game, some sought to gather souls, apparently with a view to increase the purity of their own and shorten the preparatory term. The San Diego

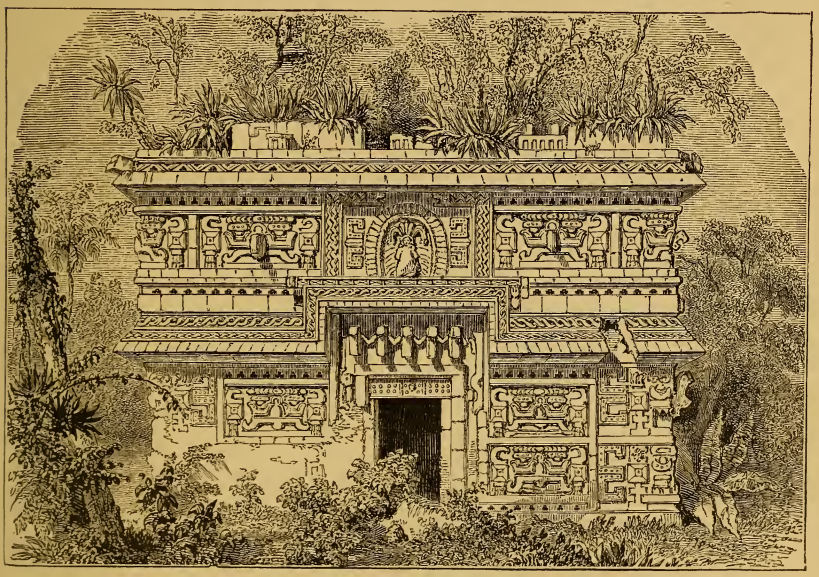
Beliefs about the future.

[1] "Native Races of the Pacific States," vol. iii.

tribes, on the other hand, considering large game as the embodied spirits of certain of their forefathers, abstained from their flesh, fearing that such fare would hasten their death—a fear which did not deter old men.

Morgan describes six regular festivals as observed by the Iroquois: (1) the Maple festival, thanking the Maple for its sweet waters; (2) the planting festival, invoking the Great Spirit to bless the seed; (3) the Strawberry festival, or firstfruits thanksgiving; (4) the Green Corn festival; (5) the Harvest festival; (6) the New Year's festival. When returning thanks to or for various objects of Nature, they never burned tobacco; but when invoking or praying to the Great Spirit, they always used the ascending smoke of tobacco.

Festivals of the Iroquois.



ENTRANCE TO AN ANCIENT MEXICAN TEMPLE.

Among the Creek Indians there was an annual festival, formerly of eight days, now confined to four, devoted to thanksgiving and fasting, and resembling in some features the Hebrew jubilee. At the return of this festival all offences were cancelled. It commenced at the ripening of the new crops, at which time a general purgation and cleansing took place. On the first day a general feast was prepared from the remains of the old crop, and sacred fires were built.

Creek festival of firstfruit.

Many curious modes of burial prevailed among the American Indians. One was that of placing the dead on scaffolds, the corpse being carefully wrapped in bark and raised on a platform formed by transverse pieces of wood lying between the forks of trees. In some tribes

Funeral customs.

the body is dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, feasted, and supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, knife, flint and steel, and provisions enough for a few days' journey. A fresh buffalo's skin is tightly wrapped round the body, followed by other robes. Among the Mandans, according to Catlin, when the scaffolds decay, the bones, except the skulls, are buried, while the bleached skulls are placed in circles of a hundred or more on the prairie, at equal distances apart, with the faces all looking to the centre, where they are religiously guarded. "Every one of the skulls is placed upon a bunch of wild sage, which has been pulled and placed under it. The wife knows (by some mark of resemblance) the skull of her husband and child, which lies in this group; and there seldom passes a day that she does not visit it, with a dish of the best-cooked food that her wigwam affords, which she sets before the skull at night, and returns for the dish in the morning. . . . There is scarcely an hour in a pleasant day, but more or fewer of these women may be seen sitting or lying by the skulls of their children or husbands, talking to them in the most pleasant and endearing language that they can use, and seemingly getting an answer back."

A circle of skulls.

According to Major Swan, who visited the Creek Indians of Georgia and Florida in 1791, "when one of a family dies, the relations bury the corpse about four feet deep, in a round hole dug directly under the cabin or rock on which he died. The corpse is placed in the hole in a sitting posture, with a blanket wrapped about it, and the legs bent under it and tied together. If a warrior, he is painted, and his pipe, ornaments, and warlike appendages are deposited with him. The grave is then covered with canes tied to a hoop round the top of the hole, and then a firm layer of clay sufficient to support the weight of a man. The relatives howl loudly and mourn publicly for four days. If the deceased has been a man of eminent character, the family immediately remove from the house in which he is buried, and erect a new one, with a belief that where the bones of their dead are deposited the place is always attended by 'goblins and chimeras dire.'"

Funeral rites of the Creeks.

Among the Comanches of Texas, the deceased is packed upon a horse as soon as he expires, taken to the highest hill in the neighbourhood, and buried privately. The wives of the dead man cut their arms, legs, and bodies in great gashes, till they often become exhausted by the loss of blood. Formerly the favourite wife was killed; but more recently only the deceased's horses are killed and buried, to carry him to paradise.

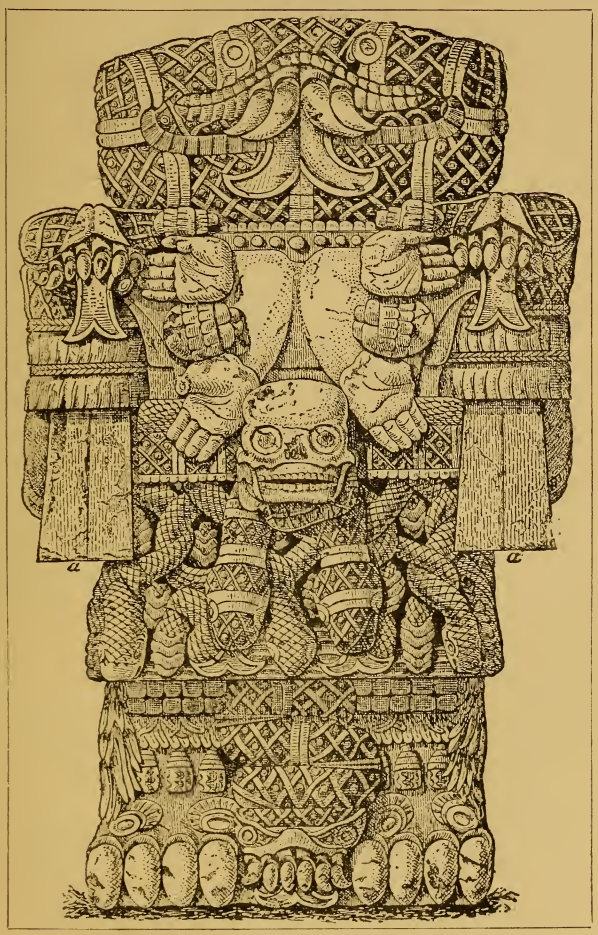
Burial among the Comanches.

THE CENTRAL AMERICANS.

The Mexican Indians, especially the Aztecs, had reached a more developed stage of civilisation and religion than their northern kinsmen. It is doubtful whether they believed in one supreme deity or not. The word *teotl*, sometimes thought to mean the supreme god, means deity in general. It is related, however, that the poet-king of

The Aztecs' religion.

Tezcuco built a nine-storied temple, with a starry roof above, in honour of a deity not represented by an image, called Tloquenhuaque, "he who is all in himself"; or Ipalnemoan, "he by whom we live"; in his honour only incense and flowers were offered, and no bloody sacrifices. Surely here we



TEOYAOMIQUI, MEXICAN GODDESS OF DEATH (AFTER BANCROFT).

have a marked Asiatic influence. The ordinary Mexican religion was distinctly polytheistic, and we may gather that some of their gods had been worshipped for a very long period, by the great number of functions and epithets concentrated upon them. Whether Tozcatlipoca, one of the highest gods, was a deified ancestor or not, he conformed to this idea by

having prayers for all kinds of help addressed to him. Tonatiuh and Metztli, the sun and moon; Centeotl, goddess of maize and mother of the gods; Tlazolteotl, goddess of pleasure; Tezcatzoncatl, god of strong drink, are specimens of Mexican gods; but the predominant idea in their mind is shown by their chief god being the god of war, Huitzilopochtli. There were also many native spirits of the hills and groves, etc. The Aztecs were equally remarkable for the number and size of their temples, called teocallis, or god's houses. They were pyramidal, and rose by successive terraces to lofty platforms. The great temple of the god of war in the city of Mexico had a base 375 by 300 feet, and rising by five steep terraces to 86 feet high, with flights of steps at the angles. On the platform were two tower-like temples of three stories, containing great stone images and altars. The gods were predominantly worshipped with human sacrifices. There were many festivals, each marked by its special variety of sacrifice and celebration. Before the war-god there was an eternal fire and a stone of sacrifice, on which the victim, usually a captive, was laid, for the priest to cut open his breast and tear out his heart and hold it up before the god. From the terrace were visible seventy other temples within the great square enclosure, each with images and blazing fires; while in the Tzompantli, or skull-place, thousands of victims' skulls were built up to form towers. At Cholula was the much larger hemispherical temple of the god Quetzalcoatl, the rival to Tezcatlipoca.

Teocallis, or temples.

That the prayers of these people were genuine religious utterances, may be gathered from the following extracts from a prayer to the last-mentioned god on behalf of the poor: "O our lord, protector, most strong and compassionate, invisible and impalpable, thou art the giver of life; lord of all and lord of battles, I present myself here before thee to say some few words concerning the need of the poor people, the people of none estate or intelligence. Know, O lord, that thy subjects and servants suffer a sore poverty and desolateness. The men have no garments nor the women to cover themselves with. . . . When they sell nothing, they sit down sadly by some fence, or wall, or in some corner, licking their lips and gnawing their nails for the longing that is in them, . . . O our Lord, in whose power it is to give all content, consolation, sweetness, softness, prosperity, and riches—for thou alone art lord of all good—have mercy upon them, for they are thy servants." But we cannot but take a gloomy view of a religion based so largely upon human sacrifices and cannibalism, on penances involving the drawing of blood from the body, and other cruel rites.

Prayers.

"The funeral rites of the Mexicans," says Mr. Tylor, "are best seen in the ceremonies at the death of a king. The corpse laid out in state was provided by the priest with a jug of water for his journey and with bunches of cut papers to pass him safely through each danger of the road. They gave him garments to protect him from the cutting wind and buried a little dog by his side to carry him across the nine waters. Then the royal body was invested in the mantles of his patron

Burial of a king.

gods, especially that of the war-god." In earlier times the king was buried on a throne with his most valued possessions and his slain attendants around him. At a later period, when cremation had been adopted, the body of

STATUE OR IDOL AT COPAN, HONDURAS (AFTER STEPHENS).

the king was carried to the funeral pile by attendant chiefs and servants, and afterwards a great number of wives and slaves of the deceased were sacrificed and their bodies burnt, after solemn exhortation to serve him faithfully in the next world.

Religion of the Mayas and Quichés.

The Mayas of Yucatan and the Quichés of Guatemala had a fundamentally similar religion, though it is much less well-known. At Uxmal and other places are the remains of larger and more magnificent pyramidal temples or sacrificial platforms than in Mexico. Their priests were more powerful even than in Mexico, and the chief priests belonged to the royal families. The festivals observed were very numerous, and the people always made a sacrifice before commencing any important undertaking. Human sacrifices with cannibalism were frequent, as well as the drawing of blood from penitents' bodies.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The Indians of Guiana.

Beginning with the tribes inhabiting Guiana, we find that the most important recent study of the religions of the Indians of British Guiana has been made by Mr. Everard Im Thurm (see his valuable work, "Among the Indians of Guiana"). He bases their system, if it can be called such, upon the belief that every human being has a soul or spirit distinct from the body. In dreams the spirit wanders and acts just as really as in waking life. Visions also are real, and may be produced by narcotics, stimulants, and fasting; in the course of these a spirit may wander and hold communion with other spirits. The spirit of a man may pass into an animal and even into inanimate objects; and the Indian also believes that animals and plants and inanimate objects have their own spirits. Rock-spirits may move and often occasion injuries to man, by causing the rock to fall upon him; similarly with many other natural phenomena, ascribed to the intention of the spirits of the objects concerned. All strange objects are looked upon with awe, as being inhabited by spirits which are likely to occasion evil even if criticised or examined. Diseases too are often believed to be occasioned by spirits, and Mr. W. H. Brett, in his "Indian Tribes of Guiana," has narrated how the Caribs on the Pomeroon river, being attacked by a dangerous epidemic, fled far into the forest, in their flight cutting down large trees and laying them across the path, to prevent the disease-spirits from following them.

The spirit-world.

Existence after death.

In every view which these Indians take of the spirit-world, it is regarded as composed of beings not very unlike those of the material world, and the spirits differ chiefly in their degrees of strength and cunning. The fact of continued existence of the spirit after death of the body is implied in this, and in many of their funeral customs; but this existence is not definitely imagined to be everlasting. "As long as the memory of a dead man survives," says Mr. Im Thurm, "either in the minds of his former companions or in tradition, he is supposed to exist; but no question as to whether this existence is or is not to be prolonged for ever, has ever been formulated in the Indian mind." There is no belief as to rewards and punishments being meted out after death. It is usually supposed that the spirits of the dead remain on earth in the places where they lived when in

the body. Several times Mr. Im Thurm was told by Indians that they hoped to become white men.

They have an idea of a kind of heaven beyond the sky, but it is just a repetition of earth. From it they believe their ancestors came. Rochefort, writing of the Caribs of the West Indies, the ancestors of the Caribs of Guiana, says that they believed their brave men would live after death in happy islands, where their enemies, the Arawaks, would be their slaves; but that the cowards of their own tribe would be slaves to the Arawaks in a barren land beyond the mountains. This confirms the very apt expression of Im Thurm, "the Indians know of no heaven, but only of other countries." Ideas of heaven.

The Indians of Guiana have no notion of spirits which have always been spirits, or of spirits possessing power over others, except so far as they may have more strength or cunning. On one occasion during an eclipse of the sun the Arawak men among whom Mr. Im Thurm was, rushed from their houses with loud shouts and yells. They explained that a fight was going on between the sun and the moon, and that they were shouting to frighten and so to part them. The Indians have names meaning "the ancient one," "the ancient one in the sky," "our father," and "our maker." But to these names the attributes of a god are not attached. They seem to indicate a belief that their ancestors or makers came there from some other country, "sometimes said to be that entirely natural country which is separated from Guiana by the ocean of the air." Powers of spirits.

As to worship, the Indian, not troubling himself about the source of good things or regarding them as the result of his own efforts, does not worship good spirits. All evil is, however, inflicted upon him by evil spirits, and them he propitiates. He does not mention or look at certain rocks and other objects; he avoids eating certain animals whose spirits are malignant, especially those which are not native to his country. Before shooting a cataract for the first time, or when a sculptured or remarkable natural object is seen, the Indian averts the ill-will of the spirits belonging to them by rubbing capsicum pods in his eyes. These he almost always carries with him. The idea connected with this practice is that by making himself temporarily blind he renders himself invisible to the object of dread. The Indians' worship.

Two notable beliefs of the Guiana Indians are thus summarised. "From the kenaimas come nearly all injuries, and these the peai-man cures." A kenaima is one who uses the power of separation between body and spirit in order to inflict vengeance; he is bound to slay some man, in obedience to some custom or sentiment; and, by transference, ills are regarded as being wrought by some kenaima, known or unknown, in the body or out of it. The kenaima, in addition to forms of vengeance by murder, poison, or disease, can enter any animal, and thus, when attacked by any beast of prey, the Indian regards it as a kenaima. The kenaima or vengeance-taker.

The peai-man, or medicine-man, is the Indian's defence against the

kenaima; he is both doctor and priest. The office used to be hereditary, but often a youth with an epileptic tendency is chosen, as frenzied contortions are of great use in the profession. After isolation, long fasting, great draughts of tobacco-water, etc., and learning all the traditions of the tribe, the medicine-man becomes fit for his office, and pretends to drive out all kenaimas by incantations in which astonishing feats of ventriloquism are performed, and he is believed to summon and question the kenaimas and compel them to depart. He is also supposed to be able to summon and question the spirit of any sleeping Indian of his own tribe. Another function of the peai-man is to give names to children.

The peai-man or medicine man.

The burial customs observed by Mr. Im Thurm do not differ remarkably from those of many other Indian tribes. The body of a dead man is wrapped in his hammock and buried in his own house. A fire is made over the grave and a feast held in which the qualities of the deceased are set forth, and the house is then deserted.

Burial customs.

It is doubtful if the Brazilian tribes were or are more advanced than those of Guiana. The Tupis have the same word, "Tupa," for father or ancestor and for thunder; but they do not pray to Tupa, nor do they hope from or fear him. Bates[1] found no trace of a belief in a future state among Indians who had had no intercourse with Europeans. Yet they light fires by newly made graves, for the comfort of the deceased. Waitz describes the Guaranis of Brazil as bringing offerings to certain posts in order to appease the evil spirits, fear of whom sometimes caused death. They believed that the soul continued with the body in the grave, and were careful to leave room for it.

Beliefs of Brazilian tribes.

The Uaupés, of whom Mr. A. R. Wallace has given an account, likewise have no definite idea of a god. If asked who made the rivers, forests, and sky, they say they do not know; or sometimes they say it was "Tupanau," a word that appears to mean god, but which they do not understand. They have, however, a bad spirit, or devil, whom they seek to propitiate. When it thunders, they say the Jurupari is angry, and their idea of natural death is that the Jurupari kills them. At an eclipse of the moon they believe that this bad spirit is killing the moon, and they make all the noise they can to frighten him away. It would be fruitless to detail at length the procedure and the beliefs about the medicine-men or payés of the Brazilians, inasmuch as they are strikingly similar to those of the Guiana Indians.

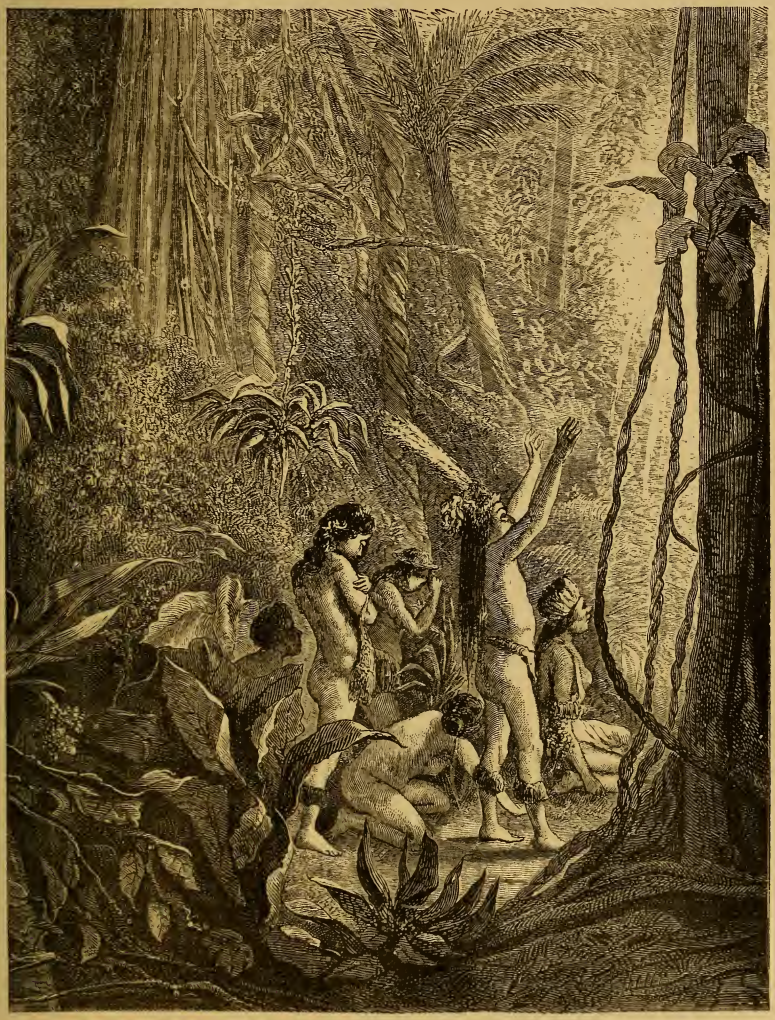
The Uaupés.

The religious system of the Araucanians of southern Chili was somewhat different from that of the more northern tribes of Indians. They acknowledged a supreme being, whom they termed Pillan, the supreme spirit. They also called him spirit of heaven, the great being, the thunderer, the creator of all things, and omnipotent. Subordinate to him were Epunamun, the god of war; Meuleu, a benevolent deity, the friend of the human race; and Guecubu, a malignant being, the author of all evil and misfortune. If a horse tired, Guecubu had ridden him;

The Araucanian deities.

[1] "The Naturalist on the Amazons."

if any one died, Guecubu had killed him. They paid no worship, however, to these gods beyond invoking them and asking their aid on some urgent occasions. They had neither temples nor idols, nor did they offer sacrifices



WORSHIP OF THE SUN BY COROADOS OF BRAZIL.

except in case of some severe calamity or on concluding a peace, when they sacrificed animals, and burnt tobacco, which they believed to be most agreeable to their deities.

The Araucanians have a general belief in a future state, but differ as to its locality and condition. Some of them have no idea where their land of spirits is, nor how the dead are occupied. Others say that after death they go towards the west beyond the sea to a certain place which they call "Gulchemau," that is, the dwelling of the man beyond the mountains. Some believe that this land is divided into two—one a heaven, where the good dwell with every delight; the other inhabited by the wicked, a desolate and barren place; while others believe there is no difference of lots, and all enjoy continual happiness. The dead were buried with many of their possessions, and with their face to the west, where the supposed land of spirits was. Divination and sorcery were much practised by the Araucanians, who paid much attention to the flight of birds. They avoided the burial-places of the dead, passing them by in silence and with averted faces. The spirits of dead Araucanians frequently returned and fought fiercely in the air with their enemies, thus causing storms.

The future state.

The Patagonians believe in a good and an evil superior being, but differ as to the name given to these. Some of these names are, "the governor of the people," "the lord of the dead," "the being who presides in the land of strong drink." But they likewise believe in a multiplicity of inferior deities, presiding over particular families. Each is supposed to have a distinct abode in caverns underground, under lakes or hills; and after death the Indian believes that his soul will go to the abode of his particular family-deity, and live in continual drunkenness. They believe the world was made by their good deities, who created the Indians in their caves, and gave them the lance, bows and arrows, etc.

The gods of the Patagonians.

Evil beings are termed by the Patagonians "the wanderers without." There are many of these, working all kinds of mischief, and even causing bodily fatigue and weariness after labour. These are the familiars of their diviners, enabling them to predict future events as well as to reveal that which is occurring at a distance. They also give them power to cure the sick by driving away or appeasing the evil beings which cause them. The diviner goes through strange antics in his communications and struggles with evil. He makes noises with a drum, etc., and falls into a fit, "keeps his eyes lifted up, distorts the features of his face, foams at the mouth, screws up his joints, and after many violent and distorting notions remains stiff and motionless. After some time he comes to himself, as having got the better of the demon; next feigns, within his tent, a faint, shrill, mournful voice, as of the evil spirit, who by this dismal cry is supposed to acknowledge himself subdued, and then, from a kind of tripod, answers all questions put to him." These wizards are of either sex, but the men wear women's dress. It is not uncommon to kill some of them when a chief dies, or when pestilences occur, the deaths being attributed to their ill-will (Falkner's "Patagonia").

"The wanderers without."

A diviner's performance.

In several respects the funeral customs of the Patagonians are singular. They make skeletons of the dead by cutting off the flesh, during which operation a number of people, covered with long skin mantles and with

their faces blackened with soot, walk round the tent with long poles or lances in their hands, singing dolefully and striking the ground in order to frighten away the evil spirits. Visits of condolence are paid to the relatives of the deceased. The visitors howl and sing dismally, squeeze out tears, and even prick their limbs with sharp thorns till they bleed. They receive suitable presents in return for their mourning display. If the deceased possessed horses, they are killed to enable him to ride in the land of the dead, a few only being reserved for the funeral ceremony. When the bones of the deceased are finally removed, they are packed in a beast's skin, and laid upon a favourite horse, which is decorated with mantles, feathers, etc. There are several modes of burial. One is burying the skeletons in large square pits, sitting in a row, with the sword, lance, bow, arrows, etc., they formerly possessed. The pits are covered with beams or trees, canes, twigs, etc., woven together, upon which earth is laid. The beads and plumes which adorn the skeletons are changed once a year, when they pour upon the grave some of their first made chica, also drinking some of it themselves to the good health of the dead. The more southern tribes carry the bones to a desert place by the sea-coast, placing them in rows above ground, but adorned as before, with the skeletons of their dead horses around them.

Funeral rites and mourning.

Burying the skeletons.

The Fuegians, according to Fitzroy, had distinct ideas of beneficent and evil powers; but he never witnessed or heard of any act on their part of a decidedly religious nature, neither could he satisfy himself of their having any idea of the immortality of the soul. They invoked the good spirit when in distress or danger, believing him to be the author of all good. Their evil spirit they supposed to be like an immense black man, and able to cause illness, famine, bad weather, and all evils, and to torment them in this world if they did wrong. The wizard was not absent from them, and they believed entirely in omens, signs, and dreams. When a person dies, his family wrap the body in skins, and carry it into the woods; there they place it upon broken boughs, or pieces of solid wood, and then pile a great quantity of branches over the corpse.

Fuegian good and bad spirits.

The Chibchas of Colombia believed that their ancestors arose from certain mountain lakes, under which were the homes of their tutelary gods. Lake Guatavita and the adjacent city were their chief places of worship. Many costly offerings were thrown into these lakes, such as small golden figures representing men, women, and animals, and various customs and industries. Many of these have been obtained from the lakes. The sacred graves also received similar objects, in addition to utensils and personal property. Golden frogs and lizards, supposed to represent the god of water; birds, the god of the air, were also among the religious objects of the Chibchas. They sacrificed a youth, the Guesa, every fifteen years, specially nurtured, to carry the people's messages to the moon, the goddess of husbandry. At the age of fifteen he was conducted in procession to a pole, to which he was bound, and killed by arrows.

The Chibchas.

The empire of the Incas of Peru has been described as one of the most

WOODEN IDOL FOUND IN PERU 33 FEET UNDER GUANO.

complete theocracies the world has seen. The Incas were themselves both kings and priests, who reigned as descendants of the sun, the chief god, and their person was revered as divine. One-third of the country was the property of the sun-god, that is, of his priests; and a part of the forced labour of the people was given to working in the lands of the Inca and of the sun-god.

The Incas, children of the sun.

The sun (Inti, or light) was usually represented by a golden disc with human features, and surrounded by rays and flames. Second to the sun, the moon was worshipped as his sister and wife; she was depicted as a silver disc with human features. Next to these were two great deities: Viracocha, represented as having risen out of lake Titicaca, and having made the sun, moon, and stars. He evidently was a survivor from a period before the sun and moon worship had risen to great proportions. He is described as having neither flesh nor bone, as running swiftly, and as lowering mountains and lifting up valleys. The lake was his sister and wife. Hence he was evidently a rain-god, represented as a fertilising agent. Pachacamac was another ancient god, the divine civiliser who taught the people all arts and crafts. He was a god of fire, and especially of volcanic fire; and, like Viracocha, he required human victims. The Incas admitted these two gods to have been equally children of the sun with their ancestor, Manco-capac.

The gods of the Peruvians.

Other deities worshipped by the Incas were the rainbow, the planet Venus, many stars, fire, thunder, the earth, many trees and plants and animals. Charms or fetishes were greatly in esteem, and the same word, *huaca*, was applied to every object of veneration, from the sun down to a grotesque stone. Every valley, every tribe, every temple, had a guardian-spirit. Meteorites were much used as huacas, and it is said that missionaries found it more

CHIBCHA IDOL IN POTTERY.

difficult to abolish the worship of the huacas than that of the sun and moon.

The temples originally in use in Peru were very like those of Mexico; but under the Incas the building over the altar was very greatly increased in size, and indeed enclosed the whole structure. They were furnished with great stone statues, and were lavishly decorated with gold. The entrance of the great temple at Cuzco faced the east, and at the west end, above the altar, was the great golden disc of the sun. The mummies of the deceased Incas were placed on golden thrones in a semi-circle round the solar disc. Near this building were the temples of the moon and other deities associated with the sun. **Temples.**

While all kinds of fruits, incense and drinks were offered to the gods, animals were very frequently sacrificed, and usually burned; if not, the flesh was eaten raw by the sacrificers. M. Réville concludes that this is a custom handed down from times preceding cookery. The idols and the doors of the temples were smeared with the blood of victims. It appears that human sacrifice was less frequent under the Incas than among the Mexicans. But it is known that when the reigning Inca was ill, one of his sons was sacrificed to the sun as a substitute, and that at certain feasts a young infant was sacrificed. Wives of the Incas were required to be buried alive on their husbands' death. When Huayna Capac died, a thousand of his retinue voluntarily followed him into the other world. **Sacrifices.** **Human offerings.**

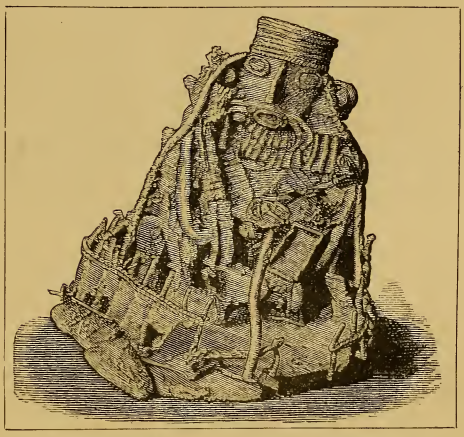


IMAGE REPRESENTING THE GUESA OF THE CHIBCHAS.

The organisation of the priesthood greatly favoured the stability of the Peruvian religion. The chief priest was next to the reigning Inca, and was recognised as the interpreter of the sun's will. The other chief priests were members of the Inca family. At Cuzco, and to a less degree in the provinces, an imposing ritual was kept up. Hymns to the sun were chanted, but religious dances were among the most important parts of the great festivals, or "Raymi" (signifying dance). At the festival of the winter solstice, in June, after three days' fasting, a great procession, with banners and masks, went out to await the dawn, and, when the sun appeared, fell on their faces before him. The Inca offered a consecrated liquid to the sun, then drank of it himself, and passed it on to his retinue. After this, on return to the temple of the sun, a black **The priesthood.** **Festivals.**

llama was sacrificed; sun-fire was kindled from the sun by means of a concave mirror, and then a number of llamas were sacrificed and distributed to the families of the upper classes, to be eaten with sacred cakes prepared by the virgins of the sun. At the second great festival, that of the Spring, ball-shaped cakes, mixed with the blood of victims or of young children, drawn from above the nose, were eaten, to purify the land from hostile influences. In the evening an Inca, with four relatives, undertook the task of chasing all maladies from the city and its environs; and at night all evil spirits of the night were driven into the river by the hurling of torches into its water. These are only specimens of numerous feasts of the Inca religion. The sorcerer had but little place in civilised Peru, for his place was largely taken by the priestly "diviners of the future," or "those who made the gods speak."

It is very worthy of notice that something like convents were to be found among the Peruvians, inhabited by "virgins of the sun," of whom there were 500 at Cuzco. They took a vow to be the consorts only of the sun or of him to whom the sun should give them. Thus the reigning Inca chose from them the most beautiful for his harem; but any of the virgins who otherwise broke her vow was buried alive, even for the offence of letting the sacred fire go out, and her whole family was put to death. The virgins were occupied in making garments for the Incas, adornments for the temples and palaces, in preparing the sacred cakes and drinks, and in watching the sacred fire.

The virgins of the sun.

Few moral teachings have been discovered in the Peruvian religion. The most important thing was to please the sun, and his representative, the Inca. The priests had power to make inquisition into private conduct, to discover any actions detrimental to the state if not expiated by penance. Children, a few days after birth, were dipped in water before receiving a name, the dipping being supposed to drive away evil spirits and malign influences. Between the ages of ten and twelve, at the time when the adult name was given, the child's hair and nails were cut off as an offering to the sun and guardian-spirits.

Moral inquisition.

The future life was thought of as similar to the present, and all kinds of useful objects were consequently buried with the deceased. It was not imagined that the body would be raised again to life, although it was thought that the soul still returned to the body at times after death. The Incas were believed to be transported to the mansion of the sun, while the nobles might, if exceptionally meritorious, follow them there, or live under the earth under the sway of Supay, the god of the dead, whose kingdom was a gloomy one rather than a place of punishment.

Future life.

KHOND (OR KANDH) HUMAN SACRIFICE.

CHAPTER V.

Aboriginal Religions of India and other parts of Asia.

Spirit-world of the Veddahs—Invocation of spirits of the dead—Veddah burial—Bell-god of the Todas—Buffaloes in heaven—Successive funerals of the Todas—Sins laid upon a calf among the Badagas—The Kotas—Various gods of the Bhils—Effigies of horses on cairns—Bhil sacrifices—Inspired men and witch-doctors—Deities of the Gonds—Rude symbols of gods—The spirits of disease and death—The goddess of small-pox—Human sacrifices—Exorcisers—Memorial slabs for the dead—Funeral of a Madia—Human sacrifices of the Khonds—Their religious sincerity—Sacrifices to the god of war—Death a penalty for special sin—The leaping rock—Khond priesthood—Khond oaths—Santal household gods—Superior powers malevolent—National god the Great Mountain—Spirits of natural objects—Wanderings of disembodied spirits—The sacred river Damooda—Santal priests and festivals—Worship in village groves—Funeral ceremonies—Guardian-spirits of the Karens—Bringing back the Las—The state of the dead—Traditions of God and sacred books—Inspection of fowls' bones—Priests and offerings—Funeral ceremonies—Feasts for the dead—The god Puthen of the Kukis—Their evil deities—Inferior deities—Kukis' idea of futurity—Future punishment—Kuki priests—Funeral feasts—Gods of the Nagas—Scolding the spirits for causing death—Burial at doors of houses—Pillars and cromlechs of the Kasias—The oath-stone—Deities of the Bodo and Dhimals—Priests and their functions—Malevolent demons of the Mishmis—Disease, death and burial—Gods of the Ostiaks—Ancestor worship—Convulsions of the Shamans—The Kalmuck Shamanists—The Voguls—The Samoyedes—The Finnish religion—The Kalevala—The Under-world.

MAKING now a great leap in distance, we come to the aboriginal peoples, still existing in large numbers in India and Ceylon, whose religions are very different from those of the more highly gifted nations among whom they dwell. The Veddahs of Ceylon, a small but extremely interesting tribe, have a limited group of beliefs, presenting some striking resemblances to those current among the

Spirit-world of the Veddahs.

American Indians. Good spirits predominate in their creed; in fact, Mr. Bailey could only find one absolutely malignant spirit whom they really feared, though they had a vague dread of the spirits that haunt the darkness. Every feature in Nature is for them occupied by a spirit, as also is the air; but they have no idea of a Supreme Being.

The spirits of the dead occupy a prominent place in the Veddah beliefs. The spirit of every dead person watches over relatives left behind. These spirits, termed "néhya yakoon," kindred spirits, are described as coming to them in sickness and in dreams, and giving them success in hunting. Thus they invoke them in every necessity, and, curiously enough, it is the shades of their dead children, "bilindoo yakoon," infant-spirits, which they most frequently call upon. Some simple ceremonies are observed, one of which is to fix an arrow upright in the ground, and dance slowly round it, chanting an address which has been thus translated:

Invocation of spirits of the dead.

> "My departed one, my departed one, my god,
> Where art thou wandering?"

When preparing to hunt, they promise a portion of the game to the spirit, and they expect that the spirits will appear to them in dreams and tell them where to hunt. "Sometimes," says Bailey, "they cook food and place it in the dry bed of a river or some other secluded spot, and then call on their deceased ancestors by name, "Come and partake of this! Give us maintenance as you did when living! Come, wheresoever you may be—on a tree, on a rock, in the forest—come!" and dance round the food, half chanting, half shouting the invocation. They have no idea of a future state of rewards and punishments. Till lately they did not even bury their dead, but covered them with leaves and brushwood in the jungle, or in the cave where they died, which was thereupon forsaken.

Veddah burial.

The Todas of the Neilgherry Hills are somewhat vague in their religious beliefs; but, while not venerating natural objects, they appear to worship several deities, the principal being called the bell-god, or buffalo-bell, represented by a bell hung about the neck of their best buffalo, which is also an object of worship, and held sacred. To the bell-god they offer both prayers and libations of milk. They worship also a hunting-god and the sun. While venerating the memory of ancestors, they do not worship them. They believe in a somewhat vague transmigration of souls, but in their next world, which they term "the other district," they expect to follow the same occupation as in this, that is, buffalo-feeding, and all expect to go to it. "The Mukurty Peak," says the Rev. F. Metz,[1] "is a spot held very sacred as the residence of a personage whom the Todas believe to be the keeper of the portals of heaven. . . . Their idea is that the spirits of deceased Todas, together with the souls of the buffaloes killed by their friends to accompany them to heaven and supply them with milk there, take a leap from this point as the nearest way

Bell-god of the Todas.

Buffaloes in heaven.

[1] "Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills."

to the celestial regions," which are situated in the west. Their priests are an odd compound of priest and dairyman, showing the importance of their chief means of livelihood in their eyes.

The Todas burn their dead, at the same time slaughtering milch-buffaloes, which, curiously enough, are sold to another tribe to be eaten. This is called the "green funeral," followed a year after by the "dry funeral," at which, on a pile of dry wood, the priests place the bag containing the ashes of the deceased, with his mantle, ornaments, and wand, and gourds and baskets of grain, and ignite the whole, while the mourners stand round and cry monotonously, *heh-hey, heh-hah!* Among the funeral observances, they practise fasting, cutting off the hair, putting off ornaments, chanting morning and evening laments, mutual condolence, and falling on the corpse. They also vacate the house of the deceased for a limited period. **Successive funerals of the Todas.**

The Badagas, a neighbouring tribe, had, according to Capt. Harkness ("The Neilgherry Hills"), a ceremony which reminds one of the Hebrew scapegoat. The son or representative of the deceased, seizing a calf brought for the purpose, addressed it, beseeching it to mediate for the departed, that the gates of heaven might be opened to him, and his sins, and those of his generation, be forgiven. The calf was then let loose and ran off, all the party shouting, "Away, away!" The idea is that the sins of the deceased enter the calf. **Sins laid upon a calf among the Badagas.**

The Kotas, also inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, worship both rude images of wood or stone, and rocks and trees in secluded localities, and make sacrificial offerings to them. In each village is a recognised place of worship—a large, square piece of ground, walled round with loose stones three feet high, and containing in its centre two thatched sheds open in front and behind, and having rude circles and other figures drawn on the supporting posts. They hold an annual licentious feast in honour of their gods, lasting two or three days. **The Kotas.**

The Bhils of the mountains of Central India are notable for the great number of their gods: every tribe too has different objects of adoration, arising from local superstitions and legends. The following gods are worshipped by the Bhils of Jebnah:—the Hindu Kali, on many occasions; Halipowa, at the Dewali and Dasara feasts; Waghacha-Kunwar, to protect them against wild beasts; Halk Mata, for success in predatory journeys; Khorial Mata, for protection of cattle from plundering and sickness; Devi Kanail, for a good harvest; Behyu Baji, for rain; Ghora Raja, against plunderers; Hallam, at the annual pilgrimage to the large hill of Retna Wal; Chamconda Mata, goddess of harvest, the first of every grain being offered to her; Havin Wana Mata, against murrain and lameness among cattle; Sita Mata and Ghona and Bhadri Bac, goddess of small-pox; Bhulbag Mata, during epidemics, especially in cholera. **Various gods of the Bhils.**

The Bhil places of worship are not elaborate, being mostly limited to heaps of stones on some elevated spot, on which are frequently arranged

a number of stone or burnt-clay effigies of horses, the latter being hollow, with a hole behind, through which the spirits of the dead are supposed to enter and travel up to paradise. On arrival there, the horse is given to the local deity. In many of their legends the principal event depends upon the assistance or the advice of an enchanted horse. According to Sir J. Malcolm,* the sacrifice or offering to Hali-powa and Waghacha-Kunwar is a bullock; to the other deities, fowls and he-goats; a male bird to the male deities, and a female to the female ones. Their usual ceremonies consist merely in smearing the idol, which is seldom anything but a shapeless stone, with vermilion and red lead or oil; offering, with protestations and a petition, an animal and some liquor; casting a small portion of each, with some pulse, into the fire; and then partaking of the flesh and remaining liquor, after giving the presiding priest-minstrel his share.

Effigies of horses on cairns.

Bhil sacrifices.

The medicine-man appears here under the form of a class of men specially inspired by the hill-gods, whose powers are excited by music. These men, called Barwas, travel with musicians in attendance, by whose performances they are first excited to frenzy, dancing frantically, whirling and tossing, and throwing themselves into strong convulsions. In this state they utter oracles which are highly regarded by those who listen. The Barwas also act as physicians and as witch-doctors, following the usual cruel practices of their kind. Superstition is deeply ingrained. A cat crossing the path of a Bhil when starting on any particular business will send him straightway home. Eclipses and other celestial phenomena he regards as the diversions of the gods. He believes to a certain extent in the transmigration of souls, especially of bad spirits, and that the spirits of the dead haunt places they lived in during their lifetime. Burial is performed with complex ceremonies on the banks of streams. On the death of a chief a brass bull or horse is made and handed to the wandering minstrel, who, carrying this image, makes an annual circuit through the villages, commemorating the fame of the deceased in songs and receiving a due reward.

Inspired men and witch-doctors.

The Gonds of Central India show some resemblances to the Bhils, as in their offering earthenware figures of horses in sacrifice, to propitiate the ghosts of their ancestors. They worship altogether about thirty deities. The supreme being, under the name of Bhagwan, is occasionally prayed to, and receives offerings of sugar and ghee; but, as in so many other tribes, it is to the inferior divinities that worship is most largely paid. Badu Dewa (great god) or Budhal Pen (old god) is one of those most worshipped; he appears to be identical with Rayetal, or the sun-god, represented by an iron tiger three inches long. His worship takes place once a year at the rice-harvest, a hog being then sacrificed to him. Among a subordinate tribe, the Gaiti, he is represented by a small copper coin kept in a tree in the jungle. Matya, the god of small-pox and of towns; Sali, the protector of cattle; Gangara, the bell-god;

Deities of the Gonds.

* *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i.

Gadawa, the god of the dead; Kodo Pen, the horse-god, are others of the varied deities whom the Gonds propitiate.

The Gonds do not keep images of their gods in their houses, and even for religious ceremonies only use the simplest symbols, such as stones, lumps of clay, iron rods, blocks of wood, chains and bells. Mutya Dewa is represented by a small heap of stones, inside a village, besmeared with red lead. He is believed to be connected with the prosperity of the village, and his appropriate offerings are a goat, cocoa-nuts, limes, dates, etc. Pharsi Pen, a war-god, is symbolised by a small iron spear-head. His worship only takes place at intervals of three, four or five years, at full moon. On such occasions a white cock, a white he-goat, and a young white cow are sacrificed with secret ceremonies, no woman being permitted to attend. Bhiwasu, a god of rain, has a festival of four or five days in the Mahadeva Hills, being worshipped under the form of an unshaped stone smeared with vermilion, or of two pieces of wood. In one place, however, there is an idol figure of Bhiwasu, eight feet high. These are but specimens of the multitudinous deities worshipped by these people, whose religious history, if ever fully written, will be a strange and curious one.

Rude symbols of gods.

The Rev. Mr. Hislop,[1] who studied the Gond district carefully, says: "In the south of the Bundara district the traveller frequently meets with squared pieces of wood, each with a rude figure carved in front, set up somewhat close to each other. These represent Bangaram, Bungara Bai, or Devi, who is said to have one sister and five brothers, the sister being styled Danteshwari, a name of Kali, and four out of the five brothers being known as Gantaram, Champaram, Naikaram, and Pollinga. These are all deemed to possess the power of sending disease and death upon men, and under these or different names seem to be generally feared in the region east of Nagpore city. . . . It has always appeared to me a question deserving more attention than it has yet received, how far the deities who preside over disease, or are held to be malevolent, are to be looked on as belonging to the Hindus or aborigines. Kali in her terrible aspect is certainly much more worshipped in Gondwana and the forest tracts to the east and south of it than in any other part of India. As the goddess of small-pox, she has attributed to her the characteristics of various aboriginal deities; and it is worthy of remark that the parties who conduct the worship at her shrines, even on behalf of Hindus, may be either Gonds, fishermen, or members of certain other low castes. The sacrifices, too, in which she delights would well agree with the hypothesis of the aboriginal derivation of the main features of her character. At Chanda and Lanji, in the province of Nagpore, there are temples dedicated to her honour, in which human victims have been offered almost within the memory of the present generation. The victim was taken to the temple after sunset and shut up within its dismal walls. In the morning, when the door was opened, he

The spirits of disease and death.

The goddess of small-pox.

[1] "Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces."

was found dead, much to the glory of the great goddess, who had shown her power by coming during the night and sucking his blood. No doubt there must have been some of her servants hid in the fane, whose business it was to prepare for the horrid banquet. At Dantewada, in Bustar, there is a famous shrine of Kali, under the name of Danteshwari. Here many a human head has been presented on her altar. About 1830 it is said that upwards of twenty-five full-grown men were immolated on a single occasion by a late Raja of Bustar."

Human sacrifices.

The medicine-man or professional priest is not so prominent among the Gonds as among some other Indian tribes; but men exist among them who profess to be able to call tigers from the jungles and to control their actions, to protect men and cattle, to detect sorcery and to tell fortunes. The public festivals of the Gonds are largely connected with their crops. They can also exorcise evil spirits and interpret the wishes of the gods, going into a trance, leaping wildly and performing the usual antics of their class, and then declaring whether the god has accepted the service offered to him.

Exorcisers.

Burial was formerly universal among the Gonds; but cremation has been largely adopted by them from the Hindus. They used to bury the dead in their own houses, afterwards deserting them, but have in later years buried outside their villages. Some of the tribes erect rough unhewn slabs of stone as memorials of the dead. Offerings are presented to the dead, consisting of rice and other grains, eggs, fowls, or sheep. To persons of more than usual reputation for sanctity, offerings continue to be presented annually for many years after their death.

Memorial slabs for the dead.

As a specimen of Gond funeral rites, we may quote the following from Mr. Hislop:—"When a Madia (a tribe of Gonds) dies, the relatives kill and offer before his corpse a fowl. They then place the body on a bamboo mat, and four young men lift it on their shoulders. All the neighbours, calling to mind their own deceased fathers, pour out on the ground a handful of rice in their honour; then turning to the corpse, they put a little on it, remarking that the recently departed had now become a god, and adjure him, if death had come by God's will, to accuse no one; but if it had been caused by sorcery, to point out the guilty party. Sometimes, it is said, there is such a pressure exerted on the shoulders of the bearers, that they are pushed forward and guided to a particular house. The inmate is not seized at once; but if three times the corpse, after being taken some distance back, returns in the direction and indicates the same individual, he is apprehended and expelled from the village. Frequently also his house shares the same fate. The body is then carried to a tree, to which it is tied upright, and burned amid the wailing of the spectators. Funeral rites are performed a year or eighteen months after the cremation, when a flag is tied to the tree where it took place. After sacrificing a fowl, the friends return and eat, drink and dance at the expense of the deceased man's family for one or more days, according to their ability."

Funeral of a Madia.

The Khonds (or Kandhs) of north-eastern India have an evil fame as being among the most inveterate and lavish in their human sacrifices of any race of mankind, sacrifices which continued till quite the middle of this century when persistent government pressure appears to have put a stop to it. The Khonds are divided into two sects, one of which abhors human sacrifice. The other is devoted especially to the Tari, the earth-goddess, to whom human sacrifices were offered, a regular class of victims being purchased from neighbouring tribes, of any age and either sex, and held in readiness, well fed, for the regular festivals. Ten or twelve days before the sacrifice, the hair of the victim was cut off, and the villagers, having bathed, went to the sacred grove with the priest, who there invoked the goddess. The ceremonies, attended by unbridled licence, lasted three days. On the second day, the victim was led in procession through the village to the sacrificial grove, and bound, sitting, to a post in the middle of the grove, anointed with oil, ghee, and turmeric, adorned with flowers, and even worshipped. In this attitude he or she was left all night, while feasting was resumed by the people.

Human sacrifices of the Khonds.

The details which follow, as given by Major Macpherson, are almost inconceivably horrible. As the victim must not die in bonds nor show any resistance, the arms and legs were broken, or stupefaction by opium was produced, so that the bonds might be unloosed. The priest after this offered up prayers to the earth-goddess. At noon on the third day, the priest took the branch of a green tree, cleft several feet down the centre. The victim was forced into the cleft, his throat being in some districts inserted into it, and then the cleft was forcibly closed by cords twisted round the open extremity of the stake. After the priest had wounded the victim slightly with his axe, the crowd threw itself on the dead body, and, leaving untouched the head and intestines, stripped the flesh from the bones, and fled with them to their fields. The remains were next day burned on a funeral pile, and a further sacrifice of a sheep was made, the ashes being scattered over the fields or made into a paste, with which the floors of the houses and granaries were smeared. Subsequently a bullock was given to the father or procurer of the victim, and another was sacrificed and eaten at the feast which terminated the celebration. One year after such a sacrifice the goddess Tari was reminded of it by the offering of a pig. In some districts the victim was put to death by a slow fire, the great object being to draw as many tears as possible, in the belief that the goddess would proportionately increase the supply of rain.

Cruel treatment of the victims.

Notwithstanding the barbarity of this sacrifice, Macpherson declares that he found it not attended by any manifestations of passion, and that it appeared to be offered in a spirit essentially religious, "in fearful obedience to the express mandate of the terrible power, whose wrath it is believed to place in abeyance. And the offerings are lives free, unforfeited, undegraded, generally in innocent childhood, belonging to a different race from the immolators, procured by persons of another

Religious sincerity of the Khonds.

faith, and acquired by scrupulous purchase, which the Khonds believe to confer a perfect title." An unbought life they considered an abomination to the deity. At one of the later sacrifices no fewer than 125 victims were immolated. Afterwards, by unceasing efforts of British officials, a large number of destined victims were set free and cared for by the British.

In Jeypore there were annual sacrifices to Maniksoro, the god of war, as well as to the earth-goddess. The victim was tied to a post by his hair, and at the same time his body was held face downwards over an open grave. The priest, while praying for success in battle, hacked the neck of the victim, at the same time consoling him by the assurance that he would soon be honoured by being devoured by the god for the people's benefit. His head was then cut off, the body falling into the grave, and the head remaining suspended until devoured by birds.

Human sacrifices to the god of war.

The worship of deceased ancestors is an important feature of Khond religion. Other gods beside Tari are worshipped. They have introduced the Hindu goddess Kali into their worship, and employ Hindu priests in celebrating her rites. They also firmly believe in magic, often attributing deaths or misfortunes to enchantment. They hold that death is solely a penalty for offences against the gods, and this whether it occurs in battle, or by the hand of men who can transform themselves into wild beasts, or by magicians who destroy by wicked arts. They do not appear to have definite views as to a future state, but believe man's spirit to be imperishable, animating a succession of human forms. Percival says that they believe the judge of the dead resides beyond the sea on a slippery rock called the leaping-rock, surrounded by a black unfathomable river. Souls, on quitting the body, go directly thither; and in attempting to leap the river and gain a footing on the rock, they often get injured, and the injury is expected to be repeated in the body they next inhabit.

Death-penalty for special sin.

The leaping-rock.

The Khond priests were regarded as divinely appointed, the original priests being directly appointed by each deity, and transmitting the office by descent. But this does not prevent any one from becoming a priest by a new divine call. One of the priest's offices on the occasion of a birth or naming of a child is to declare which ancestor of the family is born again. The priest takes no part in funeral ceremonies, even if present; he may not touch a dead body.

The Khond priesthood.

The ceremony of taking an oath by Khonds is given by Campbell as follows:—"Seated on tiger-skins, they held in their hands a little earth, rice, and water, repeating as follows: 'May the earth refuse its produce, rice choke me, waters drown me, and tiger devour me and my children, if I break the oath which I now take for myself and my people.'" In other cases they sit on a lizard-skin, whose scaliness they pray may be their lot if forsworn; or on an anthill, like which they ask that, if false, they may be reduced to powder; while the ordeals of boiling water, oil, and hot iron are constantly resorted to.

Khond oaths.

The Santals of the western portion of Lower Bengal are notable for the family nature of their religion. Each household has its special deity whose rites it carefully conceals from strangers. According to Hunter,[1] even one brother does not know what another worships. They appear to pray chiefly that evils may be removed: "May the storm spare my thatch," "may the black-rot pass by my rice-fields," "let my wife not bear a daughter," "may the usurer be taken by wild beasts." The head of the family on his deathbed whispers the name of the family god to the elder son. As far as can be ascertained, the household deity represents evil only; but in addition to this source of misfortune, the Santal worships the ghosts of his ancestors.

Santal household gods.

The Santal cannot even conceive the existence of a supreme and beneficent god. The impression of past history is upon him—of having been successively driven from more desirable homes by a conquering race, and superiority in power implies to him desire to injure. The idea of a supreme god makes him say, "What if that strong one should eat me!" Demons and evil spirits are vividly before the Santal's mind, and he endeavours to propitiate them by frequent annual sacrifices and other bloody rites.

Superior powers malevolent.

The national god of the Santals is Marang Buru, the Great Mountain, their guardian from the earliest times, who is invoked with blood-offerings at every crisis. The victims are numerous and varied, of any kind of plant or animal. The Great Mountain is neither male nor female, but is the great life-sustainer. He is regarded as having a brother and a sister to whom libations are offered by the priests, as well as white goats and fowls. The Great Mountain must receive blood-offerings; if the worshipper has no animal, the offering must be a red flower or a red fruit. When the English first came into contact with these people, human sacrifices were regularly made to this god.

The national god, the Great Mountain.

Wherever he goes, the Santal finds gods, ghosts, or demons, which he must appease. Among them are the Abgi, or ghouls, who eat men, and the Pargana Bonga, local deities whose name is legion, belonging to extinct villages, wandering desolately through the Santal territory. They have deities of the rivers, wells, tanks, mountains and forests. So that their worship, strongly related to the family and ancestors on one view, on another is equally a Nature worship.

Spirits of natural objects.

Like their view of the nature of the gods is their idea of the future. As a time of punishment for the wicked they can comprehend it, but not as a period of happiness for those who have been good. Frequently the future is a complete blank to them. Some think that good men after death enter into fruit-bearing trees, while uncharitable men and childless women are eaten eternally by snakes and worms. Others think of disembodied spirits as flitting disconsolately among the fields they once tilled, standing upon the banks of the streams in which they once fished, and gliding in and out of the dwellings where they lived;

Wanderings of disembodied spirits.

[1] "Annals of Rural Bengal."

and these spirits must be propitiated in various ways, or they will bring evil upon the living.

Once a year the Santals make a pilgrimage, in commemoration of their forefathers, to the Damooda, their chief river. This is termed the Purifying for the Dead. A similar regard for the river is shown by the fact that however far from it the Santal may die, his nearest relative carries a little relic of him, such as some fragments of his skull, in an earthen pot thither and places it in the current to be conveyed to the far-off eastern land from which his ancestors came. This is called uniting the dead with their fathers.

The sacred river Damooda.

The Santal priests belong to the fifth and second tribes, representing the fifth and second sons of their common ancestor, the former being the most esteemed and best rewarded. Each village has its grove for worshipping the village gods. The priests of the second tribe are chiefly seers and diviners, and are largely occupied in propitiating demons. Festivals are held several times a year in the village grove, men and women dancing and chanting songs in honour of the founder of the community. Goats, red cocks and chickens are sacrificed; and the various families dance round the particular trees supposed to be inhabited by their special gods. In some tribes every family dances round each tree, so as not to omit one in which by any possibility one of their gods might reside.

Santal priests and festivals.

Once a year the tribal god is solemnly worshipped, none but male animals being offered, and women being excluded from the feast. Each period in the cultivation of the rice-crop—seeding, sprouting, earing, harvesting—is marked by its own festival, with sacrifices to the gods.

Worship in village groves.

On the death of a Santal, his body is at once anointed with oil tinged with red herbs, and laid out. His friends place two little brazen vessels, one for rice, the other for water, upon his couch, together with a few rupees to appease the demons whom he will meet on the threshold of the spirit-world. These gifts, however, are removed when the funeral pile is ready. The body is carried by fellow-clansmen three times round the pile and then laid on it. A cock has meanwhile been nailed through the neck by a wooden pin to a corner of the pile or to a neighbouring tree. The nearest kinsman has prepared a torch of grass, bound with thread from his own clothes, and, after walking silently round the pile three times, touches the dead man's mouth with the brand, averting his face as he does it. Then the pile is lighted, all the clansmen facing the south. Before the body is quite consumed, the fire is extinguished, and the next of kin breaks off the three fragments of skull to be thrown into the river Damooda, as before stated.

Funeral ceremonies.

In quite recent years the Santals were excited by a novel religious ferment. In 1875 one Bhagrib Mangi gave out that he was commissioned by heaven to free the Santals from British rule. He gained great influence, and received both royal and divine honours, having a shrine set up for his worship. Notwithstanding his being taken and imprisoned and his shrine

destroyed, his religion grew, being preached by his disciples, the Kherwar, the chief of whom was arrested and imprisoned in 1881.

The Karens of British Burmah regard the world as more thickly peopled by spirits than it is by men. Every human being has a guardian spirit, or Là, either at his side, or wandering in dreamy adventures. If too long absent, he must be recalled by appropriate offerings of food, etc., beating a bamboo to gain its attention. Besides, he is surrounded by a crowd of the spirits of the departed, whom he must continually appease if he would preserve life and health. All striking material objects inspire him with awe, and must be reverenced and propitiated. Moreover, everything living has its Là. "When sitting by the

Guardian spirits of the Karens.

A KAREN FUNERAL.

fire at night, and an insect flies into it and is burnt to death, a Karen will say, 'There, the Là of some animal has leaped into the fire and burnt itself to death. We shall have meal curry to-morrow. The snares and traps have caught something.' Plants, too, have their Làs. So if a man drops his axe while up a tree, he looks below and calls out, 'Là of the axe, come, come'!" (Mason). Prophets or necromancers are said to have the power of bringing back the sick man's Là when it has wandered away; but false prophets are said to bring back the Là of some other person, by which the disease is augmented. According to some, each person has

Bringing back the Làs.

seven Làs constantly devising his death, which can only be prevented by his own guardian spirit sitting on his head. If this spirit removes thence, the man is killed by one of the Làs. All diseases are the work of spirits, which must be appeased by offerings. Another class of spirits, working evil, is the Nà, which is believed to inhabit witches and wizards. These persons can take the form of another, and can also devour the Làs of other people.

Ancestor-worship is practised by the Karens, their ancestors being supposed to exercise a guardianship over their descendants on earth. The Làs, however, of many of the dead are not permitted to go to Hades, the land of the happy, which is a counterpart of this world, whose inhabitants follow occupations similar to those they engaged in on earth. Those who have been deprived of funeral rites wander about on earth. Those who have died violent deaths remain on earth preying on the Làs of men. Others who may not go to Hades are unjust rulers or criminals who have suffered death. These are believed to take the forms of birds and beasts; and those who dream of elephants, horses, dogs, vultures, Burmans, or Burmese priests, are said to see these ghosts.

The state of the dead.

Dr. Mason says all the Karen tribes have traditions of God as having once dwelt amongst them, but having forsaken them. Sometimes He is represented as dying and rising to life again, sometimes as simply departing. They have a story that God gave the Chinese a book of paper, the Burmese a book of palm-leaf, the Karens a book of skin, which they allowed a pig to tear up and a fowl to eat; while the former peoples carefully studied their divine books, and hence came to excel the Karens. Consequently the Karens consult the remains of fowls, which they suppose to retain the knowledge imparted by the book, and undertake nothing important until a favourable response has been gained from the fowl's bones, which are inspected after prayer. It may readily be imagined that it requires a practised eye to read the indications accurately, and there are many nice distinctions, known only to the elders, or priests, who do not always agree in their readings.

Traditions of God and sacred books.

Inspection of fowls' bones.

Each village has four hereditary "heads of the sacrifice," or priests. The first is called lord of the village; the second, the messenger; the third, keeper of the village; the fourth, Sa-kai, a word of unknown meaning. The offerings given by the people vary according to families and tribes. Some offer only rice and vegetables; one group offers fowls, another hogs, another oxen or buffaloes. It is doubtful sometimes to whom these things are offered,—often to unseen spirits generally, or to deified ancestors, or to the goddess of harvest.

Priests and offerings.

Complex ceremonies take place on the death of a Karen elder of the Bghai division. While the body lies in state, piping and mourning go on constantly. Before the burial an elder opens the hand of the dead man and puts in it a bit of metal, and then cuts off a part with a sword, saying, "May we live to be as old as thou art." The rest of the company do the same, and the fragments cut off are regarded as charms to prolong life. Dr. Mason further says that when the corpse is about to

Funeral ceremonies.

be buried, two candles made of beeswax are lighted, and two swords are brought. A sword and a candle are taken by the eldest son, and a sword and a candle by the youngest son; and they march round the bier in opposite directions three times, each time they meet exchanging swords and candles. After this, one candle is placed at the head, the other at the foot of the coffin; then a fowl or hog is led three times round the building, and on completing the first round it is struck once with a bamboo, the second time twice, and at the end of the third round it is killed, and set before the corpse for food. When the coffin is carried to the grave, four bamboos are taken, and one thrown to the east and one to the west, some one saying, "That is the west, that is the east," contrary to the fact; a third is thrown towards the top of a tree, with the statement, "That is the foot of the tree"; and a fourth towards the root of the tree, which is gravely termed the top of the tree. This is done because in the spirit-world it is believed that everything is upside down in relation to this world. When the grave has been filled and a fence erected round it, boiled rice and other food is placed within it for the deceased. On returning from the grave, each person takes three little hooked branches, and calls on his spirit to follow him, at short intervals making a motion of hooking, and thrusting the hook into the ground. This is to prevent the spirit of the living from staying behind with the spirit of the dead.

Annual feasts for the dead are made for three years after a person's death. It is a general assemblage of all the villagers who have lost relatives. Before the new moon at the end of August or beginning of September, all kinds of food, tobacco, etc., are made ready. A bamboo is laid across one corner of the roof of the room, and on it are hung new tunics, turbans, beads, and bangles; and at the proper time—the spirits of the dead being supposed to have returned to visit them—the people address them thus: "You have come to me, you have returned to me. It has been raining hard, and you must be wet. Dress yourselves, clothe yourselves with these new garments, and all the companions that are with you. Eat betel together with all that accompany you, your friends and associates, and the long dead. Call them all to eat and drink." Next morning, the new-moon day, they kill a hog, and make thirty bottles of bamboos, which they fill with all kinds of food and drink. Rice and meal are cooked, and all the food is spread out as far as possible at one moment, so that none of the spirits of the dead may be delayed in eating. Each one calls on his particular relative who has died. If a mother, he says, weeping, "Oh! prince-bird mother, it is the close of August; oh! it is the new moon in September; oh! you have come to visit me; oh! you have returned to see me; oh! I give you eatables, oh! I give you drinkables; oh! eat with a glad heart, oh! eat with a happy mind; oh! don't be afraid, mother; oh! do not be apprehensive, oh!" When the spirits have finished, the people eat the food; but a further supply is placed for the spirits to carry away with them; and at cock-crow next morning all the contents of the basket, including the bamboo bottles, are thrown out of the house on the

Feasts for the dead.

ground, the same ceremony of crying and calling on the spirits of the dead being repeated.

The Kukis of Assam believe in an omnipotent deity named Puthen, the creator of everything. Although actuated by human passions, he is benevolent, and desires the welfare of humanity. He is the judge of all men, and punishes them by death and disease, both in this world and the next. He is invoked and sacrificed to in all troubles, his anger being deprecated, or his aid sought to avert the anger of other gods.

The god Puthen of the Kukis.

Ghumvishve is their evil deity. When he is seen, death ensues; his anger causes frightful diseases; his essence is cruelty and malevolence. This being is alleged to be married to Khuchoin, a malignant goddess with special power over diseases of the stomach. Hilo, their daughter, is the goddess of poisons. These three are never prayed to, but sacrifices are made to avert their anger, as well as to Puthen to interfere.

Evil deities.

Numerous subordinate deities are also recognised by the Kukis, such as Khomungnoo, the household god; Thingbulgna, the forest god; river-gods, gods of mountains and rocks, etc. Each metal has its particular god, presiding over matters to which the metal is related; thus, the god of silver is the god of wealth; the iron god is the god of battle. The moon is also worshipped; and in every house is a consecrated post, before which they place a portion of all food about to be eaten.

Inferior deities.

Their idea of the future is not one of eternity, although they believe in a future of rewards and punishments. Even of the soul their conception is vague. They imagine that the dead take the same forms, and inhabit a world lying to the north. They have a very exclusive idea of their heaven. It is not for peoples of other religions, who must have other heavens situated elsewhere. In touching similarity to the American Indians and other races, they look for the assemblage of all their people who have been good, after death, in a happy land, where rice grows almost without cultivation, and where the jungles abound in game. In this future the ghost of every animal a Kuki has slain becomes his property, while every enemy he has slain is his slave. Evil doers are kept separate, and perform menial offices for the good. War and hunting are the principal occupations of this heaven. The evil doer is tormented, hung, immersed in boiling water, impaled, cast into a burning gulf, etc. They have no definite idea how long the torment or happiness of this state may last.

The Kukis' idea of futurity.

Future punishment.

In every village there is a rudely formed figure of wood, of human shape, representing one of their gods, generally under a tree. They pray to it when they start on any expedition, and when they return they place before it the heads of their enemies or of the game they have killed.

It is always a question of importance with the Kukis to find out what god has caused any disease. They have priests or diviners, known as Thempoo or Mithai, educated and initiated to communicate with the

gods. These individuals feel a sick man's pulse, question him as to his disease, etc., and then meditate for a time, after which they name the god offended, and the sacrifice needed to appease him. If the victim be a fowl, the Thempoo cuts the animal's throat, pours its blood as a libation on the ground, mutters some praises, and then roasts and eats the bird. The superstition of the people is further shown by their carrying tiger's teeth upon their persons, as a protection against wild animals; also a small round stone, carried in a wicker basket, is believed to secure good sport to the hunter.

The Kuki priests, or Thempoo.

The tribes of the Kukis appear to vary in practice between burial and cremation. No properly religious rites are observed. Feasting, long-continued and general, is the most important thing following death. It is believed that while the body remains above ground all the animals slain for the feasts will be attached to it in the spirit-world, and hence the profusion. When the body is taken to the burying ground, eatables and drinkables are placed on the bier and buried with it, and the skulls of the animals slain for the feasts are stuck on posts all round the grave. When a Rajah died, it used to be thought essential that at least the skull of one freshly killed enemy should be stuck over his grave, and to this end a war party was organised immediately after his death.

Funeral feasts.

KALMUCK SHAMANESS.

The Nagas of the mountains of Assam do not attempt to account for the creation of the world, which appears to have existed before their gods. Such religion as they have is not very sincere. One of their gods is believed to be blind, and consequently they cheat him by placing small offerings, or only a few leaves, in large baskets. They worship a god of riches, to whom all those who seek wealth make sacrifices; he punishes by diseases and reverses those who, having wealth, fail to sacrifice to him. Another of their deities is god of the harvest, and receives offerings in kind, with prayers for good crops. They also propitiate a malignant deity, fierce, ugly, and one-eyed, who causes all misfortunes.

Gods of the Nagas.

Omens are carefully regarded among the Nagas, in order to discover what deity has caused a particular evil or can bring about a desired good. When

this is settled, the village is closed for two days, and nothing but sacrificing and feasting goes on. When a man falls sick, according to Major Butler,[1] the chief person in the house or family sacrifices a fowl, and, after placing the entrails and feathers in the road in the evening, he calls out to the spirit, "O spirit, restore to health the person you have afflicted in my family. I offer you the entrails of a fowl." When a man of note dies in a village, the people do not quit it for three days, during which they kill animals, and the whole community feasts and drinks. At the funeral all the men, in war equipment, make a great noise, and jump about, saying, "What spirit has come and killed our friend? Where have you fled to? Come, let us see you, how powerful you are. If we could see you, we would spear you and kill you with these spears;" and they continually curse the spirit and strike the earth with their spears and swords. On the grave they place all the personal belongings of the deceased, and, as with the Kukis, the skulls of pigs and cows are stuck on sticks at one end of the grave, but in this case in memory of the deceased's hospitality. Stewart[2] says the Nagas bury their dead at the doors of their houses, in coffins, a huge stone being rolled over the grave. Thus Naga villages are full of these rough, unhewn tombstones. The people show great regard for these tombs, at first fencing them in and scattering flowers over them. Cases of violating tombs to gain possession of the buried articles were not heard of.

Scolding the spirits for causing death.

Burial at the doors of houses.

The Kasias of Assam are remarkable for the abundance of monumental stones everywhere by the wayside. Usually they are oblong, erect pillars, unhewn or carefully squared. The number in one monument varies from three to thirteen, and is generally odd; the tallest is in the middle. In front of these is a kind of cromlech, a large flat stone resting on short rough pillars. In one case a pillar was twenty-seven feet high; and a cromlech slab, thirty-two feet by fifteen, and two feet thick, has been seen, raised five feet above the ground. Often the sarcophagus is found to consist of a large circular slab, resting on many little rough blocks placed close together, through whose chinks may be seen earthen pots containing the ashes of the family. The upright pillars are undoubtedly monumental; and if the Kasia is asked why his fathers went to such expense to erect them, he answers, "To preserve their name." Yet they can attach a name to but few. The name of one, "Mansmai," the oath-stone, was explained by a native thus: "There was war between Cherra and Mansmai; and when they made peace and swore to it, they erected a stone as witness." Hence it is suggested that some of these were erected as witnesses to notable compacts.

Pillars and cromlechs of the Kasias.

The oath stone.

The Bodo and Dhimals of the Assam forests worship a great number of deities; *e.g.*, household gods, worshipped at home, which are at the same time national gods; gods of the rivers; and gods of sun and moon, mountains, forests, etc. They are also divided

Deities of the Bodo and Dhimals.

[1] "Travels and Adventures in Assam."

[2] "Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal," vol. 24.

into male and female, young and old, etc. To these gods they do not assign definite moral attributes; but several of them are called Rajah, and one of them bears the name of a known historic person. Hence it is probable that their gods are, at least partially, deified ancestors. On the whole their deities have a vaguely benevolent character, and there is a general absence of cruel and savage rites. They do not worship images, nor have they temples. Their chief festivals bear reference to agriculture. They seem to have an idea of a future state. Diseases are caused entirely by preternatural agencies, and hence they employ exorcisers, who are a class of priests.

There is a regular priest for each village, and a class of district priests exercising some control over the village priests of his district. Whoever chooses may be a priest, but must be regularly inducted. At times the elders take equal part with the priests. At marriages and funerals the priests perform the essential preliminary sacrifices; they conduct the great festivals and make all sacrifices. The lesser deities receive offerings of eatables and drinkables other than meat, while the greater divinities receive animal sacrifices. The dead are buried decently and simply. They have no fixed burial grounds or monuments. Food and drink are laid upon the grave at burial, and a few days after the same is repeated and the deceased is addressed.

Priests and their functions.

The Mishmis of the Assam borders ascribe more destructive and malevolent powers to their gods than the Bodo and Dhimals. They fear most a god of destruction; they also sacrifice to a god of health and disease, and a god of instruction and the chase. One of these people, on being told that the English worshipped a good Spirit who ruled all the demons, observed, "Ah, you English people must be very happy in having such a good and powerful demon in your country. The Mishmis are very unfortunate—we are everywhere surrounded by demons; they live in the rivers, mountains and trees; they walk about in the dark, and live in the winds; we are constantly suffering from them."

Malevolent demons of the Mishmis.

When disease appears in a Mishmi's family, the priest is sent for to drive away the evil spirit, which he does with antics which only repeat the operations of his class elsewhere. The sacrifice, however, is killed with unnecessary cruelty. Death of a Mishmi, especially a chief, is followed by extensive feasting in honour of the departed. The body is burnt after two days, and the ashes are placed in a miniature house close to the house of the deceased. This miniature house is surrounded by some of the skulls collected by the chief during his lifetime. The eldest son holds a yearly feast in honour of his deceased father, and this is considered a most sacred observance.

Disease, death, and burial.

The Ostiaks of the Obi district in Siberia, before Christian missionaries came among them, appear to have had a belief in a Supreme Being, of whom they had no image and to whom they made no offerings. Shaitan is their household god, guardian of all they possess. They represent him by the figure of a man, carved in wood and dressed

Gods of the Ostiaks.

like an Ostiak. To Shaitan all meals are first offered, all the dishes being placed before him; and they abstain from eating till the idol, who eats invisibly, has had enough. Other divinities are worshipped, including Long, master of secret arts, medicine, etc. Offerings made to him by the sick must be works of art; skins will not do. Meik is a god of ill-luck: to him Ostiaks make vows of gifts and service when in danger of perishing in the wilderness, or in snow storms. Many reindeer, put to death slowly and cruelly, are sacrificed to their gods by the Ostiaks. Ortik, one of their deified heroes, a beneficent being and mediator, is, like the rest, represented as a bust without legs, the face being made of a hammered plate of metal nailed upon wood, the body of a sack stuffed with hair and skins and with two linen sleeves sewed to it for arms, the whole dressed in a linen frock and placed on a table, with sword and spear beside it. To this being offerings of furs are made.

Ancestor worship.

Ancestor worship prevails considerably among them. When a man dies, the priests (shamans) make his relatives form a rude wooden image representing him, which is set up in their huts, and receives divine honours for a greater or less time, as the priest may direct. At every meal they set an offering of food before the image, and the widow embraces it from time to time. The time of worship apparently lasts three years. The priests, however, preserve the images of their ancestors for generations, and manage, by oracles and other arts, to procure offerings for them equal to those of the other gods, thus showing how deified ancestors became regular national gods. The Ostiaks also venerate trees and bears; they ask a bear's pardon after having killed him. They even insult him mockingly when his skin is stuffed with hay, and then set him up and pay him worship in their huts.

Convulsions of the shamans.

The priests or shamans of the Ostiaks combine the offices of priest, diviner, exorciser, and medicine-man. They mediate between the people and their gods, falling into convulsive fits, during which they are believed to be in communion with their gods. When the shaman falls, according to Erman ("Travels in Siberia"), the bystanders throw a cord round his neck, and cover him with skins. Two men then take the ends of the cord, and pull it with all their might, while the shaman under the skin slips his hands to his neck to prevent his being strangled. When at last he has had enough of the struggle, he makes a sign that the spirits have left him, and communicates to the assembled people the predictions which have been sought.

The Kalmuck shamanists.

A large proportion of the Kalmucks of the Altaï are still shamanists, and sacrifice animals to their good and evil spirits. Their images, rudely carved in wood or bark, resemble human forms with extended arms, and represent their ideas of the nature-spirits. The spirits of their ancestors are said to be represented by ribbons of varied colours hung on the branches of trees, and from them the living man believes that he hears the whisperings of his dead father giving him counsels which he scrupulously obeys.

Many of the Voguls are still thorough shamanists, and keep up a complete system of totemism. They are also said to worship a national god who has a sanctuary among the forests in a valley high up in the Ural. At his festival a horse is sacrificed, previous to which each man in turn drinks his blood as it flows from a wound. They are said also to worship the sun in an especial manner. The Voguls.

Among the Samoyedes of Northern Europe, though many are christianised, the old shamanism and nature worship still lingers. Near the Ural Mountains may still be seen their odd-looking sacred stones or roughly carved idols. They believe in principal good and evil divinities, to whom they offer arms and various valued objects. Bears and many reindeer are sacrificed to the gods. The Samoyedes.

By far the most developed religion of the Finno-Ugrian group of peoples, however, was that of the Finns, which has in recent times been reconstructed by the collection of fragments handed down orally, which seem to represent a national epic, the Kalevala, describing the history and nature of the gods they believed in. Castren, a Swede, is the special authority on this subject. We find in it a supreme god, Youmala, whose name is recognised in the Samoyede Noum, the Lapp Youbmel, and the Esthonian Yoummal; and in all these the name signifies "the heaven" or "sky." In more modern times the name was applied generally to deities, and hence was adopted as the name for God by Christian missionaries to Finland. It appears that the name originally applied especially to the sky when thunder was resounding, being supposed to indicate the personal divinity. The name Oukko was also used for much the same conception of the sky, and for the head of the family of gods, represented as a tall man with armour giving forth flames. The lightning was his sword, and he had a hammer with which he struck the thunderclaps. From this it may be gathered that the old Finns had an extreme dread of thunder, which is still the case. At the return of spring, Oukko was honoured with a festival, food being offered to him on the mountain-top. Akka, the old mother, was his wife, sending rain and often acting contrary to the wishes of Oukko. Each main object of nature,—sun, moon, stars,—had an important place in the Finnish nature worship, the heart of a bear or other wild animal being offered to the sun, and no work being done after sunset. Fire, also, was greatly revered. All these nature gods in general were favourable and propitious to mankind. Many spirits of the forests, of trees and waters, were also reverenced. The Finnish religion. The Kalevala.

The Finns believed in a future life, passed in an under-world called Tuonela, the domain of Tuoni (also known as Kalma and Mana). He is represented as a gloomy, severe, inexorable man, never to be persuaded to relax his grasp on souls he has once seized. His domain is pale and shadowy, though it has a sun, meadows, bears, serpents, etc. The spirits of the dead were feared, especially those of deceased shamans, and hence the living ones who could communicate with them and hinder them from doing evil made their occupation very profitable. The under-world.

TRADITIONAL PORTRAIT OF CONFUCIUS.

BOOK II.

RELIGIONS OF CHINA AND JAPAN.

I. CONFUCIANISM.

CHAPTER I.

Life of Confucius.

A single founder—Early condition of China—Birth of Confucius—His early life—His studies—Interview with Lao-tze—He refuses high office—Official view of Confucius—His son, Le—Confucius a magistrate—His manners and demeanour—Dress and food—The Duke of Lu beguiled—Confucius travels—Employment not readily found—His life in danger—He is compared to a stray dog—Breaking a promise—Scarcity of provisions—Confucius describes himself—Death of Yen Hwuy—Later years—Death of Confucius—His tomb—His influence—Personal description—His guarded speech—His self-confidence—Views on public evils—Compromise of principles—Doctrines—Alternate neglect and reverence—Modern worship—Confucius a lover of antiquity—His special themes—Belief in a Supreme Ruler—Worship of ancestors and spirits—A future life—The family—Subordination of women—Grounds for divorce—The power of example—Filial obedience—The golden rule—Treatment of enemies—Dr. Legge's view of Confucius.

THE predominant religion of China, Confucianism, like Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Mahometanism, is peculiarly connected with a single founder. Dating back as far as, if not farther than Gautama, Confucius still influences the life of his countrymen in an extraordinary degree, not only by his moral and religious teachings, but also by his political institutions. In the sixth century B.C. the "Middle Kingdom" was ruled over by the dynasty of Chow, as a feudal kingdom, far less extensive than its modern successor. Honan and Shansi, with portions of

A single founder.

surrounding (modern) provinces, comprised the whole. There was already a considerable development of the arts of war and peace, and a copious literature existed. Polygamy was in full play, and women occupied a degraded position. There was no established and influential religious system, and the masses of the people lived in chronic misery, suffering greatly under misrule. As Mencius, the great follower of Confucius, wrote: "The world had fallen into decay, and right principles had disappeared. Perverse discourses and oppressive deeds were waxen rife. Ministers murdered their rulers, and sons their fathers. Confucius was frightened by what he saw, and he undertook the work of reformation."

Early condition of China.

At this period, in the year 550 or 551 B.C., was born Kung-Fu-tze (Latinised into Confucius), whose name means "the philosopher or master Kung." He was the son of a brave officer in the army, Shuh-leang Heih, a man of immense strength, and a descendant of former emperors. The later histories surround his birth with marvels. It is claimed by two places in the state of Lu, in the modern Shan-tung. Confucius was the child of his father's old age, and the father only survived the son's birth three years. His youth was passed in comparative poverty, and there is no satisfactory account of his early education. He says briefly in the Analects that at the age of fifteen his mind was bent on learning, and that it was owing to his low condition that he acquired ability in many mean matters, as he regarded them.

Birth of Confucius.

His early life.

At the age of nineteen he married, and his wife bore him a son (Le) and two daughters. Soon after his marriage he was appointed keeper of the grain stores under the chief of his district, and afterwards superintendent of parks and herds, and discharged these offices in a praiseworthy manner, without attempting to enrich himself.

In his twenty-second year (about 530 B.C.), Confucius began his career as a public teacher, having no doubt prosecuted his studies while following his previous employments. His great desire was to have earnest and intelligent students, rather than those who could pay high fees. Indeed he did not reject any pupil who could pay the smallest fee. Two years after this his mother died, sincerely and long mourned by her son. At this time he seems already to have foreseen something of his future. "I am a man," he said, "who belongs equally to the north and the south, the east and the west." After this he continued his studies, and at the age of thirty, he says, "he stood firm" in his learning; in 517 B.C. his fame was so well established that a principal official of Lu, on his death-bed, recommended his son and brother to study with Confucius. This appears to have improved his position, and to have led to his visiting the capital, the city of Lo, where he examined the royal library, temple, and sacrificial grounds, and saw Lao-tze, afterwards famous as the founder of Taoism, whom he appreciated cordially. According to the followers of Lao-tze, the latter did not think much of Confucius, and he is reported to have said to his visitor: "Those

His studies.

Interview with Lao-tze.

whom you talk about are dead, and their bones are mouldered to dust; only their words remain. . . . Put away your proud air and many desires, your insinuating habit and wild will. These are of no advantage to you." These sayings are, as will afterwards be seen, quite in keeping with Lao-tze's teaching; the ceremony, reverence for antiquity, and self-righteousness apparent in Confucius were very much against the spirit of quietism and rationalism of his great contemporary.

Returning to Lu, the fame of Confucius increased, and his disciples are said to have risen to three thousand; but he removed from Lu to Tse when the chief clans expelled the reigning duke. King, the Duke of Tse, sent for him, and offered him the city of Lin-kew with its revenues; but the sage declined the tempting offer, saying, "A superior man will not receive rewards except for services done. I have given advice to the Duke King, but he has not followed it as yet, and now he would endow me with this place. Very far is he from understanding me." When the duke was willing again to reward Confucius, his chief minister dissuaded him in words which convey to us a good idea of how Confucius impressed his contemporaries. "These scholars," he said, "are impracticable, and cannot be imitated. They are haughty and conceited of their own views, so that they will not be content in inferior positions. They set a high value on all funeral ceremonies, give way to their grief, and will waste their property on great burials, so that they would only be injurious to the common manners. This Mr. Kung has a thousand peculiarities. It would take generations to exhaust all that he knows about the ceremonies of going up and going down. This is not the time to examine into his rules of propriety. If you, prince, wish to employ him to change the customs of Tse, you will not be making the people your primary consideration." Soon after this time Confucius returned to Lu, where he stayed fifteen years without official employment, the whole State being in much confusion.

He refuses high office.

Official view of Confucius.

During this period, marked by the composition of his Book of Odes and Book of Offices, occurred the single incident in which Confucius's son Le is prominent. One of the great man's disciples met the son one day, and asked him if he received from his father any different instructions from those given to the students in general. "No," said Le. "He was standing alone once, when I was passing through the court below with hasty steps, and said to me, 'Have you read the Odes?' On my replying 'Not yet,' he added, 'If you do not learn the Odes, you will not be fit to converse with.' Another day he said to me, 'Have you read the Rules of Propriety?' On my replying, 'Not yet,' he added, 'If you do not learn the Rules of Propriety, your character cannot be established.'" Nothing else of special importance had the son heard from his father. The disciple's comment was characteristic of his kind in China: "I asked one thing, and I have got three things. I have heard about the Odes; I have heard about the Rules of Propriety; I have also heard that the superior man maintains a distant reserve towards his son." This last

His son Le.

practice was quite in accord with the principles of Confucius; propriety was to be so far studied, even in the parental relation, that there was little room for the manifestation of open-hearted affection. Even when his wife died, and the son continued to weep aloud for her after the appropriate period, Confucius sent to him to tell him that his sorrow must be subdued.

Having contrived for many years to steer clear of party conflicts, Confucius, about B.C. 500, was made chief magistrate of the city of Chung-too. Here he soon signalised himself by his strict administration, and by the number of rules that he framed for all conditions in life; and it appears certain that he effected a great reformation in the manners of the people. This led to his promotion through several offices to be minister of crime to the entire state. Whereupon we have the doubtless exaggerated statement that all crime ceased from the date of his appointment.

Confucius a magistrate.

CONFUCIUS: RUBBING FROM A PORTRAIT ON BRASS.

We have a picture of the manners and behaviour of Confucius, in the tenth book of the Analects, which appears very natural to his character. Everything with him was a matter of ceremony, and every action was designed to be an example to others. When out of doors, in his village, he looked simple and sincere; in courts and before princes his demeanour was humble, but precise and self-possessed. When receiving the visitors of a prince, his legs bent under him, and he showed uneasiness. In dress, Confucius would only use the correct colours—azure, yellow, carnation, white, and black; his under garment was of silk, with fur

His manners and demeanour.

Dress and food.

over it in winter, and a thin garment again over that. In his eating he was particular, though he did not eat much. Everything must be clean, well cooked, in season, properly served; and he was never without ginger when he ate. When eating, he did not converse. When in bed, he did not speak. Although his food might be coarse rice and vegetable soup, he would offer a little of it in sacrifice with a grave, respectful air. "In bed, he did not lie like a corpse. At home, he did not put on any formal deportment." In all these matters he was consistently anxious to set a good example. His idea was, that if the prince's expressed desires and his example were good, the people would be good. And certainly he was so far successful that he added to the power of the State of Lu, its inhabitants increased because of his good government, the men became loyal and faithful, the women chaste and docile. The people were enthusiastic for him, and sang in his praise at their work.

But this bright period of success was not to last long. The duke of the neighbouring State, instead of following the example of Lu, took fright; he thought Lu would become supreme and would swallow up Tse. Consequently he readily adopted the advice of one of his officials, that he should try and procure the disgrace of the statesman who was adding to the fame of his neighbour so greatly. With skilful adaptation to oriental court habits, he sent a present of eighty beautiful girls, good dancers and musicians, with a hundred and twenty-five horses, to the Duke of Lu. The fascinations of harem and horses had their effect and the minister and the council were neglected. At length, finding that even the recurrence of the great sacrifice to heaven failed to produce a change, and that the whole thing was hurried through, Confucius slowly and regretfully took his leave of the Court, and was not summoned back. So he began his wanderings.

The Duke of Lu beguiled.

Even now Confucius hoped to find suitable employment for his abilities in neighbouring States. "If any ruler," he said, "would submit to me as his director for twelve months, I should accomplish something considerable; and in three years I should attain the realisation of my hopes." He believed he could teach the rulers how they ought to behave, what they ought to encourage, what they ought to forbid. One of his expressions was that there was good government when the ruler was ruler and the minister minister; when the father was father and the son son. That means authority and submission, due subordination of ranks. But, notwithstanding his firm faith in his principles, his departure from Lu, in his fifty-sixth year, was melancholy, and it is recorded that he spoke in verse to the following effect:—

Confucius travels.

"Fain would I still look towards Lu,
But this Kwei hill cuts off my view.
With an axe, I'd hew the thickets through:—
Vain thought! against the hill I nought can do.

* * * * *

How is it, O azure Heaven,
From my home I thus am driven,
Through the land my way to trace,
With no certain dwelling-place?
Dark, dark the minds of men;
Worth in vain comes to their ken.
Hastens on my term of years;
Old age, desolate appears."

Employment not readily found.

Although many received him well on his journey, he did not readily find the employment he sought. The times were unpropitious, the internal dissensions of the various States of the empire foreboded the dissolution of the State of Chow; and Confucius, eager to strengthen that dynasty, was not likely to be acceptable to those who were fighting for self-interest, or for the downfall of Chow. Even the sage's disciples advised him to bend to the times; but he replied, "A good husbandman can sow, but he cannot secure a harvest. An artisan may excel in handicraft, but he cannot provide a market for his goods. And in the same way a superior man can cultivate his principles, but he cannot make them acceptable." And the result at Wei clearly proved the latter fact, for the duke, though showing him considerable honour, put a public slight upon him, so that the populace cried out, "Lust in front; virtue behind!" and Confucius was constrained to observe, "I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty."

His life in danger.

While Confucius was on his journey from Wei to Chin, an officer of Sung sought to kill him, greatly alarming the philosopher's disciples; whereupon he uttered one of his famous sayings: "Heaven has produced the virtue that is in me; what can Hwan Twy do to me?" On his farther journey Confucius was separated from his disciples, and word was brought to his followers in Ching that there was a man at the city gate whose description was given, with the addition that altogether he had the disconsolate appearance of a stray dog. Identified by the description, the master was soon found, and was greatly amused by hearing of the style in which he had been described. "The bodily appearance," said he, "is but a small matter; but to say I was like a stray dog,—capital! capital!"

He is compared to a stray dog.

Breaking a promise.

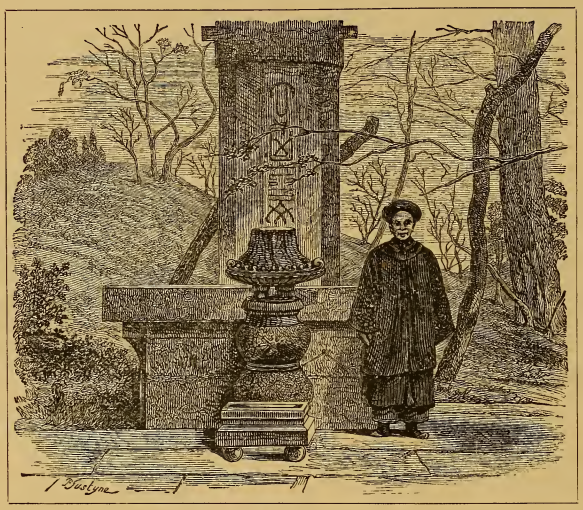
During 495 B.C., Confucius was in Chin. In 493 he decided to return to Wei; but on the way he was detained by a rebel officer at Poo, who made him promise, before releasing him, not to go on to Wei. But Confucius broke this promise, and, on being questioned as to the morality of this course, replied that it was a forced oath, which the spirits do not hear. So he went on to Wei, and was well received by the Duke Ling, who, however, gave him no office, perhaps because of his great reverence for the Chow dynasty and the elders. After some further travels, Confucius returned to Chin, and in B.C. 490 travelled into Tsae. During the journey his party endured severe privations from want of provisions. One of his disciples asked, in surprise and mortification, "Has the superior man indeed to endure in this way?"

Scarcity of provisions.

Confucius replied, "The superior man may indeed have to endure want; but the mean man, when he is in want, gives way to unbridled licence." Thus showing that the distinction between the two was adequately marked by the way in which such calamities were borne. During this distress the sage maintained his composure, and was even able to sing and play upon the lute.

In 488, Confucius was in She, where a district chief had assumed the title of duke. The latter did not know what to think of such a visitor, and hearing of his inquiries, Confucius described himself as "a man who in his eager pursuit of knowledge forgets his food, who in the joy of its attainment forgets his sorrows, and who does not perceive that old age is coming on." Surely this is a noble description of a lofty-minded man, eager for truth, satisfied and happy in its attainment. But he could not win the opportunity to put his views into practice: again and again he was foiled by the jealousy of prime ministers or courtiers, the indolence of rulers, or their disinclination to change their sordid courses. Finally he returned to Wei, where at first he was asked to undertake the government for a young ruler, the grandson of his old patron, who was reigning in opposition to his own father. Confucius again showed strength of principle in refusing to aid a ruler whose title was founded on unfilial rebellion; and he remained several years employed only in his literary compositions and in teaching. During this period his favourite pupil, Yen Hwuy, died, occasioning poignant grief to the master, who exclaimed, "Heaven is destroying me!" It is said that his wife died in B.C. 484. At last he was recalled to Lu in 483 by the powerful Ke Kiang, who had heard anew the praises of Confucius from his pupil Yen Yew. The latter was judicious enough to warn the ruler not to allow mean men to come between him and the philosopher. His return, however, did not lead to any very striking improvement in

Confucius describes himself.



TOMB OF CONFUCIUS.

Death of Yen Hwuy.

Confucius's position. He was not admitted to take any part in state affairs, and consequently he applied himself to the completion of his great works. We are told that at this period he wrote a preface to the Shu King, made a careful digest of the ancient rites and ceremonies, made a collection of ancient poetry, and endeavoured to make improvements in music. In 482 his son Le died, and in 480 he had a presage of his own speedy death. In 479 he lost another of his notable disciples, Tze-loo, a man of bold and soldierly presence, who would remonstrate with his chief, or make inquiries of him which others would not venture on making. Later years.

And now came the death of the great philosopher himself. Early one morning in the 4th month of 478 B.C. he rose from bed and moved slowly about by his door, saying :—

> "The great mountain must crumble,
> The strong beam must break;
> And the wise man wither away like a plant."

Then entering his house, he sat down opposite the door. To a disciple who hastened to him on hearing these words, Confucius declared his preference for the burial form of Yin, in which the funeral ceremony was performed between the two pillars, as if the deceased were at once host and guest, instead of treating him exclusively as one or the other. "Last night," said he, "I dreamt that I was sitting with offerings before me between the two pillars. No intelligent monarch arises; there is not one in the empire that will make me his master. My time is come to die." So he took to his bed, and died seven days afterwards, B.C. 478, in the seventy-third or seventy-fourth year of his age. He was buried by the river Sze, north of the chief city of Lu, and his disciples continued mourning at his grave for three entire years. His most devoted surviving disciple, Tsze-kung, mourned for three years longer. He it was who said, "I have all my life had the heaven above my head, but I do not know its height; and the earth under my feet, but I know not its thickness. In serving Confucius, I am like a thirsty man, who goes with his pitcher to the river and there drinks his fill, without knowing the river's depth." Death of Confucius.

The tomb of Confucius is still reverently attended to and visited. It is surrounded by a forest of oak, cypress, etc., within a high wall. A huge mound, covered with trees and shrubs, stands over the grave, and in front of it are befitting arrangements for sacrifice. A tall tablet, twenty-five feet high and six feet broad, standing by the mound, bears a record of the name and deeds of the philosopher. Hard by are the tombs of his son Le and of the principal persons of his clan. His tomb.

Dr. Legge thus comments on the death of Confucius : "His end was not unimpressive, but it was melancholy. He sank behind a cloud. Disappointed hopes made his soul bitter. The great ones of the empire had not received his teachings. No wife nor child was by, to do the kindly offices of affection for him. Nor were the expectations of another life present with him as he passed through the dark valley. He uttered no prayer, and he betrayed no apprehensions."

Succeeding ages have known how to do Confucius justice, if not more than justice. His life fell upon times unsuited to the development of his doctrines of quiet orderly government. War, turbulence, disorder, prevailed more or less throughout his life. His personal career may be described as a failure; but he succeeded in leaving his doctrines to his posterity; and his fame grew so great after his death, that a whole series of commentators and original writers followed in his steps and built up a mass of sacred or at any rate revered literature in China which compares even with our own book-wonders.

His influence.

In person, Confucius is described as very tall, though we may not accept the tradition that he was nine feet eight inches high. He is imaged as of a swarthy complexion in the North, while in the South he is lighter. His statue in the temple adjoining his tomb represents him as a well-built man with a large, heavy head; but it is not likely that we can now attain anything like a correct picture of him.

Personal description.

He was not a great talker. He esteemed highly the inscription on a statue in the ancestral temple of Lo—a statue with a triple clasp upon its mouth. "The ancients," said the inscription, "were guarded in their speech; and like them we should avoid loquacity. Many words invite many defeats. Avoid also engaging in many businesses, for many businesses create many difficulties." Confucius's comment to his disciples was, "Observe this, my children. These words are true, and commend themselves to our reason."

His guarded speech.

He did not like forcing his doctrines on those who showed themselves dull or unwilling pupils. "I do not open the truth," he said, "to one who is not eager after knowledge, nor do I help any one who is not anxious to explain himself. When I have presented one corner of a subject, and the listener cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson." Like many another master, he disdained the labour of making milk for babes, and only offered strong meat for the strong.

Self-confidence was a distinguishing mark of Confucius. At thirty, he says, he stood firm; at forty, he had no doubts, apparently, as to what was proper to do or think under all circumstances; at fifty, he knew the decrees of Heaven; at sixty, his ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth; at seventy, he could follow what his heart desired, without transgressing what was right. Truly a desirable state, in which the conscience is in full agreement with all the actions, and nothing is desired which at all transgresses the rule of right which the inner self acknowledges.

His self-confidence.

He had clear ideas upon public evils, and their connection with inward wickedness of mind. "There are five great evils," he said: "a man with a rebellious heart who becomes dangerous; a man who joins to vicious deeds a fierce temper; a man whose words are knowingly false; a man who treasures in his memory noxious deeds and disseminates them; a man who follows evil and fertilises it."

Views of public evils.

Confucius has been criticised because, as he grew older, he appeared

sometimes willing to compromise his principles for the sake of gaining employment or influence. One notable instance was when an officer, Pih Hih, of the Duke Ling was holding the town of Chung How in rebellion against his chief, and Confucius was inclined to accept an invitation from him, although he was noted for his censures of rebels and rebellion. When remonstrated with on this subject, his reply was to the effect that he would not necessarily become like a rebel by going to see one. "Am I to be hung up out of the way of being eaten?" he exclaimed. Nevertheless, he did not pay the visit which he contemplated. There appears reason to think that Confucius really was, in his later years, ready to relax some of his rigid principles, if he could gain some opportunity for exercising influence. Expecting old age and death to come only too speedily, he was anxious about his chances of leaving his mark on his generation. Once during his later years, after a strange dream, he burst into tears, and said, "The course of my doctrine is run, and I am unknown." On being asked for an explanation, Confucius said, "I do not complain of Providence, nor find fault with men, that learning is neglected and success is worshipped. Heaven knows me. Never does a superior man pass away without leaving a name behind him. But my principles make no progress, and I, how shall I be viewed in future ages?"

Compromise of principles.

DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS.

Although thus keen as to what future ages might think of him, the philosopher can scarcely have anticipated the remarkable future which awaited himself and his doctrines. In his eyes China was drifting through confusion and anarchy to ruin. But his teaching accorded singularly well with the natural tendencies and limitations of the Chinese character. Indeed, he has been called a typical Chinaman. What then did he teach that can be included within the scope of religion? Was he really the founder of a religion? Let us first see how his memory has been treated.

No sooner had he died than the reigning duke exclaimed, "There is none now to assist me on the throne. Woe is me!" So, like others who have neglected great men while they lived, he built a temple to him, in which sacrifice was to be offered four times a year. Later we hear that after the death of Confucius, there was an end of his exquisite words; and that when his disciples had passed away, violence began to be done to their meaning, and several varying editions of his works were current. Amid the conflicts of the different States, there was sad confusion in the teaching of scholars; and the founder of the Tsin dynasty, in the latter part of the third century B.C., destroyed all the literary monuments he could, in order to keep the people in ignorance. But the founder of the Han dynasty, which repaired much of the mischief inflicted by the Tsin, visited the tomb of Confucius in B.C. 194, in passing through Lu, and offered an ox in sacrifice to him; and his remaining writings and others which he had valued were carefully collected and preserved. Emperor after emperor has since visited his grave;

Alternate neglect and reverence.

Modern worship.

and the greatest emperor of the present ruling dynasty knelt thrice before his image, and each time laid his forehead three times in the dust before it. He has been honoured by posthumous titles of rank, such as that of Duke Le; but he is now known as Kung, the ancient teacher, the perfect sage. More or less definite acts of worship were early paid to him; and soon after the beginning of the Christian era it was ordered that sacrifices should be offered to him in the imperial and all the principal colleges throughout the empire. From the seventh century temples were built to him in connection with all the examination halls which fill so important a place in the life of China. Thus the once neglected philosopher is now worshipped.

The devotion of the Chinese to Confucius is like an attachment to the golden age; all the charms that cluster round antiquity surround his memory. Belonging himself to a far distant age, he preserved and venerated the things that were old in his time. Of himself he said, "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity and earnest in seeking it there." He styled himself a transmitter, and not a maker; and truly there appears to be little that is original in his teaching; but he systematised the accumulated experience of his predecessors, and set it forth and enforced it in a manner suited to the Chinese mind. He did not claim to have a divine revelation to make known; yet he did at times say that he had a divine commission to preserve and maintain the ancient truth and rules. It is expressly stated that he seldom touched upon the appointments of Heaven; but once, when he was apparently in danger of his life, he said that Heaven did not let the cause of truth perish, which was lodged in him. What could the people of Kwang do to him?

Confucius a lover of antiquity.

He did not deal with the origin or the end of creation, nor even with the future state of mankind. The present state of things was enough for him. According to the Analects, his frequent themes of discourse were the Book of Poetry, the Book of History, and the maintenance of the Rules of Propriety. He is said to have taught four things: letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness. He did not like to talk about extraordinary things, feats of strength, states of disorder, and spiritual beings. What then was precisely the nature of his belief in superior beings?

His special themes.

Dr. Legge is of opinion that Confucius's faith in a personal God was less definite than that of his predecessors, as given in the Shi-king and the Shu-king. In these works we hear of Te or Shang-Te as a personal ruler, governing the nations, rewarding the good and punishing the evil. Confucius preferred to use the term Heaven, rather than to refer to a personal God. Thus he would say, "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray." "There is Heaven; that knows me." Thus he did not elevate the religious feeling of the Chinese. On the other hand, he exaggerated the worship of ancestors and other spirits. "He sacrificed to the dead as if they were present; he sacrificed to the spirits as if the spirits were present." Yet he never explicitly avowed the belief in the continued existence of the

Belief in a Supreme Ruler.

Worship of ancestors and spirits.

spirits of the departed, on which that worship rested. When he was asked whether the dead had any knowledge of the service or worship rendered to them, Confucius fenced with the question, saying, "If I were to say that the dead have such knowledge, I am afraid that filial sons and dutiful grandsons would injure their substance in paying the last offices to the departed; and if I were to say that the dead have not such knowledge, I am afraid lest unfilial sons should leave their parents unburied. You need not wish to know whether the dead have knowledge or not. There is no present urgency about the point. Hereafter you will know it for yourself." This sort of teaching implies either that he himself had no opinion, or an opinion which he did not care to express; and the whole calculated tenor of his life and demeanour leads one to imagine that he had no strong belief in a future, and that he permitted to himself a certain amount of insincerity, or at least cloaking of his real opinions. In spite of his frequent praises of truthfulness and sincerity, he could sometimes break his word or pretend a reason which was not true, and no doubt this has had an injurious influence on Chinese character.

A future life.

We cannot here go into Confucius's views on government, though they are so influential as to have almost formed a religion. More important for us are his "Family Sayings," in which a condensed philosophy of home relationships is given. "Man is the representative of Heaven, and is supreme over all things. Woman yields obedience to the instructions of man, and helps to carry out his principles. On this account she can determine nothing of herself, and is subject to the rule of the three obediences. When young, she must obey her father and elder brother; when married, she must obey her husband; when her husband is dead, she must obey her son. She may not think of marrying a second time. No instructions or orders must issue from the harem. Woman's business is simply the preparation and supplying of wine and food. Beyond the threshold of her apartments she should not be known, for evil or for good. . . . There are five women who are not to be taken in marriage: the daughter of a rebellious house; the daughter of a disorderly house; the daughter of a house which has produced criminals for more than one generation; the daughter of a leprous house; and the daughter who has lost her father and elder brother. A wife may be divorced for seven reasons, which may be overruled by three considerations. The grounds for divorce are: disobedience to her husband's parents; not giving birth to a son; dissolute conduct; jealousy; talkativeness; and thieving. The three considerations which may overrule these grounds are: first, if, while she was taken from a home, she has now no home to return to; second, if she has passed with her husband through the three years' mourning for his parents; third, if the husband have become rich from being poor" (L.). Thus we see that Confucius held an essentially low idea of women, and therefore lacked one great element of elevating power.

The family.

Subordination of women.

Grounds for divorce.

If anything is special to Confucius, it is his teaching of the necessity of correct conduct on the part of those in authority, and the power of example.

"If you lead on the people with correctness," he said, "who will dare not to be correct?" His theory unfortunately is but a theory, notwithstanding the indubitable effects of good example. No doubt he had as good a soil for the sowing of his seed as could be found on earth, and the result has been as good as can be seen anywhere. "Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows across it." Happily a more independent feeling rules in the West, but one that greatly shocks the Chinese. Confucius gives no sufficiently powerful motive for this obedience, and shows no sufficiently real and deep insight into the moral nature of mankind. His chief recommendations relate to external things. "Self-adjustment and purification," he says, "with careful regulation of his dress, and the not making a movement contrary to the rules of propriety; this is the way for the ruler to cultivate his person."

The power of example.

Filial obedience.

We must note further that Confucius must be credited with having put forth something like the Golden Rule long before it was given by Jesus. In the Analects a disciple asks Confucius if there were one word that might serve as a rule of practice for all one's life, and received the answer, "Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." But this is really only a maxim of enlightened self-interest, and is far from being equal to the positive injunction, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them." Confucius's idea of perfect virtue was, "in retirement, to be sedately grave; in the management of business, to be reverently attentive; in intercourse with others, to be strictly sincere. Though a man go among rude, uncultivated tribes, these qualities may not be neglected.

The Golden Rule.

Confucius being asked what he thought of the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness, he replied, "With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness." But in regard to great offences, we find the following precepts: "With the slayer of his father, a man may not live under the same heaven; against the slayer of his brother, a man must never have to go home to fetch a weapon; with the slayer of his friend, a man may not live in the same State." So that the law of revenge was plainly inculcated; and its baneful influence continues in China to the present day.

Treatment of enemies.

"After long study of his character and opinions," says Dr. Legge, "I am unable to regard him as a great man. He was not before his age, though he was above the mass of the officers and scholars of his time. He threw no new light on any of the questions which have a world-wide interest. He gave no impulse to religion. He had no sympathy with progress. His influence has been wonderful, but it will henceforth wane."

Dr. Legge's view of Confucius.

[Legge's "Life and Teachings of Confucius" (L.). "Sacred Books of the East," vols. iii., xviii., xxvii., xxviii. Douglas's "Confucianism and Taouism" (S.P.C.K.). Johnson's "Oriental Religions: China." Williams's "Middle Kingdom."]

CHINESE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM WORSHIPPING TABLETS OF DECEASED ANCESTORS.

CHAPTER II.

The Chinese Sacred Books.

The Analects—Moral teachings—The Great Learning—Personal training—Regulation of the family—The doctrine of the mean—Tsze-tsze—Teaching of the Chung-yung—Man's moral nature—Confucius on spiritual beings—Benevolence—The sage, or perfect man—Omens and divination—Ceremony and demeanour—Shu-king, or historical documents—Ancestor worship and sacrifices—Music—Counsels of Kao-yao—The appointments of Heaven—Mang and the Powers above——He desires to sacrifice himself—Instructions of I Yin—The dynasty of Chow—The great duke of Chow—The foundation of the city Lo—The goodness and perversion of men—The marquis of Chin on a good minister—The Shi-king or Book of Odes—Shang-ti, the Supreme Being—Ancient sacrifices to ancestors—Prayer to Heaven—The Classic of Filial Piety—The Book of Changes—The Book of Rites—Rules of propriety and ceremony—List of sacrifices—Mourning for a father—Sympathy of Confucius—Calling back the dead—Mencius—His life and journeyings—The teachings of Mencius—Ideas of Heaven and God—The service of Heaven—His ideal of personal character.

FIRST among the Sacred Books of China we must place the Analects, or "Discourses and Dialogues" of Confucius, although containing many of the sayings of his disciples. The whole is very dis- The Analects.
jointed and fragmentary in style. In many a paragraph the praises of "the superior man" are sung. Thus, Yew says, "The superior man bends his attention to what is radical. That being established, all right practical courses naturally grow up. Filial piety and fraternal submission, are they not the root of all benevolent actions?" The superior man is catholic and no partisan; he acts before he speaks, and then speaks according to his actions. He does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to virtue: in moments of haste and in seasons of danger he cleaves to it. Four characteristics of the superior man are, that in his

conduct of himself he is humble; in serving his superiors he is respectful; in nourishing the people he is kind; in ordering the people he is just.

There are many details of Confucius's life and teaching embodied in the Analects, which we have already referred to. Some additional teachings on morals may be given: of religion, properly so called, there is none. "He who aims to be a man of complete virtue, in his food does not seek to gratify his appetite, nor in his dwelling-place does he seek the appliances of ease; he is earnest in what he is doing, and careful in his speech; he frequents the company of men of principle, that he may be rectified." The importance of the thoughts was fully recognised, for the Book of Poetry was summed up by Confucius in the words, "Have no depressed thoughts." In all things filial piety is exalted, and this is made to include, in addition to obedience and reverence while parents are alive, sacrificial rites, full mourning, and keeping to their ways after they are dead. Conservatism marks everything. Hear and see much, learners are told, and put aside everything that seems perilous, while being cautious in practising the safe things. All through we come across repeated references to the "rules of propriety," till we are inclined to say the Chinese intellect has been quite cramped and swaddled in rules of propriety. A peculiar Confucian dictum is this: "It is only the truly virtuous man who can love or who can hate others." The term righteousness, as used by Confucius, falls far short of our use of it, for it is a thing to be performed according to the rules of propriety.

Moral teachings.

"The Great Learning" is one of the chapters of the Li-ki, or Book of Rites, of doubtful authorship, but containing many of the sayings of Confucius. Its main object is political, but it illustrates chiefly virtue and morals. It shows how the cultivation of the individual is at the root of and leads to the right regulation of the family and good government of the State. The wearisome style in which it is written may be illustrated by one of the early paragraphs: "The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the empire, first ordered well their own States. Wishing to order well their States, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things." The book is probably only a fragment of a larger work; and it is not possible to get any very connected system out of it. One of its important principles is the following, which may be said to illustrate the golden rule on its negative side: "What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors; what he dislikes in inferiors, let him not display in his service of his superiors; what he dislikes in those who are before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind him," and so on.

The Great Learning.

As to personal training, it is most truly said, that "the rectifying of the

mind is realised when the thoughts are made sincere," when there is no self-deception, and when we move without effort to what is right. The superior man is watchful over himself when he is alone. There is no full account of "the investigation of things," as we should expect from the paragraph given above.

Personal training.

Supposing the cultivation of the person adequately performed, it is expected that the due regulation of the family will necessarily follow. The virtues taught and practised in the family will also appear in the State. From filial piety proceeds loyalty; and from fraternal submission, obedience to elders and superiors. The great object of government is recognised as being to make the people happy and good.

Regulation of the family.

The Chung-yung, or, "The Doctrine of the Mean," otherwise interpreted, "The State of Equilibrium and Harmony," is a still more important part of the Li-ki, and is ascribed to Tsze-tsze, the grandson of Confucius, being the son of Le. In his early days he received his grandfather's instructions, and greatly profited by them. He was to a considerable extent an ascetic, and refused a gift of wine as an appliance of feasting. He appears to have been a man of strong will and decided independence of character. He was held in great esteem by the dukes of Wei, Sung, Lu, and Pe. On one occasion he recommended a man of worth, Le-yin, to the duke of Wei, although he was only the son of a husbandman. The duke justified Tsze-tsze's statement that he could not appreciate men of worth, by bursting into laughter, and saying, "The son of a husbandman cannot be fit for me to employ!" The sage answered, "I mention Le-yin because of his abilities; what has the fact of his forefathers being husbandmen to do with the case?"

The Doctrine of the Mean.

Tsze-tsze.

In Lu, Tsze-tsze had several hundred disciples, the duke paying him the highest honour. One day the duke said to him, "The officer there told me that you do good without wishing for any praise from men; is it so?" Tsze-tsze replied to the effect that he did wish it to be known and praised, because of its effect as an example. We do not, however, find that he rose to the same elevation as Confucius.

The Chung-yung is but a short work, very dogmatic, and not containing adequate proofs of what it advances. It begins by a series of propositions, of which the following are specimens. "What Heaven has conferred is called the Nature. An accordance with this Nature is called the Path of Duty; the regulation of this path is called the System of Instruction." We may express this more in accordance with Western thought thus: "Man has received his nature from Heaven. Conduct in accordance with that nature constitutes the path of duty." Later we read, "When there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, we call it the state of Equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred, and all in their due measure and degree, we call it the state of Harmony. This Equilibrium is the great root (from which grow all the human actings) in the world; and this Harmony is the universal path (in which they should all proceed). The state of equilibrium corresponds with

Teaching of the Chung-yung.

the nature given by Heaven. The superior man is he who always exhibits the state of equilibrium and harmony; yet few can keep it for a month."

The treatise diverges without system, and often without much sense. In the main, it amounts to teaching that man's moral nature, received from Heaven, is a law to himself, and must be jealously watched over. In so far as he rightly and completely exercises it, and comes up to it, he may say, "I am a god; I sit in the seat of God." One of the numerous sayings of Confucius quoted in this book is significant. He said, "The Path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a path which is far from what their nature suggests, it should not be considered the Path." Thus much personal choice in morals is justified.

Man's moral nature.

One of the digressions in the Chung-yung is interesting, as attributing to Confucius some definite belief about spiritual beings; but it amounts to little more than crude animism, which he neither originated nor developed. He says, "How abundant and rich are the powers possessed and exercised by Spiritual Beings! We look for them, but do not see them; we listen for them, but do not hear them; they enter into all things, and nothing is without them. They cause all under Heaven to fast and purify themselves, and to array themselves in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the left and the right (of their worshippers)." Then he quotes from the Book of Poetry:—

Confucius on spiritual beings.

> "The spirits come, but when and where,
> No one beforehand can declare;
> The more should we not spirits slight,
> But ever feel as in their sight."

Much of the Chung-yung is occupied with recounting the illustrious examples of former emperors, dukes, etc. In the second section we find the bold statement, "Benevolence is Man," that is, his true self. It is followed by the assertion that the greatest exercise of it is in the love of relatives, while the greatest exercise of righteousness is in the honour paid to the worthy. Wisdom, benevolence, and fortitude are given as the universal virtues, probably for all to exemplify.

Benevolence.

Tsze-tsze carries the teaching of Confucius much further in the latter part of the book, and therein may be called truly an originator. He says that perfection of nature is characteristic of Heaven, but that man may attain to that perfection. The sage, or perfect man, hits what is right without any effort, and apprehends without any exercise of thought; he chooses what is good, and holds it fast. "He extensively studies what is good, inquires accurately about it, thinks carefully over it, clearly discriminates it, and vigorously practises it." Some of his expressions about the persistence of effort, by which the sage attains knowledge, are worthy of all commendation. "If another man succeed by one effort, he will use ten; if another succeed by ten, he will use a thousand. He will not intermit his labour while there is anything he has not asked about, has

The sage, or perfect man.

not thought about, does not understand, or has not studied in every possible way. Let a man proceed in this way, and, though stupid, he is sure to become intelligent, though weak, he is sure to become strong." This sage is credited with power to give its full development, not only to his own nature, but also to that of other men, and even to animals and things; he can even assist the transforming and nourishing operations of heaven and earth. When we consider such expressions by the light of the modern influence of man, as shown in the breeding and teaching of animals, the investigation and culture of plants, and the mastery over physical powers attained in recent years, we shall be inclined to say that the sage of China had a remarkable prescience, although we may not agree with him that "it is only he who is entirely perfect that can transform."

The theme sinks to a lower level in the next paragraph; for the perfect man is declared gifted with foreknowledge, which, however, is derived from omens. "When a State or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be lucky omens; and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. They will be seen in the tortoise-shell and stalks" [two favourite means of divination, the stalks being those of Achillea (Ptarmica) sibirica, a plant of the same genus as Milfoil]; they will affect the movements of the four limbs (of the tortoise). "When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good is sure to be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Hence he who is entirely perfect is like a spirit." In divination by the tortoise, the outer shell was removed, leaving the inner portion marked by the muscular impressions. This being smeared with a black pigment, and fire applied beneath, the pigment was found to present various appearances, giving indications which were interpreted to mean rain, clearing up, cloudiness, want of connection, and crossing. Forty-nine of the divining stalks were manipulated in a special way eighteen different times, resulting in certain diagrams which were interpreted by appointed persons. Both the tortoise and the plant were held to possess spiritual intelligence or correspondence, and the spirits were believed to make revelations by their means.

Omens and divination.

The perfection of the perfect man is then eulogised in a way that does not add much to our knowledge. He is said to effect changes without any movement, and without any exertion. Then by a sudden transition the author rises to a higher subject thus: "The way of heaven and earth may be completely described in one sentence: They are without any second thought, and so their production of things is inexhaustible. The characteristics of heaven and earth are to be large; to be substantial; to be high; to be brilliant; to be far-reaching; to be long-continuing." But there appears in this and its subsequent expansion no notion of a personal deity.

Then the sage is once more described and lauded, his admired greatness including the three hundred usages of ceremony and the three thousand modes of demeanour. Some of the excellent results of the sage's action are that, "throughout the whole kingdom, carriages have all wheels of the same breadth of rim; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules." Such a man marks out the path

Ceremony and demeanour.

for all under heaven; his words are the pattern for all. He shows himself, and the people all revere him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him. "How shall this individual have any one beyond himself on whom he depends? . . . Call him Heaven, how vast is he!" In fact, the superior man is all-important, for everybody will follow his example. First catch your superior man, and everything will go well. But it has not proved so easy for the Chinese to catch their superior man, in spite of the most elaborate contrivances.

We now turn to the main mass of the Chinese classics, which existed before Confucius, and which he was instrumental in collecting, preserving, and arranging. There is first the Shu-king, or Book of Historical Documents, purporting to begin with the twenty-fourth century B.C., and coming down to the seventh. It is but a collection of documents, not definitely connected, and often with considerable gaps between them. There is no reason to doubt the great antiquity of many of them, for the ancient emperors kept a whole set of recorders to record everything of importance; and Dr. Legge believes written characters were in use among the Chinese earlier than the time of Hwang Ti (dated B.C. 2097). The greater number are also credible, allowing for some colouring of the narrator in favour of the ruling powers. Any discussion of historical records would be out of place here; but we may note that at this early period the terms "Heaven," "The Supreme," or God, and emperor were interchangeable, being signified usually by the syllable Ti.

Shu-king, or Historical Documents.

One of the earliest records contains a reference to the "Temple of the Accomplished Ancestor," showing that ancestor-worship was already established. The emperor Shun sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to God (or Heaven); sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honoured Ones (who these were is doubtful); offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers, and extended his worship to the hosts of spirits." Here we see ancestor and spirit worship in a widely diffused form, combined with a recognition of higher and supreme powers. Bulls were sacrificed at this time. The characteristic severity of Chinese punishments is seen in the naming of branding on the forehead, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, whipping, and banishment among the punishments in vogue. Those who transgressed presumptuously and repeatedly were to be punished with death. Schools were already in existence in 2200 B.C., and the stick was the orthodox implement of punishment. The three great ceremonies were the worship of the Spirits of Heaven, the Spirits of Earth, and the Spirits of Men.

Ancestor worship and sacrifices.

At this time music was considerably developed, and was combined with poetry. The director of music was to teach the emperor's sons to be straightforward, yet mild; gentle and dignified; strong, yet not tyrannical. Poetry is defined as the expression of earnest thought, singing as the prolonged utterance of that expression; and eight different kinds of musical instruments were in use. Divination was in regular use by means of the tortoise-shell and the divining stalks.

Music.

The early celebrated minister of crime, Kao-yao, gave wise counsels to them, placing the sovereign's chief hope in the steadfast pursuit of personal virtue. He enumerates nine virtues in conduct, viz., affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness with respectfulness; aptness for government with reverent caution; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness with gentleness; an easy negligence with discrimination; boldness with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness. Kao-yao ascribes the social relationships and duties to Heaven, which graciously distinguishes the virtuous and punishes the guilty.

Counsels of Kao-yao.

We must only note some of the religious references in the Shu-king. Thus we read that to revere and honour the path prescribed by Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favouring appointment of Heaven. "The great God has conferred even on the inferior people a moral sense. . . . To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate, is the work of the sovereign. The way of Heaven is to bless the good, and make the bad miserable."

The appointments of Heaven.

Thang, the first emperor of a new dynasty, B.C. 1766, represents himself as commissioned by Heaven to make an end of the criminality of the previous dynasty. He requested the favour of Heaven on his enterprise, and for his new dynasty. His inaugural address shows that he was deeply anxious not to offend against the Powers above. As for his people or princes, the good in them he will not dare to conceal; the evil in himself he will not dare to forgive himself. "I will examine these things," he says, "in harmony with the mind of God. When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, let it rest on me, the One Man. When guilt is found in me, the One Man, it shall not attach to you." In correspondence with these lofty sentiments, there is a tradition about Thang, that after his accession to the throne, there was a great drought followed by famine. A suggestion was made in accordance with the principle mentioned in our Introduction (p. 16), that some human sacrifice was necessary, and that rain should be prayed for. Thang answered, "If a man must be the victim, I will be he." After fasting, and cutting off his hair and nails, he proceeded in a plain carriage drawn by white horses (*i.e.* of the Chinese mourning colour), decked in rushes as a sacrifice, to a forest of mulberry-trees, where he prayed, asking to what fault of his the drought was owing. Before he had concluded, abundance of rain fell. The title of "the One Man," used of Thang, had already come into use as a special designation of the emperor.

Thang and the Powers above.

He desires to sacrifice himself.

The Instructions of I-yin, minister of Thang's grandson, contain little beyond the ancient truths. He says that Heaven has no partial affection; only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered to them; they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere. A virtuous sovereign is spoken of as the fellow of God, who rules on earth as He rules above. In retiring from office, I-yin said that it was difficult to rely on Heaven, for

Instructions of I-yin.

its appointments were not constant; but if the sovereign's virtue were constant, he would preserve his throne. One of his references shows that the kings in his time had a temple of ancestors containing seven shrines or smaller temples, in which were placed the spirit-tablets of kings held worthy of honour. One of his words of advice to the king, is a remarkable one to be addressed to a ruler: "Do not think yourself so large as to deem others small."

The dynasty of Chow.

The latter portion of the Shu-king relates to the dynasty of Chow (B.C. 122 to 256). In the first book, "The Great Declaration," the founder of the dynasty, Wei, addresses his followers, and gives a picture of the wicked sovereign whom he is going to displace, which shows clearly what conduct was thought reprehensible then. "He sits squatting on his heels, not serving God nor the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors, and not sacrificing to it. The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers, and still he says, 'The people are mine, the heavenly appointment is mine,' never trying to correct his contemptuous mind." Wei relies on the fact that his own dreams coincide with his divinations, the auspicious omen is double. He attributes his coming success entirely to the illustrious virtue of his own late father, Wan, thus showing the true Chinese filial piety.

The great duke of Chow.

A little later we come to the first mention of the duke of Chow, whom Confucius regarded with such great reverence. He was brother of King Wei; and once when Wei lay very ill, the duke, fearing great danger to the State if he should die, prayed to the three ancestral kings that he might be taken as a substitute for his brother. He offered himself as having been lovingly obedient to his father, and as possessed of many abilities and arts which fitted him to serve spiritual beings (confirming the idea of service being rendered by those sacrificed). He then divined with three tortoise-shells (corresponding to the three ancestors prayed to), and consulted the oracular responses, which apparently were some special formulas to be examined by certain rules now unknown. His prayer was granted; but neither king nor duke died. The prayer was written down and concealed, and served in the reign of his successor to justify the duke from false accusations.

The foundation of the city Lo.

In the Announcement of the duke of Shao, we find an interesting account of the foundation of the city Lo, about B.C. 1109. Divination by the tortoise-shell first took place, then two bulls were offered as victims in the northern and southern suburbs of the chosen site, perhaps to heaven and earth respectively; then a bull, a ram, and a boar were offered at the altar to the spirit of the land in the new city. The duke of Chow took an important part in this enterprise, and he is the author of several later portions of the Shu-king. In one of these "Against Luxurious Ease," he instructs the king by reference to the severe toil of the agricultural labourer, which affords a pattern to himself, and also by reference to the good fortune of previous kings who had been diligent and not self-indulgent. The king is not to allow himself leisure at any time to

say, "To-day I will indulge in pleasure;" surely a hard lesson for an absolute monarch.

At various points we find expression of the belief that "the people are born good, and are changed by external things," which is a keynote of Chinese beliefs, and makes them resent the Western teaching of the natural depravity of man. The good example of superiors will alone suffice to bring them out of error and to confirm them in the way of virtue. We must conclude our extracts from this most interesting book by noting the gist of the marquis of Chin's speech, about 100 years before the birth of Confucius. His principles of government might well be read as a text for modern rulers: "Let me have but one resolute minister, plain and sincere, without other ability, but having a straightforward mind, and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them; and when he finds accomplished and sage men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, really showing himself able to bear them:—such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants and people, and would indeed be a giver of benefits. But if the minister, when he finds men of ability, is jealous and hates them; if when he finds accomplished and sage men, he opposes them and does not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them:—such a man will not be able to protect my descendants and people, and will he not be a dangerous man?" But all Western minds will not agree that "the decline and fall of a State may arise from one man," or that "the glory and tranquillity of a State may also arise from the goodness of one man."

The goodness and perversion of men.

The marquis of Chin on a good minister.

The Shi-king (or She-king), the great Book of Poetry, includes more than three hundred pieces, varying in date from B.C. 1766 to B.C. 586. Only a certain number of them are specially of a religious character; many are domestic and narrative, others are metaphorical and allusive. The authorship is uncertain, but many are ascribed to the great duke of Chow. Those in the fourth part are chiefly concerned with the ancestral worship of the Shang and Chow dynasties and of the marquises of Lu; but these served as a model for the ancestral worship of the common people. They are so different in their nature from anything called poetry with us, that it is difficult in a brief space to give an idea of their scope and variety. Here is one describing a sacrifice to Thang:—

The Shi-king, or Book of Odes.

"How admirable! how complete!
Here are set our hand-drums and drums.
The drums resound harmonious and loud,
To delight our meritorious ancestor.

The descendant of Thang invites him with this music,
That he may soothe us with the realisation of our thoughts.
Deep is the sound of our hand-drums and drums
Shrilly sound the flutes, all harmonious and blending together,
According to the notes of the sonorous gem.
Oh! majestic is the descendant of Thang;
Very admirable is his music.

The large bells and drums fill the ear,
The various dances are grandly performed.
We have the admirable visitors, who are pleased and delighted.
From of old, before our time, the former men set us the example
How to be mild and humble from morning to night,
And to be reverent in discharging the service.

May he regard our sacrifices of winter and autumn,
Offered by the descendant of Thang!"

In explanation of "the realisation of our thoughts," we learn that the sacrificer was required, before the service, to fast for several days, during which he must think of his ancestor, his demeanour, words, aims, and delights. Then with a perfect image of him in his mind, he would inwardly see him in his shrine when he came to sacrifice, and hear him during the service. The visitors referred to are descendants of previous dynasties, whom it was always important to have present.

Here is a portion of an ode expressing the current beliefs about the Divine Ruler and the primary goodness of men:—

"How vast is God, the ruler of men below!
How arrayed in terrors is God,
With many things irregular in his ordinations.
Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of the people,
But the nature it confers is not to be depended on.
All are good at first,
But few prove themselves to be so at the last."

Shang-ti, the Supreme Being.

There can be no doubt that the Supreme Being was early worshipped in China by the title Shang-ti, translated "God" in the above quotations. Another title indicated Heaven, but the two are used in a way which is practically equivalent. It is recorded that as early as the reign of Hwang-ti (B.C. 2697) a temple was erected in his honour; and a hundred years later music was ordered to be performed in connection with these rites. At first he was conceived as a personal ruler, interfering directly in the affairs of man by rewards and punishments; but it is not doubtful that a degeneration took place, by which Shang-ti became more impersonal, as the Azure Heaven; and Confucius, by practically ignoring Shang-ti and laying more stress on the worship of the spirits of ancestors and on filial piety, did much to sterilise and stereotype the faith of his countrymen. Several sacrifices to Shang-ti are however mentioned in the Shi-king, especially in spring and autumn.

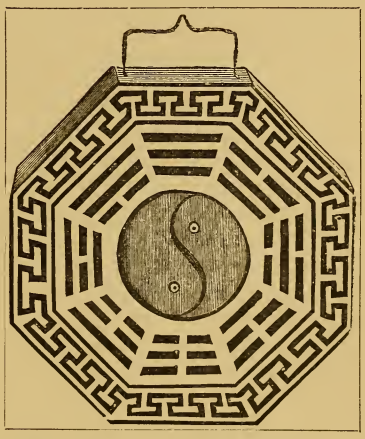
Ancient sacrifices to ancestors.

Many interesting details of the ceremonial of sacrifice to ancestors may be gathered from the Shi-king. After fasting by the king or prominent persons concerned, a great assembly of princes, especially of those bearing the same surname as the royal house, took place. Libations of fragrant spirits were made, to attract the spirits of the ancestors. The king himself killed the chief victim, a red bull, and cut away the fat, which was burned with southernwood. Numerous other victims were sacrificed, and the ceremonial was complex and laborious. "The description," says Dr. Legge, "is that of a feast as much as of a sacrifice;

and, in fact, those great seasonal occasions were what we might call grand family reunions, where the dead and the living met, eating and drinking together, where the living worshipped the dead, and the dead blessed the living." The departed spirits were represented by living relatives bearing the same surname, received personally the honour due to the dead, and ate and drank for them. They also expressed the will of the deceased spirits, and gave their blessing to the sacrificing king or prince, with the aid of a skilled minister of religion. Thus the predominant idea of these sacrifices was the maintenance of filial piety and of the clan feeling. The continued existence and guardianship of ancestors was expressed and embodied.

As a specimen of a deep tone of appeal to Heaven sometimes found in the odes, we may quote the following: "O great Heaven, how hast thou shut up thy love! Compassionate Heaven, arrayed in terrors! why revealest thou not thy care? Leaving criminals aside, who have but paid just penalty, the innocent are involved in the same ruin. Why will he not listen to justice? Why, O officers, will ye not respect each other, nor stand in awe of Heaven? Alas! there are no words for it; 'tis deeper than the tongue can speak. Words that *can* be spoken prosper. Artful speech flows like water, and the speaker dwells at ease. See how perilous is office. By advice given in vain, you offend the prince, you offend your friends even. Painful are my inmost thoughts. I weep tears of blood."

Prayer to Heaven.



EIGHT DIAGRAMS, WITH REPRESENTATION OF MALE AND FEMALE PRINCIPLES OF NATURE.

The tenor of the Hsiao-king, or Classic of Filial Piety, a work attributed to a member of the school of a prominent disciple of Confucius, may be sufficiently understood from the following extract: "The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows:—In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them, his endeavour is to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them, he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things, he may be pronounced able to serve his parents."

The Classic of Filial Piety.

The Yi-king, or Book of Changes, can only be estimated by study. It is an explanation of certain line-diagrams, or hexagrams, being variations on these types ⚌ ☰ and ☷ ☳, which are believed to date from the twelfth century B.C., and to represent various moral and political teachings. There are sixty-four of these

The Book of Changes.

hexagrams. In the reign of the tyrant whom the great Wan overthrew, these figures were already used in divination. Wan, it is said, was imprisoned by the tyrant in 1143 B.C., and spent his imprisonment in studying these hexagrams. As he mused over them and thought of public affairs, he wrote the sixty-four short paragraphs explaining each hexagram as a whole. His son Tan afterwards did the same for each line, making it harmonise with the general paragraph. M. Terrien de Lacouperie appears to have proved that the hexagrams of the Yi-king are merely a vocabulary of primitive words and expressions, derived from the earliest writing of South-western Asia, so ancient that the earliest critics did not know what it meant. (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* vol. 15, 1883.)

The Li-ki, Book of Rites, is the most important of all the Chinese classics, as regards the practical behaviour of the people. It is a collection of treatises on the Rules of Propriety, or ceremonial usages: in its present form it is not older than the Han dynasty, and was only completed in the second century A.D. It has however gained higher rank than the two earlier rituals of the Chow dynasty, which are not reckoned among the five chief classics. Probably some parts of it are really as early as, or may be earlier than, these rituals. It has been described "as the most exact and complete monograph which the Chinese nation has been able to give of itself to the rest of the human race." The first book is a summary of the general rules of propriety and ceremony, and begins with a maxim which strikes an appropriate keynote: "Always and in everything let there be reverence." The man who observes no rules of propriety is said to have the heart of a beast. After some general moral expressions, the origin of the rules is discussed. "In the highest antiquity they prized simply conferring good; in the time next to this, giving and repaying was the thing attended to. And what the rules of propriety value, is that reciprocity. If I give a gift and nothing comes in return, that is contrary to propriety." The services due from juniors to elders and from sons to parents, and the rules of all daily ceremonies are minutely prescribed. Thus: "For all sons it is the rule, in winter to warm the bed for their parents, and to cool it in summer." A filial son, when he meets an intimate friend of his father, must neither advance nor retire without being told, nor speak unless questioned.

The Book of Rites.

Rules of propriety and ceremony.

In the third part of this first section, we have a list of sacrifices which is of interest. We learn that the Son of Heaven (the king or emperor) sacrifices to Heaven and earth (representing the Supreme Being), to the spirits presiding over the four quarters, to those of the hills and rivers; and offers the five sacrifices of the house, every year. The feudal princes sacrifice to the spirits each of his own quarter, of its hills and rivers, and the five sacrifices. Great officers offer only the latter, while other officers merely present oblations to their ancestors. The Son of Heaven sacrifices an ox of a single pure colour; a feudal prince, a fatted ox; a great officer, a selected ox; an ordinary officer, a sheep or a pig. In accordance with their love for symbolic expressions, the ox is designated

List of sacrifices.

"the creature with the large foot," the pig, "the hard bristles," a cock, "the loud voice," a dog, "the soup offering," the stalks of dried flesh, "the exactly cut oblations," water, "the pure cleanser," spirits, "the clear cup," etc. When the son of Heaven dies, he "has fallen"; when a feudal prince dies, he "has crashed"; a great officer "has ended"; an ordinary officer "is now unsalaried." The corpse placed in its coffin is described as being "in its long home."

In the Than-kung, dealing chiefly with mourning rites, we learn that when a father has just died, the son should appear quite overcome, and as if he were at his wits' end; when the corpse is in the coffin, he should cast quick and sorrowful glances round, as if seeking for something he cannot find; after the funeral, he should look alarmed and restless, as if seeking some one who does not arrive; at the end of the first year's mourning, he should look sad and disappointed; at the end of the second year, he should have a vague and unreliant look. Many of the sayings in this book are ascribed to Confucius, but are regarded as doubtful or spurious by the Chinese; nevertheless they show what was considered appropriate to his character at a very early date. For instance, when Confucius went to Wei, he found the mourning rites going on for a man with whom he had formerly lodged. Entering the house, he wept for him bitterly, and ordered the outside horses of his carriage to be given as his mourning gift. On being remonstrated with, Confucius said:—"I entered a little while ago and wailed for him, and I found the mourner so dissolved in grief that my tears flowed with his. I should hate it, if those tears were not properly followed." Again, Confucius said "In dealing with the dead, if we treat them as if they were entirely dead, that would show a want of affection, and should not be done; or if we treat them as if they were entirely alive, that would show a want of wisdom, and should not be done." And the Chinese commentators say on this, that in the offerings put down immediately after death, there is an approach to treating the deceased as living; and at the burial, an approach to treating him as a disembodied spirit.

Mourning for a father.

Sympathy of Confucius.

There are numerous references in the Book of Rites to the practice of calling back the dead, still in vogue in China. In calling back the king or emperor, the proper phrase is, "Return, O son of Heaven," in calling back a feudal prince, the phrase is, "Return, sir so-and-so." In Ku-lu the practice was, to call back the dead with arrows. The soul of a deceased ruler is called back in his smaller chambers, and in the large chamber; in the smaller ancestral temples and in the great one; at the gate leading to the court of external audience, and in the suburbs all round. Calling the soul back, is described as "the way in which love receives its consummation."

Calling back the dead.

The third section of the Li-ki contains "The Royal Regulations." We learn that the ancestral temple of the Emperor, or Son of Heaven, included seven smaller temples, three on either side, and that of his great ancestor, fronting the south. A prince had five, a great officer three, an ordinary

officer only one, while the common people presented their offerings in their principal apartment.

It is impossible in any brief space to give an account of the multitude of ceremonial forms and the reasons for them detailed in the Book of Rites. The few samples we have given must suffice to barely indicate a people above all occupied with ceremonial and propriety to an extent which has almost stopped progress and perpetuated a childishness of mind in some respects which is quite astounding to Europeans.

MENCIUS.

The name of Mencius ranks next after that of Confucius in Chinese estimation. It is a Latinised form of Mang-tsze, or Mang the philosopher. His statue or tablet is everywhere to be seen in the temples of Confucius. Born early in the fourth century B.C., he lived to a great age, and died in B.C. 289. He was a great student and admirer of Confucius and his writings, and of the old historic records which he had collected; he even knew some persons who had been disciples of Confucius. In his time the feudal kingdom was broken up into seven monarchies, all at feud with one another. Various leaders of opinion propagated opinions destructive of the State or of the special filial affection and regard which Confucius so strongly upheld. Mencius set himself to rescue the country from its impending dangers by a plan similar to that of Confucius; he would travel about from State to State till he got a hearing from some ruler who would carry out his teaching, and so bring about a better state of things. When one State had reached a proper condition of order and happiness, it would be submitted to by all others—a visionary hope truly. But Mencius went confidently on his journeys, visiting many States in turn, often meeting with a respectful hearing, and receiving large gifts. He put forward his doctrines with entire fearlessness, not scrupling to censure faults and vices; but this led to no great result in his life-time, and he at last gave up the fruitless labour about 310 B.C., contenting himself with completing the record of his teaching. The restoration of the feudal kingdom on its old basis was impossible; the Chin dynasty was to change the face of the land, and rule by a despotism which in its essence has continued till now, though the dynasties have changed.

His life and journeyings.

The teaching of Mencius, like that of Confucius, was mainly directed to political ends, but it has incidentally much moral and religious bearing. We can only comment on his writings, now reckoned as one of the Four Books, in so far as their view differs from that of Confucius, or has a peculiar tone. He is more of a philosopher than Confucius, and more definite in his teachings on many points. He believes that man is good, and the heart (probably equivalent to our conscience) is a sound guide. "He who has fathomed his heart, knows his nature; if one knows his nature, he also knows Heaven." Every heart, according to him, has the germ of perfection, and only falls short of it by not taking advantage of opportunities, or missing them. Man has the power of choice. He

The teachings of Mencius.

says, "There is both a heavenly greatness and a human greatness. Benevolence, righteousness, truth, faith, delight in goodness without weariness, this is heavenly greatness." Concentration and symmetrical cultivation are necessary to attain them: but these are opposed in some by natural selfishness, or by ignorance, or by external difficulties.

Some of the sentiments and phrases of Mencius are extremely fine; as "The great man is he who does not lose his child-heart. He does not think beforehand that his words shall be sincere, nor that his acts shall be resolute; he simply abides in the right." "To nourish the heart, there is nothing better than to keep the desires few." "When one by force subdues men, they do not submit to him in heart; when he subdues them by virtue, in their heart's core they are pleased, and sincerely submit." "Every man has a heart sensible of sympathy, shame, tenderness, and conscientiousness, and he who is without these is simply not a man." "Benevolence (or love), is the heart of man, righteousness the way."

TRADITIONAL LIKENESS OF MENCIUS.

Mencius expressed as his great aim the improvement or elevation of the heart. He says, "I wish to improve the hearts of men, to put a stop to destructive doctrines, to oppose strange behaviour, to banish unseemly language. Is it because of a taste for controversy? I cannot do otherwise." While not believing that error and sin are necessary, Mencius recognised their general existence. Thus, "Men for the most part go astray, and at first are able, after so doing, to reform. They are grieved in their hearts and oppressed by anxiety, and act accordingly." It was undesirable to have much prosperity and joy, for they encouraged the desire for pleasure, and so caused ruin. It was the struggle with adversity that led to active effort against error, and towards truth.

In his ideas about Heaven and God, Mencius held much the same views as Confucius, but was more full in his expressions. His view of Heaven is that it is an overruling Providence as well as a first Cause. "No man nor emperor can bestow an empire, but only Heaven alone." "When Heaven is about to impose an important office upon a man, it first embitters his heart in its purposes; it causes him to exert his bones and sinews; it lets his body suffer hunger; it inflicts upon him want and poverty, and confounds his undertakings. In this way it stimulates his heart, steels his nature, and supplies that of which the man would else be incapable."

Ideas of Heaven and God.

The true service of Heaven, according to Mencius, is the right cultivation of the heart and nature. The ruler serves Heaven by serving both the small and great. The tutelary deities or spirits he believed to be channels for the blessings of Heaven; yet they

The service of Heaven.

were in a peculiar way dependent upon men, and possessed human weaknesses. Thus he says, "When the sacrificial victims are perfect, the corn in the vessels pure, the sacrifices at their proper times, and yet there arises drought or flood, then the tutelary spirits must be changed. He also believed in many kinds of spirits besides the tutelary spirits, all capable of serving man and of being propitiated by gifts. Strangely in contrast with some of his lofty ideals, we find the following, "Although any one be a bad man, if he fasts and is collected, bathes and washes himself, he may indeed offer sacrifice to God"; but perhaps this ceremonial indicates that the bad man has changed his heart and repented, and become worthy of offering sacrifice. For from other passages we gather that in Mencius's idea "Shang-Ti," or the Supreme Being, is the Supreme Ruler and Governor of the World, desirous of the physical and moral well-being of mankind, a holy Being whom nothing impure may approach, and who receives the penitent with favour. All men are under universal law and destiny; the education and cultivation of each man is but a fulfilment of destiny. Yet there is moral freedom, and virtue needs to be inculcated and preached.

We cannot go fully into his disquisitions on the virtues and their results, the character of the superior man and the sage. He takes as a model character an ancient holy man, Shun, who for a long time dwelt among savages without degenerating under their influence. The true disciple of Shun is diligent in good things, and the difference between the holy man and the robber is the distance between selfishness and goodness. He is no friend to cringing servility. "He who bends himself can never make others straight." He attacks Phariseeism and hypocrisy, and lauds kindness, truth, and benevolence. He blames uncharitable speech, and unreality in words.

Righteousness Mencius held to belong to the essential nature of men, and to have been originally common to all hearts. He valued it more than life. "I like life and I also like righteousness," he said; "if the two are not to be had together, I let go life and hold to righteousness. Life also appertains to the things which I desire; but if amongst the things which I desire there is something greater than life, I will not on this account retain it by baseness of conduct. Death, again, appertains to the things which I hate; but if amongst the things which I hate there is something greater than death, therefore these are calamities which I do not avoid." Righteousness is realised by a practical recognition of the rights of others; its result is contentment or self-satisfaction. "He who prizes virtue and rejoices in righteousness may well be cheerful, therefore in destitution the scholar does not lose righteousness, in prosperity he departs not from the way." (F.)

True Righteousness.

On the whole, his doctrines are more practical than those of Confucius; but however much reverence he may now receive, however much he may be studied by the superior minds, his thoughts do not influence largely the present religious attitude of the mass of the Chinese. Confucius is to them a god, in reverencing whom with the ancestral spirits they find such outlet as they think they require for their spiritual aspirations.

A description of the ideal of personal character compiled from Mencius includes many of the finest maxims. "A real man is one whose goodness is a part of himself. Of the qualities of the sage, none is greater than that of being a helper of men to right living. He is ashamed of a reputation beyond his desert. Having found the right way within himself, he rests in it, firm and serene, holding intimate converse with it, and reaching to its fountain-head. He obeys the right, and waits for the appointed. His words are plain and simple, yet of widest bearing. His aim is self-culture, yet it gives place to all men. . . . If one strive to treat others as he would be treated by them, he shall not fail to come near the perfect life. Every duty is a charge, but the charge of oneself is the root of all others. The disease of men is to neglect their own fields and go to weeding those of others; and to exact much from others, and lay light burdens on themselves." (J.)

His ideal of personal character.

By some thinkers, as the American Johnson, Mencius is lauded as one of the greatest teachers, more assertive on behalf of humanity in general than Confucius, more positive in upholding the right of revolution against evil rulers, more definite in his plans of reform. There can be no question of his greatness; but it can hardly be claimed that his theories have been translated into facts in China. His temple stands to the south of his native city, Tsin-hien, enclosed by cypress-trees and a high wall; it is similar to the temples of Confucius, but on a greater scale than most of them. The huge marble tablet of the sage, twenty feet high, six feet wide, and twenty inches thick, stands on a monster tortoise twelve feet long. A large statue of him is on a platform in the building, showing him, according to Williamson ("Journeys in North China"), as "of middle stature, stout, and having a ready-for-anything appearance, with a round full face, sanguine bright eye, thin closed lips, and a large flattish nose." The idea given of him is, that he was thoughtful, resolute, outspoken, and experienced in disappointment and sorrow. Many tablets have been erected in his honour by emperors and others. Lineal representatives of Mencius still live in honour, and receive large pensions from the Government.

["Sacred Books of the East," vols. 3, 27, 28. Faber's "Mind of Mencius," Hutchinson's translation. (F.) S. Johnson, "Oriental Religions," China. (J.)]

PRESENTING FOOD TO THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER III.

The Chinese Modern State Religion, and Confucianism.

The imperial sacrifices to Heaven—The emperor as high priest—The ceremonial—The animal sacrifices—The tablets of ancestors—The prayer to Heaven—The ceremony of burning—The prayer to Earth—The imperial Temple of Ancestors—The prayer to ancestors—Sacrifices to spirits of the land and grain—Temples to Confucius—Temple at his native place—Temple at Peking—Invocation to Confucius—Great Hall of the Classics—The sixteen maxims—The sacred mountain of Tai-Shan—Signs of progress—Chinese morals—Ideas of future life—Obstacles to religious change.

WE now proceed to give some account of the present development of the State religion and Confucianism in China; but it is scarcely possible to separate this entirely from ideas connected with Taoism and Buddhism. Not only is there no antagonism recognised between these three religions, but it is possible and frequent to conform to all. The extent and limits of the State religion and Confucianism will be pointed out in this chapter, while Taoism will be dealt with in the next, and Chinese Buddhism will be briefly treated later.

We must first describe the great altar and Temple of Heaven at Peking, where the emperor worships as Son of Heaven. Within a vast enclosure of trees is the great south altar, a beautiful triple circular terrace of white marble, the outer one 210 feet, the inner one 90 feet in diameter. The upper terrace is paved with marble slabs forming nine concentric circles, the inner being formed of nine stones with a central stone, the outer all of multiples of nine stones. On the single circular stone in the centre the emperor kneels when worshipping Heaven and his ancestors at the winter solstice. On the next lower stage are tablets to the spirits of the sun, moon, and stars, and the god of the year. A hundred feet

The imperial sacrifices to Heaven.

south-east of the altar is a great porcelain furnace, in which a bullock is consumed by fire at the yearly ceremony. Separated from the Altar of Heaven by a low wall, is a smaller, though more conspicuous construction, called the Altar of Prayer for Grain. On its upper terrace rises a magnificent circular building, known to foreigners as the Temple of Heaven, but to the Chinese as the Temple of Prayer for the Year. Here, on a day soon after the first day of spring (February 6th), the emperor offers prayers to Heaven for a blessing upon the year. When great drought prevails, prayer for rain is made by the emperor at this altar. Another great enclosure, about two miles in circumference, contains four altars, one to the god of the heavens, a second to the earth, a third to the planet Jupiter, and the fourth to Shin-nung, the supposed inventor of agriculture. On the altar of the heavens are four marble tablets, containing the names of the gods of the clouds, rain, wind, and thunder. On the altar to the gods of earth are five marble tablets bearing the names of celebrated mountains, lakes, and seas of China.

The reason why the emperor in person performs the great sacrifices of the State religion in China, is bound up with the very conception of the empire. Since the emperor is believed to derive his right direct from Heaven, and is the one man who represents mankind in the trinity of Heaven, earth, and man, he is necessarily the only possible high priest, and he only can offer the great oblations to heaven and earth. Imperial responsibility is in theory carried to its extreme at Peking, for the emperor charges himself with fault if the people suffer from pestilence or famine, and acknowledges himself to be a disobedient son, who must atone by prayer, sacrifice, and reformation for his misdoings. If he should be ill or a minor, these services are all omitted.

The emperor as high priest.

Although formerly the words Tien and Ti, signifying Heaven and earth, had a special reference to a Supreme Being, the tablets of these two are now placed on an equality only with those in the great temple of ancestors representing deceased monarchs of the existing dynasty, and that of the gods of the land and grain. To all these are offered what are called "great" sacrifices. Medium sacrifices are offered to nine objects, the sun, moon, spirits of emperors and kings of former dynasties, Confucius, the ancient patrons of agriculture and silk, the gods of heaven, earth, and the cyclic year. The first six of these have separate temples at Peking. The "inferior" sacrifices are offered to the ancient patron of the healing art and the spirits of deceased statesmen, philanthropists, etc., spirits of natural phenomena, and even of flags, gates, cannon, the North Pole, etc. Thus the State worship of China is not greatly above that of many barbarous tribes.

Nothing is more remarkable, however, in the Chinese State religion, or more different from the practices of uncultivated tribes, than the complete absence of a priesthood, unless, however, the emperor may be called a priest. Women take no part in most of the ceremonies; only the worship of the goddess of silk is performed by the empress and her

The ceremonial.

ladies. The emperor, when he worships Heaven, wears appropriate blue robes; in worshipping the earth, his robes are yellow, to represent clay; he wears red in worshipping the sun, and white for the moon. At the winter solstice the emperor quits his palace the evening before the great sacrifice, drawn in his state car by an elephant, and attended by thousands of courtiers, musicians, and learned men. He is required first to go to the palace of fasting, and prepare for his duties by solitary meditation, during which he looks at a copper statue fifteen inches high, dressed like a Taoist priest, with the mouth covered by three fingers, inculcating silence, and the other hand bearing a tablet, on which is inscribed, "Fast three days." When the worship is ready to commence, all the attendants being in their appointed places, the animals are killed, and the emperor begins the solemn rites, in the case of the worship of Heaven, at midnight, being directed at every step by the learned members of the Board of Rites.

The animal sacrifices offered by the emperor must necessarily consist of animals in use for human food; they include cows, sheep, hares, deer, and pigs. The animals are slaughtered on the east side of the altar, and the hair and blood are collected and buried, apparently with the idea that the sacrifice is in this way conveyed to the spirits of the earth, as the smoke and flame of the burnt offerings convey them to the spirits of heaven. The idea of the sacrifice, says Dr. Edkins, is "that of a banquet; and when a sacrifice is performed to the supreme spirit of Heaven, the honour paid is believed by the Chinese to be increased by inviting other guests. The emperors of China invite their ancestors to sit at the banquet with Shang-ti, the supreme ruler. A father is to be honoured as heaven, and a mother as earth." In no way could more perfect reverence be shown, according to the Chinese mind, than by placing a father's tablet on the altar with that of Shang-ti, so the emperor's ancestral tablets are always placed on the altar of sacrifice with that of Shang-ti. "On the upper terrace of the altar, the tablet of Shang-ti, inscribed Hwang-tien (Imperial Heaven) Shang-ti, placed, facing south, immediately in front of the kneeling emperor. The tablets of the emperor's ancestors are arranged in two rows, facing east and west; offerings are placed before each tablet. "These include various sorts of millet and rice, boiled; beef and pork in slices, with and without condiments, in soup; salt and pickled fish, slices of hare and deer, pickled onions, bamboo shoots, chestnuts, walnuts, wheat and buckwheat cakes, all in separate dishes. Behind these are jade stones, and silk offerings to be burnt; in front are three cups of tseu, a kind of arrack. A young heifer is also in place before the altar, and behind it are the five implements of Buddhist worship (see later, on Chinese Buddhism), an urn, two candelabra, and two flower jars. Behind these are other candelabra; and at the south-west corner is a table at which the emperor reads the prayer.

The animal sacrifices.

The tablets of ancestors.

The elaborate ceremonies gone through by the emperor cannot be fully detailed here. His duties include lighting incense and placing it in urns, kneeling before each of the tablets of his ancestors and kindling incense sticks, prostrating himself three times before the chief tablet, and bowing

or, in fact, knocking his head nine times on the ground. If it were not done as a solemn religious ceremony, it would appear ludicrous to see how all this prostration is imitated by the emperor's attendant worshippers.

Part of the prayer at the winter ceremony is as follows: "I, your subject, by hereditary succession Son of Heaven, having received from above the gracious decree to nourish and console the inhabitants of all regions, think with sympathy of all men, earnestly desirous of their prosperity. At present, looking to the approach of the day *Sin*, and the spring ploughing, which is about to take place, I earnestly look up, hoping for merciful protection. I bring my subjects and servants with offerings of food in abundance, a reverential sacrifice to Shang-ti. Humbly I pray for thy downward glance, and may rain be granted for the production of all sorts of grain, and the success of all agricultural labours." The rest of the prayer recites the praises of the deceased emperor. The prayer to Heaven.

At various times during this ceremony, a band of some hundreds of musicians plays "the song of peace," the music now taking the title "universal" peace, "excellent" peace, "harmonious," and "glorious" peace. Cups of wine are offered to Heaven, and afterwards wine is offered to the emperor, who partakes of it, and again bows and prostrates himself. This is followed by the ceremony of burning, when the officers burn the tablet on which the prayer is written, the incense, the silk and the viands, in the great furnace, and the offerings to the deceased emperors in special large braziers. A whole astrological system is involved in the days and hours at which the sacrifices are conducted, into which we cannot here enter; but astrology, cyclic and mystic numbers, palmistry, phrenology, and indeed all mysterious modes of obtaining knowledge of lucky days and circumstances, and of foretelling the future, are highly regarded by the Chinese, and are introduced into everyday affairs, about the cut of clothes, the day and mode of a journey, the building of a house, the choice of a grave, etc. The ceremony of burning.

The imperial worship at the altar of Earth at the summer solstice is substantially similar; but instead of the offerings being burnt, there is a burying of the prayer and of the offerings of silk to the Earth, while the silk offered to the spirits of emperors is burnt. The prayer to Earth is as follows: "I, your subject, Son of Heaven by hereditary succession, dare to announce to How-too, the imperial Spirit of Earth, that the time of the summer solstice has arrived, that all living things enjoy the blessings of sustenance, and depend for it upon your efficient aid. You are placed with imperial Heaven in the sacrifices which are now presented, consisting of jade, silk, the chief animals used for food, with various viands abundantly supplied." It is only to the Spirits of Heaven and of Earth that the emperor in prayer acknowledges himself a subject. The whole idea of the service appears to be that of a banquet, to which the Spirits are invited. The prayer to Earth.

The imperial Temple of Ancestors, or Great Temple, has three large halls and several smaller ones. The first hall is used for the common sacri-

fice to all ancestors at the end of the year. In the middle hall are offered the sacrifices on the first day of the first month of each season. Here are placed the most important tablets, those of the deceased emperors and empresses of the present dynasty, of recent generations. In the third hall are more tablets of ancestors. The sacrifices are made in these two halls at the same time, not only four times a year, but on other great occasions or events. Other secondary halls contain tablets of relatives and loyal officers who are appointed to be guests at the sacrificial banquets. In the court on the east is a brazier in which the prayer to ancestors and the silk offered to them and the relatives are burnt; in another brazier is burnt the silk offered to meritorious officers.

The imperial Temple of Ancestors.

The food and silk do not include all the offerings. In accordance with the instruction of Confucius, that the dead are to be sacrificed to as if living, chests of clothing, with mats and stools, are kept in the temple, and presented with the sacrifices. One set of offerings is presented before each emperor and his wife. Here it is to be noted that "the emperor and empress can have their meals together when dead, though they may not when living;" and reasoning from this it has been suggested that the exclusion of women from the social meal is not so ancient as the time when the sacrifices were instituted.

In this ceremony, the prayer, instead of being read by the emperor himself, is read by an officer upon his knees, in the emperor's name. After announcing the emperor's title and descent, and his proper name, it proceeds:—"I dare announce to my ancestor, that I have with care, on this first month of spring (summer, etc.), provided sacrificial animals, silk, wine, and various dishes, as an expression of my unforgetting thoughtfulness, and humbly beg the acceptance of the offerings." Several odes are sung, of which the following is a sample. "Ah! my imperial ancestors have been able to become guests with supreme Heaven. Their meritorious acts in war and peace are published in all regions. I, their filial descendant, have received the decree of Heaven, and my thought is to carry out the aims of those who preceded me, thus ensuring the gift of long prosperity for thousands and tens of thousands of years." The ceremony is rather more elaborate, if anything, than the sacrifice to Heaven. The emperor has to kneel sixteen times, and to knock his forehead thirty-six times against the ground, thus showing the immense importance assigned to piety towards ancestors.

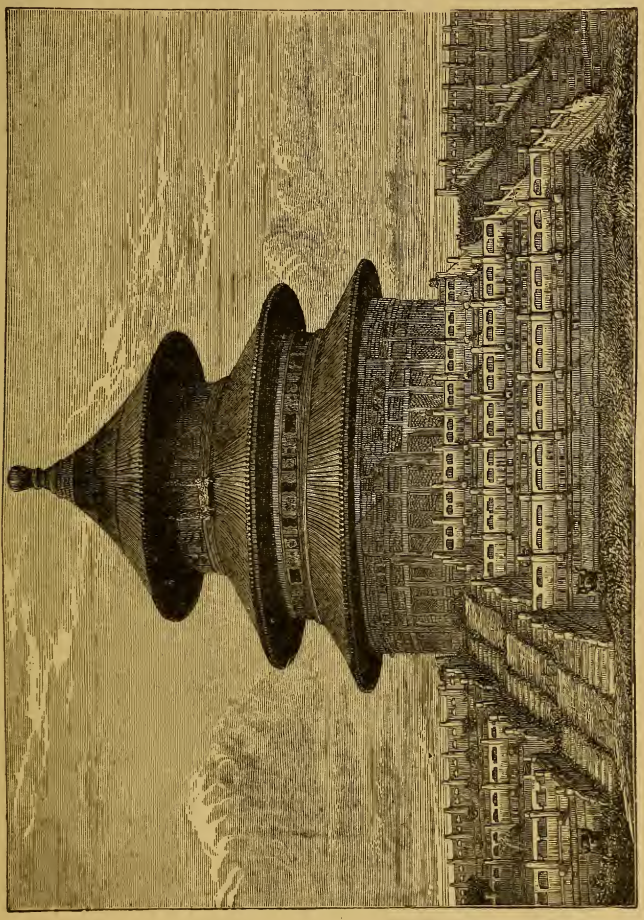
The prayer to ancestors.

Another important part of the imperial worship consists of the sacrifices to the gods of the land and grain. The altar to the spirit of the land has two terraces, the upper of which is covered with earth of five different colours. There are tablets to the spirit or god of the land, and also one to the spirit or god of grain; two other tablets occupy positions as guests, and represent founders or chief promoters of Chinese agriculture. This worship takes place in the middle months of spring and autumn, as well as on other important occasions, when it is

Sacrifices to the spirits of the land and grain.

necessary to make announcements to these spirits. The sacrifices are essentially of the same character as those previously described.

The whole system of Chinese thought is so different from our own, that it is difficult to realise that in these ceremonies the emperor discharges the highest religious functions for almost four hundred millions of people, that



THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN, PEKING.
(*Destroyed by fire, Sept.* 18–19, 1889.)

he represents them more fully (in idea) than the Pope of Rome represents the members of the Roman Catholic Church, that he accuses himself of any fault which may have brought widespread calamities on the people, and that to the Chinese mind he stands as God on earth. Nor is it more easy to realise, that in close connection with every examination-hall in the empire

is a temple to Confucius, together with a temple containing tablets to the national sages, both being arranged in a manner similar to that of the temples to deceased ancestors. It is very rare to find any image of Confucius; but worship is paid before the tablet, which is called, "the place of the soul." There are no prayers, however, to Confucius, the worshipper simply prostrating himself to express his reverential respect. On either side of his tablet down the hall are the tablets of seventy-two of his most distinguished followers, the tablets containing as usual their names and titles. On the entrance gates are inscriptions, such as the following: "The teacher and example for ten thousand generations;" "Equal with heaven and earth." Sacrifices are offered to the sage at the spring and autumn equinoxes, when oxen and sheep and other animals are killed and skinned, the bodies being then placed on tables in front of his tablet. This offering takes place at 3 a.m., in the presence of the mandarins, and afterwards the flesh is divided among the literate class in the city, and eaten by them. It is scarcely correct to say that Confucius is worshipped as a god; but the reverence paid to him differs little from any other religious ceremonial among the Chinese, although prayers are not offered to him. Children are taught to bow to Confucius when they enter school, and they do the same when they, in riper years, enter the examination-hall. Thus is justified the title of "the throneless king," which the Chinese commonly give to Confucius.

Temples to Confucius.

The most important temple of Confucius is that adjoining his tomb, Kiu-fu-hien, his native place, which is chiefly inhabited by his descendants. The principal building is of two stories, the upper verandah resting on gorgeous marble pillars twenty-two feet high, which at a distance appear as if huge dragons were coiled around them; but they are all cut out of one solid piece of marble. The tiles of the roof are of yellow porcelain. Within is a statue of Confucius eighteen feet high, in a shrine with gorgeous curtains. He is represented as tall, strong, and well-built, with a full red face, and large heavy head. His attitude is serious and contemplative, with eyes gazing upwards. On the tablet is the inscription, "The most holy prescient sage Confucius—his spirit's resting-place." The roof is crowded with tablets in honour of the sage, lauding him in most extravagant terms. There are separate, smaller and plainer temples in honour of his father and mother, his wife, his ancestors, etc. In one temple are three pictures of Confucius on marble, and a series of engravings on marble, illustrating all the principal scenes in his life, with verbal explanations at the side. These number altogether 120 slabs, built into the wall, and are extremely interesting from their representations of ancient dress, furniture, carriages, etc.

Temple at his native place.

There is a less elaborate temple to Confucius at Peking, having no statues, but containing in the court six monuments with yellow-tiled roofs, recording foreign conquests of various emperors in the last century, which were thus announced to the spirit of Confucius. The temple includes a great hall, from forty to fifty feet in height, and contains

Temple at Peking.

tablets to the sage and his principal disciples. The roof has many tablets to the praise of Confucius; every fresh emperor adds one. Around this temple are other buildings in which are placed tablets of many celebrated followers of Confucius.

The emperor goes in state twice a year to this temple, and honours the sage by the following invocation, after having twice knelt and six

CHINESE AGRICULTURAL CEREMONY.

times bowed his head to the ground: "Great art thou, O perfect Sage! Thy virtue is full; thy doctrine is complete. Among mortal men there has not been thine equal. All kings honour thee. Thy statues and laws have come gloriously down. Thou art the pattern of this imperial school. Reverently have the sacrificial vessels been set out. Full of awe we sound our drums and bells." This is followed by the presentation of the appropriate offerings of food, wines, and silk; a mandarin then reads

Invocation to Confucius.

this prayer: "On this . . . month of this . . . year, I, the emperor, offer a sacrifice to the philosopher Kung, the ancient teacher, the perfect sage, and say, O teacher, in virtue equal to Heaven and Earth, whose doctrines embrace the past times and the present, thou didst digest and transmit the six classics, and didst hand down lessons for all generations! now in this second month of spring (or autumn), in reverent observance of the old statutes, with victims, silks, spirits, and fruits, I carefully offer sacrifice to thee. With thee are associated the philosopher Yen, continuator of thee; the philosopher Tsang, exhibitor of thy fundamental principles; the philosopher Tsze-tsze, transmitter of thee; and the philosopher Mang (Mencius), second to thee. Mayest thou enjoy the offerings!" (Legge.)

Great Hall of the Classics.

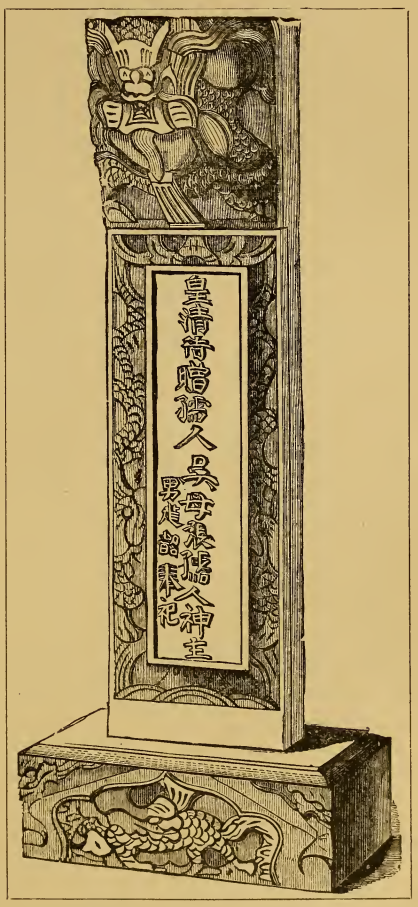
Adjoining the temple of Confucius is the Great Hall of the Classics, built by the emperor Kien-lung, a lofty building with long cloisters, containing the complete text of the classics, engraved on about 200 large stones. The hall is a very elaborate structure, in which the emperor enthrones himself once in his reign, at a solemn assembly of all the scholars of the capital, and listens to the reading of a classical essay, nominally composed by himself.

The sixteen maxims.

Here we may quote the sixteen maxims of the emperor Kang-hi, about the end of the seventeenth century, which sum up the principles of Confucianism as promulgated among the common people. These are: 1. Esteem most highly filial piety and brotherly submission, in order to give due prominence to the social relations. 2. Behave with generosity to the branches of your kindred, in order to illustrate harmony and benignity. 3. Cultivate peace and concord in your neighbourhoods, in order to prevent quarrels and litigations. 4. Recognise the importance of husbandry and the culture of the mulberry-tree, in order to ensure a sufficiency of clothing and food. 5. Show that you prize moderation and economy, in order to prevent the lavish waste of your means. 6. Make much of the colleges and seminaries, in order to make correct the practice of the scholars. 7. Discountenance and banish strange doctrines, in order to exalt the correct doctrine. 8. Describe and explain the laws, in order to warn the ignorant and obstinate. 9. Exhibit clearly propriety and yielding courtesy, in order to make manners and customs good. 10. Labour diligently at your proper callings, in order to give settlement to the aims of the people. 11. Instruct sons and younger brothers, in order to prevent them from doing what is wrong. 12. Put a stop to false accusations, in order to protect the honest and the good. 13. Warn against sheltering deserters, in order to avoid being involved in their punishments. 14. Promptly and fully pay your taxes, in order to avoid the urgent requisition of your quota. 15. Continue in hundreds and tithings, in order to put an end to thefts and robbery. 16. Study to remove resentments and angry feelings, in order to show the importance due to person and life."

The ancestral tablets vary in form and make in different parts of the country. In that we figure (p. 141), as used in the neighbourhood of Fu-chow, it is made of three blocks of wood, one forming the pedestal, the

second the back and upper part, and the third the front. In the centre of the latter we see in Chinese characters the name of the reigning dynasty, the title, ancestral, and given name of the person commemorated by the tablet. The name of the son or other person who has erected it is added in smaller characters on the left. If the tablet is erected by a son in memory of his mother, the ancestral name of her father as well as that of her husband is put on the tablet. On the front of the pedestal is seen the image of some fabulous animal, said to appear only when sages live; while the upper part of the tablet has the head of the Chinese dragon. The whole tablet varies from nine to eighteen inches in height, and from two to four inches in width; and the engraved and lettered portions are usually covered with gold leaf. The tablets for the father and mother are alike, the chief difference being in the inscription. As long as a family lives together, they worship the tablet erected by the eldest son; when it breaks up, each of the younger sons may erect a different tablet, commemorating all the ancestors of the family; then, when each younger son dies, his eldest son may erect tablets of the other kind to his father and mother and so the series goes on. After the third or fifth generations they usually cease to be worshipped.



ANCESTRAL TABLET OF ONE PERSON.

As another side of Chinese religious superstition, we will describe the chief of the five sacred mountains in China, Tai-shan, in the interior of Shan-tung. It is termed on a map, "equal to heaven in merit, and lord of this world." It is believed to determine births, deaths, misfortune and happiness, honour and dishonour. It has many peaks, and is said to be, of all places under heaven, the most worthy of being visited. At the top of the hill the principal temple contains an

The sacred mountain of Tai-shan.

image of the "Old Mother," who is held in great veneration, being especially prayed to by sick and unfortunate persons, childless women, etc. The main building is closed all the year round, with merely a hole in the door, through which pilgrims cast money and other offerings. Once a year a great procession marches to this temple, and some official appointed by the emperor opens the building and takes all the contents. Near this is a temple to the god of the Tai-shan mountains, who is termed equal to the Almighty God. Another temple on the highest peak is sacred to the Taoist deity who is active governor of all, under their Trinity. Other temples are erected to Confucius, the god of spring, heaven and earth, and many others belonging to the Taoist system. One is to the star Wun-chang, the patron of literature, another to Kwan-ti, the god of war, another to the spirits of women who commit suicide after the death of their husbands. The spirits or gods of fire, of riches, of agriculture, of roads, of land, and grain are all honoured with temples. Mr. Williamson says of the entire sacred city, "A plan of the hill and city gives a very poor idea of the beauty of the place. If the reader, however, causes his imagination to fill the city with streets and shops; the causeway up the hill to the top with rows of beautiful trees on each side; the hills with trees, brushwood, verdure, and rocks piled rugged and threatening, with waterfalls here and there; temples of gaudy colours, and strings of pilgrims, old and young, men and women, marching up in Indian file, with richer men among them, in mountain chairs; small companies sipping tea at the several arches, beggars lying on the road like bundles of living rags, or animated sores, with beggar children following each company of pilgrims, he will have some idea of the bewildering variety of the scene."

Notwithstanding the immense amount and intensity of superstition and blind conservatism in China, there are some signs of progress even within the Confucian ranks. Before the rule of the present dynasty, there was in vogue a strong spirit of denial of the personality of Shang-ti, the supreme ruler, who was asserted to be nothing but a "principle" underlying all existence. It was a vague panthesim. Nowadays there is a distinct return to belief in a personal ruler, and it is asked, "Can a principle become angry? Can a principle be said to approve the actions of men, and be pleased with the offerings of men? Yet these acts are ascribed to Shang-ti in the classical books. Shang-ti, therefore, cannot be a principle, but must be a personal being." Many educated Chinese claim, in answer to Christian missionaries, that they too worship God, who is present in all nature, and that all their study of science is honouring God."

Signs of progress.

What has been the result on the Chinese of the Confucian morality? asks Dr. Edkins. He replies, that "It has not made them a moral people. Many of the social virtues are extensively practised among them; but they exhibit to the observer a lamentable want of moral strength. Commercial integrity and speaking the truth are far less common among them than in Christian countries." It is but fair to add that other competent observers credit the Chinese with quite as much commercial

Chinese morals.

integrity as Europeans, if not more. As to a future life, it is scarcely within the scope of Confucianism, though this encourages so much reverence and prayer to ancestral spirits. Confucius, as we have seen, did not care to discuss supernatural appearances or spirits; and it is difficult to say that Confucius believed anything definite on the subject; the beliefs of Taoists or Buddhists are far more extensive and definite. No doubt the continued existence of the souls of the departed is believed, but their happiness is mainly dependent upon the honour paid to them by the living. Dr. Edkins says, that according to the strict Confucian doctrine, there is no heaven in the Western sense. "The soul, if it does not return to its elements and become for ever dissipated, exists in a widowed and lonely state, hopeless and helpless. The time of its enjoyment as a conscious individual agent has passed. It is only during the period of union with the body that it can be called happy, except in receiving the approval and reverence of posterity."

Ideas of a future life.

People who have not visited and studied China have little conception of the strength of the obstacles to religious change there. In fact, the whole power of the State is combined with religion to maintain the divine authority and representative character of the emperor. This has been impressed on Chinese minds for thousands of years, and is about as deep-seated in them as the feeling "I must eat" is in the body. Ignorance and contempt of foreign ideas, deep-seated as those of the Chinese, can be overcome sooner than this prejudice and prepossession in favour of their emperor, which in its turn supports the sacrifices and beliefs of the State religion. It might be imagined that filial reverence and ancestor worship, a "respect for the dead indicative of noble feelings," were favourable to enlightenment; but it is a most powerful support to early betrothals and polygamy, for the Chinaman cannot bear the possibility of having no descendants to provide the sacrifices for him in his turn. The power which this regard for ancestors and for every ancient custom exercises is enormous in preventing change. Though change does come, as seen in the progress of Buddhism and Mohammedanism, such tendency to change as there is by no means favours the adoption of European ideas.

Obstacles to religious change.

[J. Edkins, "Religion in China"; S. Wells Williams, "The Middle Kingdom"; A. Williamson, "Journeys in North China."]

LAO-TZE.

II. TAOISM.

CHAPTER IV.

Lao-tze.

Life of Lao-tze—Antagonism to Confucius—Interviews with Confucius—Lao-tze's dislike of professions—The Tao-te-king—The mystery of existence—The relativity of things—The sublime Tao or Way—What may be done—Characters of Tao—The conduct of the good man—Self-depreciation, humility, reality, frugality—Imaginary interpretations—Originality of Lao-tze.

CONFUCIUS sought to rectify evils by rectifying names; but there was already a living philosopher, whom he visited, who had elaborated a very different mode of mending the world. Lao-tze ("the Venerable Philosopher"), the accredited founder of Taoism, is most authentically known to us by the narratives of the Confucian school, probably compiled in the third century A.D. from old records, and from the brief history of Lao-tze in the historical records of Sze-ma Chien dating from about B.C. 100. We need not relate the mythical accounts given of him, which are full of marvels; but he appears to have been born in the State of Chu, in the present province of Ho-nan, about 604 B.C. He became one of the royal recorders at the court of Chow, having charge of the royal library. Thus there can be little doubt of his having had great historical knowledge. At least one interview took place between Confucius and

Life of Lao-tze.

Lao-tze, to which we have already referred. Chien's brief account says: "Lao-tze cultivated the Tao and virtue, his chief aim in his studies being how to keep himself concealed and unknown. He resided at the capital of Chow; but after a long time, seeing the decay of the dynasty, he left it, and went away to the gate leading from the royal domain into the regions beyond. Yin Hsi, the warden of the gate, said to him: 'You are about to withdraw yourself out of sight; I pray you to compose for me a book before you go.' On this Lao-tze made a writing, setting forth his views on the Tao and virtue, in two sections, containing more than 5000 characters. He then went away, and it is not known where he died." Chien further relates that Lao-tze was a superior man, who liked to keep in obscurity, and concludes his narrative with the following statement:—"Those who attach themselves to the doctrine of Lao-tze condemn that of the literati (the followers of Confucius), and the literati on their part condemn Lao-tze; thus verifying the saying, 'Parties whose principles are different cannot take counsel together.' Lao-tze taught that transformation follows, as a matter of course, the doing nothing to bring it about, and rectification ensues in the same way from being pure and still."

Antagonism to Confucius.

The most interesting records about Lao-tze, apart from his book, are those connected with Confucius. It is difficult to come to a conclusion as to their authenticity, but they at any rate preserve for us very early beliefs as to the antagonism between their principles and modes of thought. Even the flow of language of Confucius was distasteful to Lao-tze, who told him in plain terms: "If it be known that he who talks errs by excess in arguing, and that he who hears is confused by too much talk, the Way can never be forgotten." According to this expression, the Way consists neither in excess of arguing nor in too much talk. Confucius was very unsuccessful in interesting Lao-tze in his views about the ancients; the Old Philosopher retorted upon his junior in this wise: "The men of whom you speak are dead, and their bones are mouldered into dust; only their words remain. Moreover, when the superior man gets his opportunity, he mounts aloft and takes office; and if he does not get his opportunity, he goes through life like a wisp of straw rolling over sand. I have heard that a good merchant, who has his treasure-house well stored, appears devoid of resources, and that the superior man of perfect excellence has an outward semblance of stupidity. Put away, sir, your haughty airs and many desires, your insinuating habit and extravagant will; these are all unprofitable to you. This is all I have to say to you." It is evident, if this be authentic, that there was little sympathy between the two. Lao-tze disliked Confucius as a formal and conventional teacher, extravagantly conservative; the latter regarded Lao-tze as a dragon soaring into the clouds, far beyond his practical mind. When Lao-tze beheld Confucius studying the Book of Changes, which, according to him, treated of humanity and justice, he replied: "The justice and humanity of the day are no more than empty names; they only serve as a mask to cruelty, and trouble the hearts of men; disorder was never more rife than at present. The pigeon

Interviews with Confucius.

does not bathe all day to make itself white; nor does the crow paint itself each morning to make itself black. . . . So, sir, if you cultivate the Way, if you throw yourself towards it with all your soul, you will arrive at it. To what good is humanity and justice? . . . Master, you only trouble man's nature."

Here we see again how fundamentally Lao-tze is contrasted with Confucius. He despised the latter's rectification of names—practising humanity and calling it humanity, practising reverence towards parents and calling it filial piety, etc. To profess a thing, in Lao-tze's mind, was to lack it. The generous man needs not to profess generosity, nor the loyal man loyalty. If these virtues really exist, they need not be named or professed; the profession of them signifies their absence. Try as he would, Confucius could not fathom the Way which Lao-tze desired to set before him; but it was evidently a mystery not easy for him to understand. "If," said Lao-tze, "the Way could be offered to men, there is no one who would not wish to present it to his parents; if it could be transmitted to men, there is no one who would not wish to transmit it to his children. Why then are you not able to acquire it? This is the reason; you are incapable of giving it an asylum at the bottom of your heart." Confucius brought forward his literary labours and compositions, but Lao-tze objected: "That with which you occupy yourself results only in obsolete examples, and all you do is to walk in the footprints of the past, without producing anything new." We do not gather a very pleasant view of Lao-tze's amiability from these narratives; they may perhaps be more readily accounted for when we consider that Confucius was fifty years younger than the Old Philosopher, who was not disinclined to use the privileges always accorded to age in China.

Lao-tze's dislike of professions.

Lao-tze's single book, the Tao-te-king, is brief and exceedingly condensed, containing a few more than five thousand characters. It begins thus:—

The Tao-te-king.

"The Way (Tao) that can be spoken is not the Eternal Way.
The Name that can be named is not the Eternal Name.
Nameless, the Way is the Source of Heaven and Earth;
Named, it is the Mother of all beings.
He that is free from selfish desires shall behold it in the spirit;
He that is possessed by passions, in the outward form alone,
And those two are one in substance, though differing in name;
Depth, and the depth of depths, the entrance to all spiritual life."

Thus did Lao-tze seek to penetrate the mystery of creation and existence; with one straight flight reaching as far as man can know,—if indeed any such speculation can be termed knowledge,—and realising the difference between those who penetrate behind the veil of physical nature, and those who are dominated by physical nature. By these few sentences Lao-tze shows himself to be indeed a master philosopher, though struggling to express a conception which he could hardly define, and which by the nature of the case transcended his powers; struggling,

The mystery of existence.

moreover, to speak in a language which possessed little pliancy for such a purpose.

Lao-tze realised the relativity of things; that good implied its contrast, evil; beauty, ugliness. The sage, he said, would confine himself to what is without effort, acting without presuming on the result, completing his work, but assuming no position for himself. A singular view of his is, that not exalting worth keeps people from rivalry, as not prizing things hard to procure keeps them from theft. His plan of government consists in keeping the people from the knowledge and desire of evil, and in making those that have the knowledge not dare to act.

The relativity of things.

The sublime Way, or Tao, which the philosopher imagines, even appears to him to have been before Shang-ti (the Supreme Being). Heaven and earth last long, he says, though not aiming at life; so the sage puts himself last and yet is first, abandons himself and yet is preserved. Is not this, he asks, through his having no selfishness? Pursuing this idea of self-abnegation, Lao-tze says: "When a work of merit is done and reputation is coming, to get out of the way is the Way of Heaven."

The sublime Tao, or Way.

In Section Ten, "What may be done," the old philosopher rises to an elevation immeasurably beyond Confucius. "By undivided attention to the passion-nature, and increasing tenderness, it is possible to be a little child. By putting away impurity from the hidden eye of the heart, it is possible to be without spot. By loving the people, and so governing the nation, it is possible to be unknown. One may be bright and transparent on all sides, and yet be unknown. To produce and to nourish, to produce and to have not, to act and expect not, to enlarge and cut not off—this is called sublime virtue." (C.)

What may be done.

Again, he says that virtue in its grandest aspect is simply following the Way (Tao), which indeed is a thing impalpable, yet containing forms and ideas; it is immaterial, unchangeable, all-pervading, giving life to all, supporting all, and lording it over none. It is ever inactive, yet leaves nothing undone. Without striving, it conquers; without speaking, it answers; without calling, men come to it of themselves. The net of heaven has very wide meshes, yet misses nothing.

Characters of Tao.

The word Tao, however, signifies more than the Way. As Professor Douglas puts it, it is the Way and the way-goer; it is an eternal road along which all beings and things walk. No Being made it, for it is Being itself; it is everything and nothing, and the cause and effect of all. All things originate from it, conform to it, and at last return to it. Thus Tao stands for the Absolute Deity, and all the phenomena produced by Him, and also for the good man's nature and principles.

The conduct of the good man constitutes the subject of many sections of the Tao-te-king; and the remainder of it consists of Lao-tze's political system. Nothing is more prominent than his opposition to self-display. "He who is self-displaying does not shine. He who is self-approving is not held in esteem. He who is self-promising

The conduct of the good man.

has no merit. He who is self-exalting does not stand high." In fact, it is not possible to go beyond Lao-tze in self-depreciation. In one place he says: "In mind how like I am to the fool. I am all in a maze. The common people are brightly intelligent; I alone seem to be in the dark. I am tossed as the ocean; I roll as if never to stop. All other men have something that they can do; I alone am good for nothing, and despicable. I alone differ from other people, but I glory in my nursing mother (Tao)." Again he says, that any one wishing to reform the world will never have done. The spiritual vessels of the world must not be made. He that makes mars. He that grasps loses. While one goes ahead, another will lag behind. While one blows hot, another will blow cold. Therefore the wise man simply puts away all excess and gaiety and grandeur. . . . He who conquers others is strong. He who conquers himself is mighty. He who knows when he has enough is rich. *He who dies, but perishes not, enjoys longevity.*"

Self-depreciation.

Again, he says: "True goodness and humanity are good, because they make no account of mere doing. The great man abides by the solid, and never rests in what is flimsy." Three things he held precious, compassion, frugality, and humility. The good should be treated with goodness, and also the not-good. Virtue is good, absolutely. The faithful should be met with faith, and also the not-faithful. Virtue is faithful, absolutely. The sage thinks of all the people as his children. He takes care of his own part of the contract, and exacts nothing of others. He who knows his true life shall fear no wild beast, nor needs he armour in the armed host. He has no mortal part. The saint hoards not; the more he does for others, the more he has of his own. The more he gives to others, the more he is increased. "This is the Way of Heaven, which benefits and does not injure. This is the Way of the sage, who acts but does not strive." So ends this small but remarkable book.

Humility, reality, kindness.

We cannot go into the political teachings of Lao-tze, which are based upon his moral system. The government should be conducted by the best people, who should rule through humility and service, repressing selfishness. Reality, rather than over-regulation, should be aimed at. Nor can we discuss the fanciful views of Roman Catholic missionaries, who have imagined that they found many things about the Trinity in Lao-tze's mystic utterances. Some have even believed that the following passages contained the characters of the Hebrew name for God (Jehovah or Jahveh). "That which is as though it were visible, and yet cannot be seen, is called *Khi* (to be read *I*), that which is visible and yet speaks not to the ears is called *Hi*, that which is as though it were within one's reach, and yet cannot be touched, is called *Wei*." However, we cannot but place Lao-tze ahead of all the sages of the Oriental world whose outline is clearly seen by us. Even Buddha cannot be held to surpass him in range and originality of thought, although he went beyond him in practicality of ideas. The man, who six centuries before Christ, invented or endorsed the view that, "He who bears the reproach of his country shall

Imaginary interpretations.

Originality of Lao-tze.

be called the Lord of the land, and he who bears the calamities of his country shall be called King of the world," well deserves to be held in perpetual remembrance. In teaching that goodness was to be manifested equally to the good and the evil, faithfulness to the faithful and the unfaithful, he rose beyond every teacher of the East except the Founder of Christianity.

Lao-tze was not the founder of a religion, yet his name is identified with one, and he is regarded as the founder of modern Taoism. This, however, is so different from anything that he imagined or originated, that it must be dealt with in a separate chapter.

[Chalmers, "The Speculations of 'The Old Philosopher,' Lau-tsze" (C.). Doolittle, "Social Life of the Chinese." Douglas's "Confucianism and Taouism." Legge, "The Religions of China." In "Chuang Tzu," 1889, Mr. H. A. Giles attacks the Tao-te-king, saying, that while it undoubtedly contains many of Lao-tze's sayings, it contains much that he never said and never could have said, belonging rather to the period when the pure Tao began to be corrupted by alchemistic research and gropings after the elixir of life.]

TAOIST PRIEST, TALI.

THE THREE PURE ONES (*see p.* 157).

CHAPTER V.

Development and Present Condition of Taoism.

Development of Taoism—Lieh-tze's teaching—Chwang-tze—Desire of longevity favoured magic—The Chin-jin—Temple to Lao-tze—Ups and downs of Taoism—The use of charms—Asceticism—Public worship—Reported reappearances of Lao-tze—Walking through fire—Sects of Taoists—The Book of Blessings—Book of Actions and Retributions—Great number of Taoist deities—The Three Pure Ones—Yuh-hwang Shang-ti—Wan-chang—Deified powers of nature and deified men—A Taoist temple—Several trinities—Kwan-ti, the god of war—Purgatory and remission—Horrible punishments—Dread of evil spirits—The feng-shui—Selection of graves and sites.

LAO-TZE'S life, retiring and inconspicuous, left no such mark on the Chinese character as that of Confucius, public and ever seeking to regulate the outward life. His thoughts were as alien to the average Chinese mind as those of Confucius were in accord with it. While Confucius satisfied every one who was proud of his country and its ancient kings, Lao-tze was only welcomed by those who were discontented with the whole state of society. How then has Taoism become a great system or congeries of beliefs and practices, constituting a more widely prevalent religion than even Confucianism? The answer is, that it gradually, in developing, adapted itself to popular beliefs and created new superstitions. Already, in the fifth century B.C., Lieh-tze, a follower of Lao-tze, is found introducing magical marvels and preaching a philosophy, not of self-depreciation, humility, and frugality, but one of selfish enjoyment and absence of anxiety. Since death was close at hand, he would enjoy to-day, leaving to-morrow to take care of itself. He describes imaginary states of happiness seen in dreams, where life was satisfactory because desires were kept within bounds, and the people cared for nothing and feared nothing. To this he added particulars of the fairy-tale type, depicting people walking in water without being drowned, surrounded by fire and not burnt, cut without being hurt, etc. Thus he fostered belief in magical possibilities. Thus he travestied Lao-tze's teaching about the possible union of mankind with the spirit pervading the universe, and so becoming superior to the laws of nature. He tells many wondrous tales of magic and conjuring—of a man who after three months'

Development of Taoism.

Lieh-tze's teaching.

deep thought was able to change the seasons and produce ice in summer and thunder in winter, etc. He further advances a scheme of creation by spirits or gods, whom he named "The great Change," "The great Beginning," "The great First," and "The great Pure." So much, however, was Lieh-tze's teaching adapted to the popular ignorance, that it was readily swallowed; and its countenance of sensual and selfish enjoyment made it the more acceptable.

Chwang-tze, a little later, contemporary with Mencius, adhered more closely to Lao-tze, and was strongly antagonistic to the Confucians. He preached the vanity of human effort, disliking efforts and struggles to become benevolent and righteous, as well as ceaseless attempts to observe the rules of propriety. He believed that Tao and virtue were being destroyed by the very endeavours to establish benevolence and righteousness by works. Scholars and sages, as well as mean men, were greedy after some object; and Chwang-tze did not consider that the difference in their objects entitled the former to praise. All were outraging nature. Chwang-tze went further, and doubted the reality of personal existence; everything was a series of phantasms. He cared to live, but was indifferent to death; for, he said, "I will have heaven and earth for my sarcophagus, the sun and moon shall be the insignia when I lie in state, and all creation shall be the mourners at my funeral." He did not object to his body being exposed to the birds. "What matters it? Above are the birds of the air; below are the worms and ants. If you rob one to feed the other, what injustice is there done?" It is readily seen that Chwang-tze had no teaching which could elevate. Thus the loftier parts of Lao-tze's teaching found little favour, especially its features of humility and self-depreciation; while magic and charms gradually assumed prominence. Everybody wanted to live as long as possible, and already in Che-hwang-ti's time charms to confer this boon were loudly vaunted; and the king himself exempted the Taoist books from the general destruction of literature which he endeavoured to bring about. Such a believer was likely, as he did, to favour professors of magical arts, who promised him riches and long life, and to spend vast sums in expeditions in search of various wonders. These professors called themselves the Chin-jin, or true men, and gave themselves credit for being able to achieve all sorts of impossibilities. Their death put an end to their prophecies; but their allies always gave out that they had disappeared into an unknown paradise. These professors made themselves more and more essential to the Chinese emperors of several dynasties, and in fact constituted themselves a priesthood; and emperors and priests devoted themselves to a search for the elixir of life and the philosopher's stone, leaving on one side all the lofty teachings of Lao-tze.

Chwang-tze.

Desire of longevity favoured magic.

The Chin-jin.

But about the time of the Christian era these magicians were played out, and both Confucianism and the teaching of Lao-tze revived. During the reign of the Emperor Hwan (A.D. 147–168) imperial sacrifices were first offered in the temple dedicated to Lao-tze at Ku-hien,

Temple to Lao-tze.

his supposed birth-place. Buddhism was now rapidly advancing in favour, and began to influence Taoism, so that legends of Lao-tze appeared, bearing a great resemblance to those about Buddha. For a long time after Hwan's reign Taoism languished; and in the fourth century all religious orders were abolished, including the Taoist magicians and doctors. But in the fifth century a Taoist became the emperor Tai-wu-ti's adviser, and persuaded his master to avow his adhesion to Taoism by accepting a magical charm, signifying that by practising benevolence, love, rest, and self-rectification, he had won long life and become incorporated with Tao. This charm consisted of a white book, containing 5,000 characters giving the names of the officers of heaven, and various incantations for deceiving demons.

Ups and downs of Taoism.

Ko-hung, a Taoist doctor in the fourth century, thus described the use of charms. "All mountains," he said, "are inhabited by evil spirits. If the traveller has no protection, he will fall into some calamity. . . . Mountains should not be traversed during the winter; the third month is the best, and then a lucky day should be chosen for setting out. Fasting and purification for several days beforehand are necessary, and a suitable charm should be worn on the person. Sometimes a mirror is needed; for living things, when they grow old, can all, by means of their pure part, assume the human form. In such cases their true forms can be infallibly detected by means of a mirror, which should be nine inches in diameter, and suspended from the neck behind. These deceiving elves do not dare to approach it; or if one should approach, bent on mischief to the wayfarer, a glance in the mirror at the reflected image of the monster will reveal its true form."

The use of charms.

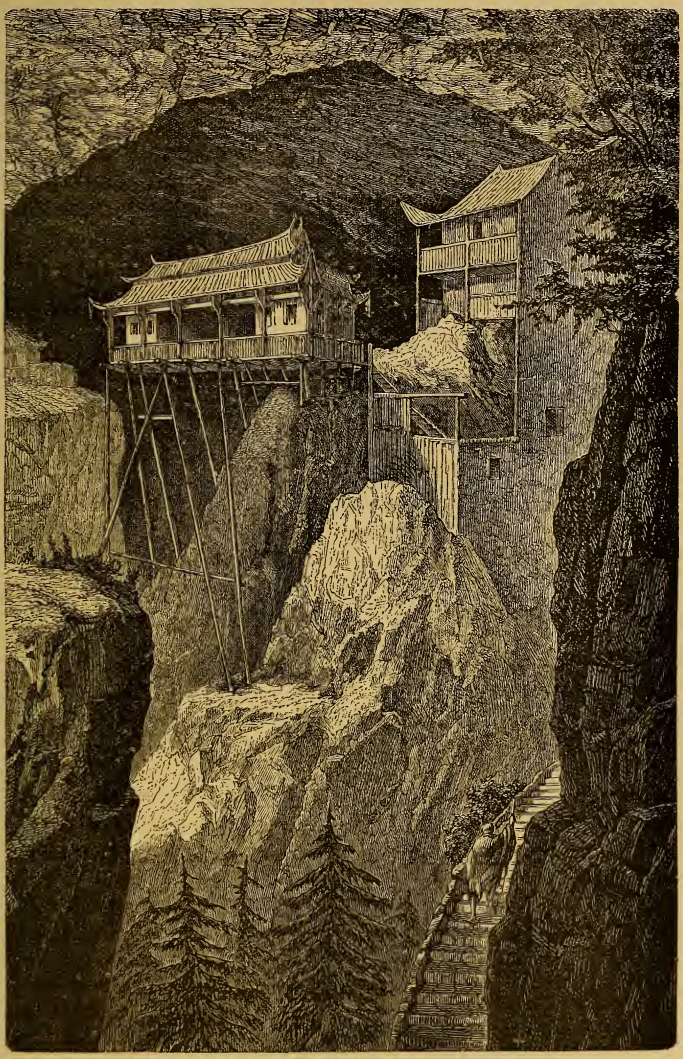
The influence of Buddhism led the Taoists to adopt a kind of asceticism, not with the object of gaining absorption in Tao, but in order to gain length of years. Sitting still and cross-legged in an upright position, the devotee was supposed to diminish the expenditure of vital energy, to repress the passions, and so ward off death. No doubt many ascetics attained a great age, and thus increased the vogue of the system.

Asceticism.

Next Taoism became developed in the direction of public worship, and temples and monasteries were built in the fifth century for the Taoists, resembling so closely those of the Buddhists as to lead to frequent quarrels between them. The Buddhists, as originally foreign immigrants into China, were pointed at for expulsion by the Taoists, whom the former in turn called jugglers. The Emperor Woo, after his ascent to the throne (A.D. 566) held a great assembly of priests and learned men to discuss the three contending religious systems, and finally gave his decision in favour of Confucianism, placing Taoism after it, and Buddhism last; a little later he abolished the two latter. Soon another change was brought about by the Emperor Tsing (A.D. 580) who again recognised them, and commanded that in every temple where there were statues of Buddha and Lao-tze (termed "the honoured one of heaven") they should be placed in positions of equal honour. We cannot follow the varied fortunes of Taoism

Public worship.

and the other religions during succeeding ages, now one gaining ascendency, now another. More than once Lao-tze was reported to have appeared



TEMPLE IN MOUNTAINS OF FOKEIN.

again on earth, leading to his being dignified with the title of Great Sage Ancestor, and the distribution of his Tao-te-king throughout

Reported reappearance of Lao-tze.

the empire. At one period the Taoist priests or doctors married, and engaged in ordinary occupations; at another they were forbidden to marry, and the Buddhists were compelled to accept some of them as rulers of their religion. The Manchus again put down the Buddhists, while the Mongols of Jenghiz Khan found in them apt representatives of their own sorcerers and soothsayers. In the time of Kublai Khan they held great festivals to the "High Emperor of the Sombre Heavens," and walked through a great fire barefoot, preceded by their priests, bearing images of their gods in their arms. Notwithstanding the severe burns they always received, they constantly asserted, that if they possessed a sincere mind they would not be hurt by the fire. Later emperors now favoured, now tabooed the influential religion of the Taoists, who kept their hold on the people. The Manchu emperors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries promulgated penal decrees against them. Their sects had grown so numerous and interfered so much with common life, that the emperor Chang-hi commanded that all members of the Do-nothing, the White Lily, the Incense-burners, the Hung, the Origin of Chaos, the Origin of the Dragon, and the Great Vehicle sects should be treated as criminals. But superstition dies hard, and at the present day Taoism is more firmly seated in China than ever.

Walking through fire.

Sects of Taoists.

CHARM TO WARD OFF EVIL SPIRITS FROM A BRIDE.

Before describing the present state and practices of Taoism, we must give some account of two books which, much more than the Tao-te-king, are the literary guides of the Taoists, namely, the Kan-ying-peen, or "Book of Actions and their Retributions," otherwise translated "Book of Rewards and Punishments," and the Yin-chi-wan, or Book of Secret Blessings. The latter is probably ancient, and is supposed to have been written by the god Wan-chang Te-cheun; but it has no reference to the special doctrines of the Taoists. It exclusively relates to moral questions, and being very short, containing only 541 words, it is widely distributed, and is given away freely by well-disposed persons. With comments and pictures, some editions form a considerable volume. Many of its precepts are of a high quality, thus: "Use not thy riches to oppress the poor. Invite to virtue by practising it in body and soul. Hide the faults of others and make known their virtues. Let not thy tongue say what thy heart denies. Give to posterity the instruction that will reform mankind. Surrender thy riches for the good of the human race. In action be conformed to Heavenly Reason; in speech, to the moral sense of humanity. Examine thy conscience in the solitude of thy bed." Its general principle is the necessity of purifying the heart.

The Book of Blessings.

Straightforwardness, compassion, fidelity to friends and masters, filial conduct to friends, are among the virtues inculcated. The hungry are to be fed, the naked clothed, and the dead buried. The poor and unfortunate must be kindly treated, the aged honoured, the sick and thirsty succoured, the good loved. A neighbour's faults are to be hidden, and only their good deeds published. Just weights and measures only are to be used, and the people are not to be overtaxed. Animals are to be protected, even insects in the forests. Travellers are to be guided and helped; stones and *débris* are to be removed from the roadway, and footpaths and bridges repaired. We can scarcely credit such a book with other than a good influence; yet, in spite of it, the lives of the Chinese contradict many of its precepts, as those of Christian peoples discredit the teachings of the New Testament.

The Book of Actions and Retributions.

The Book of Actions and Retributions is still more widely read, and has been called the Bible of the Taoists. It consists mainly of some two hundred precepts as to good and bad conduct, ascribed without grounds to Lao-tze himself, but probably not dating more than a few centuries back. It is in such a form that Chinese of all religions can accept its precepts, though they may not believe in the connecting framework. It begins by asserting that there are no special doors for calamity and blessing, which come as men call them; meaning, that our bad and good fortunes are not determined in advance, but come in accordance with our conduct. Recompenses follow good and evil actions as the shadow follows the substance. It is then stated that spirits exist in heaven and earth which search out the faults of men, and shorten their lives by periods of a hundred days, according to the gravity of their offences. This curtailment of life is attended by numerous calamities, punishments, and misfortunes. Many of these spirits are named, some dwelling in the bodies of men, one being the spirit of the hearth in each household. These go on stated days to the palace of Heaven, to report on men's conduct.

KU-SING, A GOD OF LITERATURE.

This preliminary is followed by a considerable number of positive moral precepts, in the main like those of the Book of Secret Blessings. Of the man who keeps them, it is said that all men respect him and Heaven protects him, the spirits defend him, and demons flee from him. Whatsoever he does shall prosper, and he may hope to become an Immortal. If he desires to be an Immortal of heaven, he must do 1,300 good works; but 300 will suffice to make him an immortal of earth. Next follow more than two hundred prohibitions of conduct characteristic of the bad man, many being those of universal morality, others specially characteristic of the Chinese,

such as, "Do not introduce vexatious reforms into the administration of the empire; do not shoot at birds nor hunt animals; do not drive insects from their holes, nor frighten roosting birds; do not bury the effigy of a man to charm away his life; do not listen to what your wife and concubines say; do not kill and cook domestic animals, except in accordance with the rites; do not abuse the spirits; do not leap over a well or a hearth, thus insulting the gods; do not pass either over food or over men; do not kill your children, either before or after birth." Several refer to ordinary Chinese practices. "Do not sing and dance on the last day of the month or year; do not weep or spit towards the north, where resides the prince of the stars of the north; do not rise in the night naked, a crime against the gods, who walk abroad at night;" and so on.

Towards the end of the book we find the statement, that when a man

MA-CHU, GODDESS OF SAILORS, AND HER TWO ASSISTANTS.

takes unjustly the riches of others, the spirits calculate the number of his wives and children, and make them die one by one as a retribution, or cause him to suffer disasters by fire, flood, thieves, sickness, or slander. Finally, the treatise ends with the following sentence: "When one's mind is directed to good, though the good be not yet done, the good spirits follow him; and when one's mind is directed to evil, though the evil be not yet done, the evil spirits follow him. If he has done the wicked thing, and afterwards alters his way and repents, not doing anything wicked, but endeavouring to do everything good, after a time he will obtain good fortune and prosperity: this is changing calamity into blessing."

"The words, looks, and deeds of the good man are all good. If all these are seen to be so every day, after three years Heaven will surely send down blessing on him. The words, looks, and deeds of the bad man are all evil. Should you not exert yourself to do what is good?"

But modern Taoism is largely a religion of gods and spirits and demons. Originally it had no special objects of worship, though Shang-ti, the supreme God, and various nature and ancestral spirits were believed in. The great development of Taoist ideas about deities is generally believed to have been due to the advent of Buddhism. In imitation of the honour paid to Buddha, Lao-tze was deified, and represented as the third member of a divine trinity; or the trinity is represented as the same person in different incarnations. The trinity is known as San-tsing, the Three Pure Ones, the images of which are always to been seen in Taoist temples.

Great number of Taoist deities.

The Three Pure Ones.

According to Edkins, the highest god of the Taoists of the present day, Yuh-hwang Shang-ti, dwells in the heavens, being their creator and sus-

KWAN-TI, GOD OF WAR.

GOD OF THIEVES.

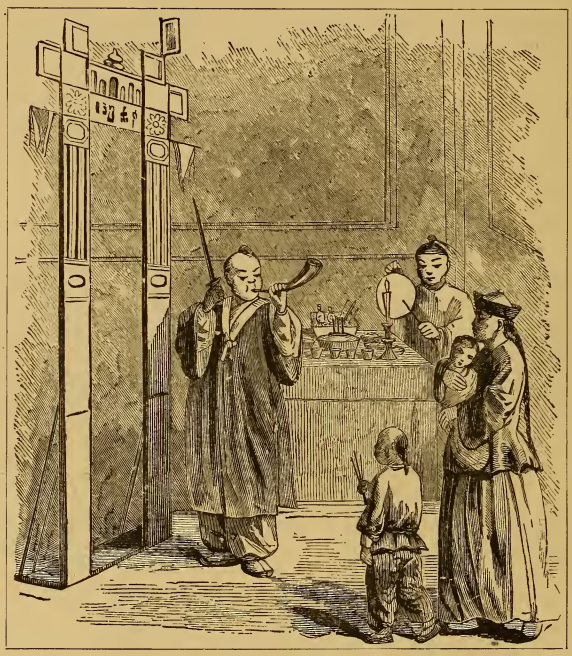
tainer, and the source of all truth; he is immaterial and spontaneous. The second divinity, Wan-chang, presides over literature, and is the diffuser of renovating influences. The third is Lao-tze. Wan-chang is officially worshipped at every altar twice each year by representatives of the emperor. Part of the invocation to him runs thus; "From generation to generation thou hast sent thy miraculous influence down upon earth. Thou hast been the lord and governor of learning among men. In upholding that which is right, long hast thou brightly shone and stirred up hearts to thankfulness. . . . May the fumes of this sacrifice and the odour thereof be acceptable to thee. Look down, we beseech thee, on our devotion and our humility."

Yuh-kwang Shang-ti.

Wan-chang.

Not only is imperial worship paid to Wan-chang, but there are temples in every city dedicated to him, often adjoining the colleges. In the prin-

cipal hall of the temple may be seen an altar and shrine, within which is "a venerable figure, seated in calm and dignified repose, a benign expression manifested in the gilded features, and a flowing beard descending to the lap upon which the hands lie folded. In front stand the narrow perpendicular tablets, set in deep frameworks of elaborate carving, which indicate the titles of the object of worship." In Canton alone there are ten of these temples. His principal temple is at Chu-tung-yun, where Wan-chang is said to have been born, or rather incarnated, for, as with many others of their gods, it is said that a star descended and became incarnate,



PASSING THROUGH THE DOOR.

not once, but many times, in virtuous men; his representative in the heavens is a small constellation near the Great Bear. The great regard paid to this deity by the student class in China shows that Taoism has deeply influenced Confucians, in spite of the old antagonism between these two systems. The image of Ku-sing, the god of Literature, we figure, is placed directly in front of Wu-chang's; he represents a particular star.

Deified powers of nature and deified men.

There is practically no end to the multitude of Taoist deities now worshipped; and it is this, with their ancestor-worship, which gives rise to the saying that in China more gods are worshipped than there are people. They belong to two main classes, deified

powers of nature and deified men. There are sea and river gods, star gods, weather gods, agricultural gods. On the sea-coast may be found temples to the spirit of the sea, the king of the sea, and the god of the tide. Dragon-kings have their shrines on the banks of the rivers; they are supposed to reside partly in air, partly in water. Any remarkable phenomenon in the sky or water is often pointed at as a dragon. Many of the stars are worshipped as gods, and are regarded as sublimated essences of material things. The earth is described as made up of five kinds of matter, metal, wood, water, fire, and earth; and these are all said to have souls or essences, which when highly purified rose to the starry heavens and became planets, Mercury being the essence of water, Venus of metal, Mars of fire, Jupiter

SACRIFICE TO GOD OF KITCHEN.

of wood, and Saturn of earth. The fixed stars are also essences or souls of matter, and there are other invisible ones, which are also called stars by the Chinese. "In this way," says Edkins, "the word star has come to have, in the Chinese language, a meaning additional to the common one. A living material soul, the sublimated essence of matter, is so denominated." The Taoists see in the starry firmament the upper portions of the sea of ether of which our atmosphere forms the lower part. In it the star divinities revolve and powerfully influence the fortunes of men. So it comes to pass that alchemy and astrology, dealing with essences and stars, are so important in the Taoist religion and in Chinese thought.

We cannot devote space to any fuller account of these deities. It is evident that the task would be endless, while a specimen suffices to indi-

cate their nature. Nor can we recount the numberless legends of imaginary genii or spirits, some of islands and mountains, some celestial and residing in various heavens. A complete Taoist temple makes provision for all aspects of the popular Taoist beliefs. There are halls set apart for the superior and inferior divinities, corresponding to the heavens in which they are believed to dwell, and some of them are represented by images. Among them are to be found ancestral worthies, hermits and alchemists, termed collectively Seen-jin; and among higher deities the great god, Yuh-hwang Shang-ti, and the Three Pure Ones already mentioned have the highest place. The former they identify with the Confucian Shang-ti, and make him out to be the ancestor of the hereditary chief priest of their religion, whose family name is Chang. The birthday of the god is kept on the ninth day of the first month.

A Taoist temple.

The Taoists have other trinities besides the Three Pure Ones; one is that formed by the gods of happiness, rank, and old age. These are stars and star gods, and are very common subjects for Chinese paintings and carvings. Another trinity is the San-kwan, the three rulers of heaven, earth, and water, said to form in their unity one great god, and to send down good and ill fortune on men and save the lost. Another important divinity is the god of riches, worshipped by the trading classes, who believe he causes their profits and losses. The number of temples erected to him is very great. There is even a god of Thieves, worshipped by those who wish to gain wealth. The State gods have been readily adopted by the Taoists, who in most cases discharge the rites for them. Among recent additions to the list is Kwan-ti, the god of war, who was raised to the rank of a god in 1856, and made equal to Confucius in particular, because of a victory over the Tai-pings. The description of many of the gods shows a Buddhist colouring, and the style of many of the prayers is Buddhistic, exhibiting similar views of the universe and of the interference of divinities in the affairs of men.

Several trinities.

BRINGING BACK THE SOUL OF A SICK MAN INTO HIS CLOTHES ON THE BAMBOO.

Kwan-ti, the god of war.

A recent further development of Taoism adopts the Buddhist ideas of transmigration of souls in a very gross form, together with an elaborate purgatory and hell. A book called the Divine Panorama, said to be published by the mercy of Yu-ti (the same as Yu-hwang Shang-ti), that men and women may repent and make atonement for their sins, gives a full account of it. In it the souls of men are said to

Purgatory and remission.

live for ever, and retribution is declared for all evil done in this life. There are said to be ten courts of justice at the bottom of a great ocean under the crust of the earth, and pictures of the punishments inflicted are shown in the temple of the "Spirit of the Eastern Mountain," an appendage of the temple of the greater tutelary deity of each provincial city. It is related that on the birthday of the saviour, Pu-sa (a brief Chinese rendering of the Buddhist Bodhi sattva, or one who has only to pass through one more human life before attaining Buddhahood, but used by the Chinese for a deity in general, and here for the ruler of the infernal regions), as the spirits of purgatory were offering their congratulations, the ruler of the infernal regions said: "My wish is to release all souls, and every moon as the day comes round, I would wholly or partially remit the punishment of erring shades, and give them life once more in one of the six paths (the six kinds of existence, see Buddhism later). But also the wicked are many, and the virtuous few. Nevertheless the punishments in the dark region are too severe and require some modification. Any wicked soul that repents and induces one or two others to do likewise, shall be allowed to set this off against the punishment which should be inflicted. The judges of the ten courts then agreed that all who lead virtuous lives from their youth upwards shall be escorted at their death to the land of the immortals; that all whose balance of good and evil is exact, shall escape the bitterness of the three states (hell, pretas, and animals) and be born again among men; that those who have repaid their debts of gratitude and friendship, and fulfilled their destiny, yet have a balance of evil against them, shall pass through the various courts of purgatory, and then be born again among men, rich, poor, old, young, diseased or crippled, to be put a second time upon trial. Then, if they behave well, they may enter into some happy state; but if badly, they will be dragged by horrid devils through all the courts, suffering bitterly as they go, and will again be born,

"TALL WHITE DEVIL."

"SHORT BLACK DEVIL."

to endure in life the uttermost of poverty and wretchedness, in death the everlasting tortures of hell." (Appendix to Giles's translation of "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio.")

This relaxation in severity of punishments, having been approved by the judges of the ten courts, was sanctioned by the ruler Pu-sa, and then submitted to Yu-ti, who authorised it, and added that any mortal who repented and had had two punishments remitted, if he succeeded in doing five virtuous acts, should escape all punishment and be born again in some happy state; if a woman, she should be re-born as a man. More than five such acts should enable a soul to obtain the salvation of others, and redeem his wife and family from hell.

The description of the various courts as given is too long to quote. One of them has a great gehenna, many leagues wide, with sixteen wards, and the following horrible punishments are said to be inflicted in them, still further exemplifying the Chinese genius for devising tortures. "In the first, the wicked souls have their bones beaten and their bodies scorched. In the second, their muscles are drawn out and their bones rapped. In the third, ducks eat their heart and liver. In the fourth, dogs eat their intestines and lungs. In the fifth, they are splashed with hot oil. In the sixth, their heads are crushed in a frame, and their tongues and teeth are drawn out," and so on through a sickening catalogue of barbarities. Contrast this with the original teaching of Lao-tze, and it will be seen how far a religion can degenerate, and how childish as well as degraded must be the minds which can accept this as true.

Horrible punishments.

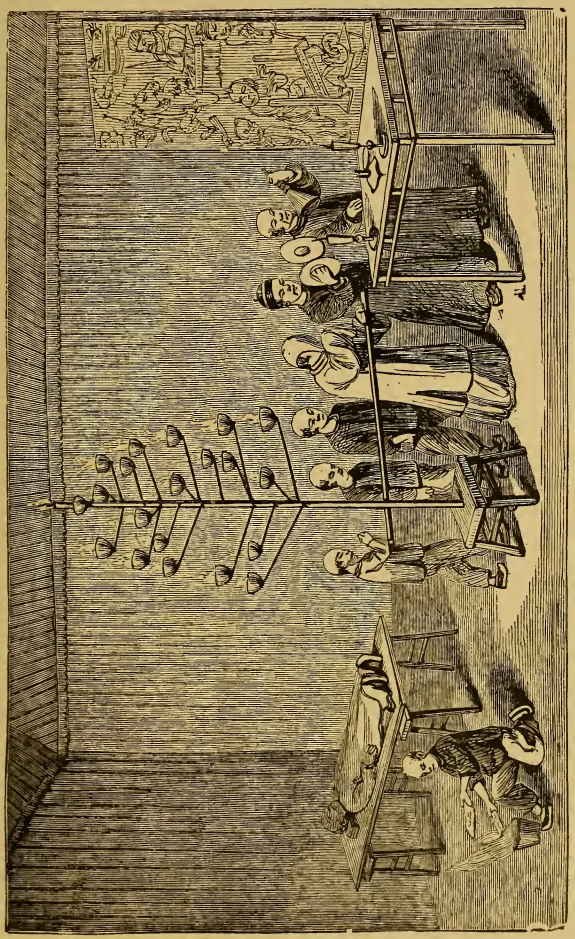
An exaggerated animism marks Taoism as well as Confucianism; and a vast number of the spirits believed in are malevolent. The simple Chinaman dreads spirits, and imagines them in all the sounds of the night and in many natural phenomena, as producing sicknesses and continually trying to deceive men. The Taoist priests, little elevated above Mongolian Shamans, except sometimes in cunning, are magicians who find occupation and wealth in overcoming the evil spirits by charms and spells. "The charms," says Dr. Legge, "are figures, and characters, single or combined, drawn and written in grotesque forms. The myriads of doors on which you see them pasted shows the thriving trade that their writers must have. A few years ago, over a large extent of country, men were startled by the sudden and unaccountable disappearance of their pigtails. An invasion of cholera could not have frightened the people more. It was the work of malevolent spirits! There was a run upon the charm manufactories. It was thought that four characters, mysteriously woven together and wrapped up in the pigtail, warded the spirits off."

Dread of evil spirits.

In this connection we must mention the practices known as *feng-shui*, or wind and water, ceremonies by which the spirits of air and water are propitiated, and including the repose of the dead, the influence of the dead upon the welfare of the living, the selection of sites for dwellings, and of graves for the dead. Every individual has three souls, the rational in the head, the sensuous in the breast, and the material in the

The feng-shui.

stomach. At death the first may become fixed in the memorial tablets, the second in the tomb, the third escapes into space and seeks to enter some other body. If proper observances are neglected, it will become hostile to the family. Incense sticks are kept constantly burning at the entrance of houses and shops, in order to prevent the entrance of these and other malignant spirits.



TURNING AROUND THE BRIDGE LADDER.

The selection of a grave is of the utmost importance, and must be performed by persons skilled in interpreting signs or in inventing them. "I have known bodies kept unburied," says Dr. Legge, "lying in their large and carefully cemented coffins, for a long time, from the difficulty of selecting the best site for the grave. I have known

Selection of graves and sites.

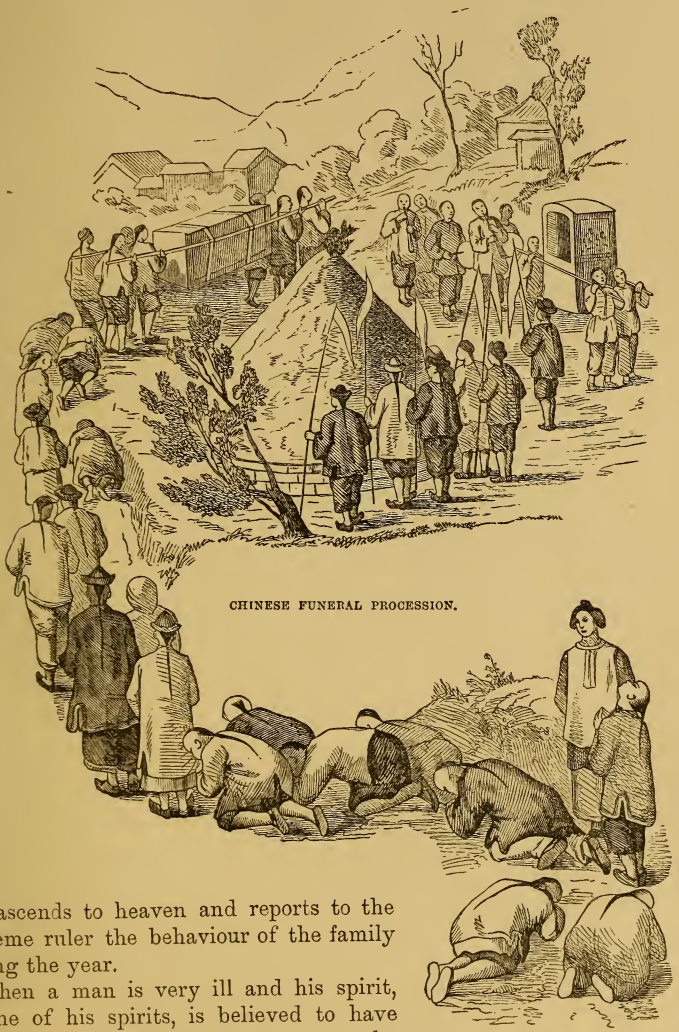
great excitement and expenditure in connection with the removal of a coffin from a grave which had turned out unpropitious, to one that was likely to enable its tenant to rest in peace, and leave his family circle unmolested." The same spirit pervades all kinds of practices. Good and evil spirits being continually passing to and fro, it is most necessary to build houses, make roads and bridges, canals and wells, in such a way as to obstruct the evil and aid the journeys of the good spirits. In every part of the country mines and quarries have been filled up owing to complaints that they have caused bad harvests by letting the demons pass. Neighbours accuse each other of having turned the good spirits aside by making changes on their lands. The planting of a tree on a favourable spot or a new tower rightly built, may bring fortune to a whole district. All straight lines are disastrous, while curves in anything promote prosperity; good spirits come from the south, evil spirits from the north.

No wonder that the Taoist priests are despised by the educated Chinese, and win their chief spoils from the ignorant; but the extent to which they have received recognition by the Government in connection with the State religion is undoubtedly an evil. The priests are supposed to study five years, but practically they do little but assist the acknowledged priests, learning their tricks and practices, and a certain amount of knowledge which will enable them to give proper "oracles" in answer to the prayers of the sick and dying. Their morals are low, and their nunneries are generally believed to be haunts of vice. There is scarcely any religion of a great people which can surpass Taoism in degradation. A volume could readily be filled with descriptions of their ceremonies and practices, but our space is exhausted. Mr. Doolittle's "Social Life of the Chinese" may be referred to for abundant information on this head.

We must briefly describe some of our illustrations, not otherwise referred to. "Passing through the Door" (p. 158) is an important ceremony for children, performed more or less frequently till childhood is over. Taoist priests come to the house, arrange an altar, place on it censers, candlesticks, and images of gods, especially that of the goddess "Mother"; and also a table full of various eatables. Certain goddesses are invited by name to be present, by ringing of bells, beating of drums, and reciting the names and residences of the goddesses. The priests recite prayers and invitations while the goddesses partake of food. The "door" to be passed through is made of bamboo covered with red and white paper, and is seven feet high. After several ceremonies, a procession is formed to pass through the door, the head of the family and all the children following. This is repeated several times, the "door" being successively removed to all corners of the room, while the priest recites various formulas. Soon after, the door is cut to pieces and publicly burnt. The idea is, to benefit the children by causing them to recover, if sick, or to continue well if in good health.

Incense and candles are regularly burnt before the god of the kitchen on the first and fifteenth of every month, morning and evening; some do it daily. An annual sacrifice of meats (p. 159) is made to the kitchen god,

and, together with mock money, is put upon the kitchen furnace before a slip of paper representing the god. The Chinese believe that the kitchen



CHINESE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

god ascends to heaven and reports to the supreme ruler the behaviour of the family during the year.

When a man is very ill and his spirit, or one of his spirits, is believed to have left his body and to be hovering near, the Taoist priests repeat their formulas for his benefit, and attempt to bring back his soul by the following means (see p. 160). A long bamboo with green leaves at the end is taken, and a white cock is often fastened near the end. A two-foot measure is sus-

pended from the bamboo, and to it is fastened a coat recently worn by the sick man. A mirror is so arranged as to occupy the place where the head would be, one of the family holds the bamboo as shown in the illustration, while a priest repeats his formulas, with the name of the sick person, to induce his spirit to enter the coat. If the pole turns round slowly in the hands of the holder, success is believed to have been attained, and the spirit can be taken back to the sick man; the coat is then placed as soon as possible on his body.

"Tall White Devil," and "Short Black Devil" (p. 161), are only foreigners' names for two of the five images of emperors or rulers who control epidemics, and which are paraded about the streets of Fu-chow. The image is formed of a bamboo framework in each case, covered with a garment, and carried by a man standing inside it.

Our illustration (on p. 163) depicts a strange custom observed by many families soon after a death. First has come the loud outburst of lamentation immediately following death. The deceased being believed to be unable to see how or where to walk, candles and incense are lighted to enable him to see. After the body has been laid out, the sons-in-law of the deceased erect a sort of bamboo chandelier as seen in our engraving, the body is on a table on one side of this, another table has candles and incense, and some large paper placards describe or depict the state of the departed. The long pole is pushed gently by the eldest son, followed by the married daughter covered by a veil, and the rest of the family; so the bridge-ladder is slowly pushed round several times, while the priests chant a liturgy to the sound of cymbals, and all lament and weep loudly. This is done in daylight. The object is to assist the deceased on his way to the abode of the dead, the pole or bridge aiding him to cross rivers, the tree-like ladder to climb steep places. After this wine and food are offered to the deceased by the eldest son; the feelings of the dead man being manifested by the way in which their small copper "cash" behave when shaken out of his sleeve. Very many other ceremonies are observed by the truly devout before the body is consigned to the grave, everything being designed either to show the sorrow of the living or to comfort or help the deceased. Many of these customs are observed for months. They vary, like others mentioned, from district to district.

On the forty-second day after death, it is believed that the spirit arrives at a certain place in the other world, whence he looks back on his old home and becomes for the first time aware of his own decease. He is then supposed to lose his appetite and to be unable to partake of the food provided for him, afterwards he is provided with one large last meal, signifying that he must thenceforth procure and cook his own food, and at the same time a large amount of mock paper money is provided for him and burnt.

[In addition to works already quoted, Mr. H. A. Giles's "Gems of Chinese Literature," 1884, and "Chuang-tzu" (or Chwang-tze), 1889, may be consulted with advantage.]

JAPAN: PRESENTING NEW-BORN BABE IN SHIN-TO TEMPLE.
(The archway in front is the general symbol of Shinto.)

CHAPTER VI.

Shin-toism (Japan).

Japanese less religious than Chinese—The way of the gods—Resemblance to Taoism—Erection of temples—Ancestral worship—Shin-to mythology—The sacred mirror—Modern reformers of Shin-toism—Results of the late revolution—Hirata's views—The old liturgies—Hirata's ritual—The god and goddess of wind—Parted spirits—The rulers of the Unseen—The spirits of the dead—Classes of temples—The uji-gami—Household gods—Priesthood and services—Shin-to temples—The torii—The temples of Isé—Ritual—Re-building of temples.

JAPAN is by no means so interesting in a religious point of view as China. The people are as a whole less concerned about religious matters, and less under the influence of the dread of unseen powers. As in China, religions exist side by side without inconsistency or clashing; in fact, the vast majority of the people may be described as Shin-toists as well as Buddhists, and few profess either religion exclusively, except in the province of Satsuma, from which the Buddhist priests have long been excluded. A philosophical system known as Siza, having some resemblance to Confucianism, is professed by many of the

Japanese less religious than Chinese.

upper classes, while also adhering to Shin-toism; it is essentially a system of moral truths and maxims.

The term Shin-to literally means the way of the gods or genii; but the Japanese word which renders the two Chinese characters Shin-to is Kami-no-michi. There is no doubt whatever that it is properly described as animism, and is largely developed from ancestor-worship. Thus there is a remarkable resemblance in essence to Chinese Taoism and ancestor-worship, though the exaggerated features of the Chinese types are absent. The Shin-to cult is very ancient, probably dating from before the Japanese immigration, while the name Shin-to only came into use after the introduction of Buddhism, as a means of distinguishing between the two. It is useless to speculate which originated first, the worship of ancestors, or that of the nature-deities. From time immemorial offerings have been presented to the household or family spirits or deities, consisting of swords, food, clothing, horses, etc., all of which are of the class usually offered to ancestral-spirits. Very early no doubt the spirit or spirits worshipped by the ruler acquired pre-eminence. When the worship of the spirits of trees, animals, rivers, rocks, wind, fire, mountains, and heavenly bodies arose, we cannot tell, but it could scarcely have been till a subsequent period that the Mikado's earliest ancestor was identified with the sun, for which a separate temple was erected at least fifteen hundred years ago, and a daughter of the Mikado was appointed chief priestess. Then the erection of temples to ancestors became general, but they were of a simple character, and usually contained no image of the god, but merely a mirror as an emblem. These temples had priests who were either direct descendants of the deified ancestor or of his chief attendant; and this custom largely continues to the present day. Thus ancestral worship is a very essential element in Japanese religion; and, as Mr. Satow tells us, "in almost every Japanese house, by the side of the domestic altar to the Shin-to gods will be found the shrine of the favourite Buddhist deity, and the memorial tablets of dead members of the family, who immediately on their decease become 'Buddhas' to whom prayers may be offered up." There can be little doubt that the most popular and most worshipped gods are those who are the reputed ancestors of the Mikado, and deified heroes even of modern times. So much is this the case that no separation or distinction is made by the Japanese between the Shin-to mythology and their own national history. National egotism makes Japan the first country created, and does not trouble itself about the rest of the world. The oldest cosmogony, the Kojiki, dating from the eighth century A.D., recounts that at the beginning of the world three gods came into existence in succession, named the Master of the Centre of Heaven, the August High-August-Producing Deity, and the Divine-Producing Deity. Then followed a series of pairs of deities, representing the stages of creation, concluding with Isanagi and Isanami, the two parents of the earth, sun, moon, and all living creatures. A most fanciful origin of all these and of many things on earth from these two parents

The way of the gods.

Resemblance to Taoism.

Erection of temples.

Ancestral worship.

Shin-to mythology.

is related. Amaterasu, the sun-goddess, was the ancestor of the first Japanese sovereign. Jimmu Tenno, descended from Ninigi-no-mikoto, the adopted grandson of the sun-goddess, is the early ruler from whom the sovereign known to Europeans as the Mikado is descended, the name by which he is known to the Japanese being Teushi, or Son of Heaven. When the sun-goddess made Ninigi sovereign of Japan, she delivered to him "the way of the gods," and decreed that his dynasty should be immovable as long as the sun and moon should endure. She gave to him three sacred emblems, the mirror, sword, and stone, saying as to the first, "Look upon this mirror as my spirit, keep it in the same house and on the same floor with yourself, and worship it as if you were worshipping my actual presence." The story is, that in the year 92 B.C. the reigning Teushi removed it to a temple, whence, after further removals, it was deposited in B.C. 4, in the Naiku temple or palace at Yamada, in the province of Isé. Most extravagant names are given to the various deities, each name being preceded by "Kami," which is applicable to a god, goddess, or spirit, while the Mikado's ordinary title is O-Kami. It must be borne in mind that the translation god for this term, is liable to be misleading, for its real meaning is simply "superior," and very varied significations may be given to it.

The sacred mirror.

A remarkable revival of pure Shinto took place in the last and present centuries, endeavouring to discover and re-establish the ancient religious belief as it was before Buddhism and Confucianism modified it. It has produced several notable scholars, especially Mabuchi (1697–1769), Motoori (1730–1801) and Hirata (1776–1843). The latter published something like a hundred separate works. From the ninth to the seventeenth centuries Buddhism was paramount in Japan, including and absorbing most of the old Shin-toism. But the revival of the older views by these scholars caused a very marked reaction, the support of the Mikado and his court being obtained for them while the Shogun and his following disliked them. The new school hoped, at the revolution of 1868, to get Buddhism suppressed, and Shin-to made the one national religion; but Western ideas and a certain carelessness about religion combined to limit the reform to a liberation of Shin-toism from the fetters of Buddhism, and the separation of one from the other. The Buddhist priests were expelled from the Shin-to temples, and the excrescences and additions which they had imposed upon them were taken away, including many treasures and architectural ornaments. Nevertheless Buddhism once more proved its power of overcoming obstacles and opposition, and has recently been regaining much of its former influence, while Shin-toism has again declined. Still its temples are supported by the Government and by local revenues, and certain yearly festivals at court are attended by all the principal officials. Yet on the whole it occupies about the same position that it has done for a thousand years past.

Modern reformers of Shin-toism.

Results of the late revolution.

The result of Hirata's studies is, that in ancient times the celebration of the worship of the gods was the chief duty of the Mikado. When the first

Mikado descended from heaven, he was instructed by his divine ancestors how to rule the country. They taught him that everything in this world depended on the spirits of the gods of heaven and earth, and that consequently their worship was of primary importance. The gods (or spirits) who worked injuries must be appeased, so that they might not punish those who had offended them; and all the gods must be worshipped, so that they might be induced to increase their favours. The art of government was termed "worshipping," and personal worship by the sovereign was essential. Consequently the early Mikados regularly prayed that the people might have sufficient food, clothing, and protection from the elements; and twice a year they celebrated the festival of general purification, by which the whole nation was purged of calamities, offences, and pollutions.

Hirata's views.

However firmly Hirata believed that he was relating the old beliefs before the influence of Chinese thought, we cannot fail to see here a similar idea to that of the Chinese State religion; and thus we may date both back to a period in the dim past when the Chinese and Japanese stocks had not yet separated. The rites of Shin-to for many centuries occupied a conspicuous place in the rules and ceremonies of the court, ten of the fifty volumes of the Yengi Shiki being devoted to them, including liturgies for the general festivals, the names of 3,132 gods in 2,861 temples at which the Court worshipped, either personally or by envoys. Every important matter was preceded by worship of the gods. Hirata says that, as it is the duty of subjects to imitate the incarnate god who is their sovereign, every man must worship his ancestors and the gods from whom they spring; but as the number of gods possessing different functions is so great, it is convenient to worship only the most important by name, and to include the rest in a general petition. Those who cannot go through the whole of the morning prayers, may content themselves with adoring the emperor's palace, the domestic spirits, the spirits of their ancestors, their local patron god, and the deity of their particular calling. His view of the superiority of the Mikado's prayers is clearly shown in the following extract. "In praying to the gods, the blessings which each has it in his power to bestow are to be mentioned in a few words, and they are not to be annoyed with greedy petitions, for the Mikado in his palace offers up petitions daily on behalf of his people, which are far more effectual than those of his subjects. Rising early in the morning, wash your face and hands, rinse out the mouth, and cleanse the body. Then turn towards the province of Yamato, strike the palms together twice, and worship, bowing the head to the ground. The proper posture is that of kneeling on the heels, which is ordinarily assumed in saluting a superior."

The old liturgies.

Hirata's ritual.

Hirata gives the following explanation of the names of the god and goddess of wind: Their first names mean Pillar of Heaven and Pillar of Earth, and they are given because the wind pervades the space between Heaven and Earth and supports the former, as a pillar supports the roof of a house. Part of the prayer to these deities

The god and goddess of wind.

runs thus: "I say with awe, deign to bless me by correcting the unwitting faults which, seen and heard by you, I have committed, by blowing off and clearing away the calamities which evil gods might inflict, by causing me to live long like the hard and lasting rock, and by repeating to the gods of heavenly origin and the gods of earthly origin the petitions which I present every day, along with your breath, that they may hear with the sharp-earedness of the forth-galloping colt." Hirata classifies faults into those committed consciously and unconsciously. The latter, he says, are committed by every one; and if we pray that such as we have committed may be corrected, the gods are willing to pardon them. By evil gods he means bad deities and demons who work harm to society and individuals. These spirits originated, he states, from the impurities contracted by Izanagi during his visit to the nether world, and cast off by him during the processes of purification. They subsequently increased in number, especially after the introduction of Buddhism. The two deities of wind can, he says, blow away anything it pleases them to get rid of, including the calamities which evil spirits endeavour to inflict. Men are dependent upon them for the breath which enables them to live; and therefore it is right to pray to them for long life, and to carry their prayers to the gods.

Another prayer given by Hirata, illustrates a curious Shin-to doctrine, according to which a god throws off portions by fissure, producing what are called Parted Spirits, with special functions. Thus a grand-daughter of the god of fire and the goddess of soil is described by eight different names, which signify that she is goddess of all kinds of food. Two of the parted spirits thrown off by her are named producer of all trees and parent of all grasses. Strange to say, we hear of the dead body of this goddess of food, from which dead body rice and other seeds, cattle, and the silkworm were produced. Consequently it early became a custom to worship this goddess on moving into a new house, built as it was of the wood and thatched with the grass of which she was the creator.

Parted Spirits.

The paired grouping of the gods is very noticeable in Japan. One of the most noteworthy parts of Hirata's "Tama-dasuki" is that which refers to Oko-kuni-nushi, who rules the Unseen, and his consort Suseri-bime. The term Unseen, he says, includes "peace or disturbance in the empire, its prosperity and adversity, the life and death, good and bad fortune of human beings, in fine, every supernatural event which cannot be ascribed to a definite author." A man's secret sins draw down upon him the hatred of the invisible gods, who inflict diseases, misfortunes, short life, etc. Conversely, the gods bestow happiness and blessings on those who practise good, giving them exemption from disease, good luck, long life, and prosperity to their descendants. Hirata's teaching here becomes more lofty, and worthy of all commendation. "Never mind the praise or blame of fellow-men," he says, "but act so that you need not be ashamed before the gods of the Unseen. If you desire to practise true virtue, learn to stand in awe of the Unseen, and that will prevent you from doing wrong. Make a vow to the god who rules over the Unseen, and

The Rulers of the Unseen.

cultivate the conscience implanted in you, and then you will never wander from the way. You cannot hope to live more than a hundred years under the most favourable circumstances; but as you will go to the unseen realm of Oko-kuni-nushi after death, and be subject to his rule, learn betimes to bow down before him."

The spirits of the dead.

We are told by Hirata that the spirits of the dead continue to exist in the unseen world, which is everywhere about us, and that they all become gods (kami) of varying character and degrees of influence. While some reside in temples built in their honour, others hover near their tombs, and continue to render services to their prince, parents, wife, and children as when they were in the body.

Classes of temples.

Just as in China, we find chief provincial temples, city temples, and village temples; and all new-born infants have to be presented to the local deity to be put under his protection. The local deity is correctly called "god of the native earth or land." There are other local deities (uji-gami) which really signify the common ancestor of a number of people who bear the same name, or one who has merited equivalent honours by benefits. The local differences between people, animals, and plants, are explained as being due to the different character of the patron god. All

The uji-gami.

the *uji-gami* are supposed to rule the fortunes of human beings before and after birth, and even after death. In some provinces it is customary before starting on a journey to proceed to the temple of the local uji-gami and beg for his protection. The priest then gives him a paper charm to protect him from harm on the road; the traveller also takes a little sand from the site of the temple, which he mixes in small quantities with water and drinks on the journey whenever he feels uncomfortable. The remains of the sand must be duly returned when he gets back, and naturally he returns thanks for the protection afforded. It is a still more serious event when a person removes his residence to another place. The uji-gami of his old home has to make arrangements with that of the new one, else all will not be right. Consequently the man must take due leave of his old uji-gami, and pay a visit to the new one as soon as possible. Whatever may be the apparent reasons which a man may think have induced him to change his residence, it is said that there can be only two; one being that he has offended the uji-gami of his old home and is expelled, the other, that the uji-gami of the new home has arranged his removal.

Household gods.

The household gods of the Japanese represent the most universally practised form of Japanese worship. Their shrine contains tablets covered with paper, on which are painted the titles of the gods of Isé, and of other gods in whom the householder places his trust. Before these tablets the householder offers up on particular days, such as the first day of the year, the 2nd, 15th and 28th of the month, saké, the favourite Japanese drink, rice, and leafy twigs of the sacred tree (*Cleyera Japonica*) belonging to the camellia and tea order. Every evening a saucer of oil with a lighted wick in it is placed before the domestic shrine. The following is

Hirata's version of the proper prayer to be made before it: "Reverently adoring the great god of the two palaces of Isé in the first place, the eight hundred myriads of celestial gods, the eight hundred myriads of terrestrial gods, all the fifteen hundred myriads of gods to whom are consecrated the great and small temples in all provinces, all islands, and all places of the Great Land of Eight Islands (Japan), the fifteen hundred myriads of gods whom they cause to serve them, and the gods of branch palaces and branch temples, and sohodo-no-kami (the scare-crow, reputed to know everything in the empire), whom I have invited to the shrine set up on this divine shelf, and to whom I offer praises day by day, I pray with awe that they will deign to correct the unwitting faults which, heard and seen by them, I have committed, and blessing and favouring me according to the powers which they severally wield, cause me to follow the divine example, and to perform good works in the Way."

Shin-toism is remarkable for its lack of public services, for the inconspicuous part played by its priests, and for the simplicity of character of its temples. The priests are not celibates, and may take up any other calling. They offer morning and evening sacrifices, and when so engaged wear a long loose gown with wide sleeves and a girdle, and on the head a black cap bound round the head by a broad white fillet. The priests recite prayers and praises of which we have given some types, and present offerings of rice, fish, fruits, flesh, saké, etc. A general purification service is held twice a year in many of the principal Shin-to temples, to wash away the sins of the people with water. Formerly it was practised also in individual cases; and sins or crimes were expiated by the sacrifice of valuable gifts in proportion to the fault committed.

Priesthood and services.

Shin-to temples usually have a chapel of two chambers, the inner containing the emblem of the god, usually a mirror, sometimes a sword, or even a curious stone, which the priest himself may only see rarely, and kept in a box within other boxes, covered with many wrappings of silk and brocade. The outer hall contains an upright wand, from which hang pieces of white paper cut out to resemble the offerings of cloth anciently made at festivals. In front of the chapel, and connected with it by an ante-chamber, may usually be seen an oratory, sometimes with a gong over its entrance, by ringing which the worshipper calls the attention of his god; sometimes this oratory is only a shed on four uprights, before which the worshipper bows and clasps his hands together, but utters no audible prayer; he then throws a few copper coins on the floor and departs. The priests of these temples eke out their scanty income by selling slips of paper bearing the title of the god as charms. Near the main building there may often be additional buildings dedicated to various Shin-to deities; around the whole is a grove of trees. There is no elaboration of architecture or design or colouring in these temples, the type of which is said to be the primeval hut, many having thatched roofs, though some are tiled or have coppered roofs. Normally, they are made entirely of wood, of the finest quality; the flooring is wooden, raised some feet above the

Shin-to temples.

ground, allowing of a balcony all round outside, approached by a flight of steps.

Another distinctive feature of a Shin-to temple is the *torii*, literally "bird-perch," an arch of very plain form at the entrance to the grounds, and often repeated at intervals up to the temple. It is never decorated with carving, but is sometimes made of stone or bronze, or painted bright red and inscribed with the names of the gods to whom the temple is dedicated.

The torii.

There were formerly many highly decorated temples, but this was the work of the Buddhists when they got control of them. In the precincts of many temples they erected pagodas, chapels to their deities, bell and drum towers, etc. All the distinctively Buddhist buildings in Shin-to grounds were, however, destroyed after 1808; but the chapels which they had built to Shin-to gods were left untouched, so that many of these remain, highly decorated with carvings, gilt fastenings, and bright colouring.

The famous temples of Isé at Yamato, the Naiku and the Geku, show the pure Shin-to simplicity, and are among the most ancient shrines of the religion. They are annually visited by great numbers of pilgrims. At these temples, says a recent visitor, are to be seen "no grandeur of form or cunning workmanship, no sacrifices, hardly any symbols. Except that the main posts are supported on hewn-stone blocks instead of entering the ground, that the floors are raised, and that wooden walls have taken the place of mats, the buildings approximate in form and structure to the primeval Japanese hut. Wood and thatch form the materials; brass, bronze, and iron, scantily used, the sole adornments; plain fences of posts, rails, and palisades the outer and inner cathedral enclosures. There is no patch of paint or scrap of carving—no colour but the browns and drabs of thatch and weather-worn woodwork. For gateways there are merely open *torii*, constructed of bare round logs, in the form with which the world is now familiar; for gates nought but hanging screens of thin white silk; for sacrifices, daily offerings of water, rice, fish, salt, and other simple products of the land and sea. The very lamps for the service of the temple are of coarse white paper, decorated only in black, with the chrysanthemum flower, which is the crest of the Son of Heaven. As for emblems, they too are of the same simple and unaffected type. Rice-straw ropes and wisps, sprigs and wands of the rare and sacred *sakaki* tree (*Cleyera Japonica*), hanging slips of notched white paper—each symbolical of some incident in the well-known legend of the Sun-goddess's enticement out of the cave to which she had retired, in wrath and pain, from the Moon-god's violence—that is all. Though the sacred mirror and its copies are there too, they are never now seen by human eyes. For each there is a spruce-wood box, shrouded in a wrapper of plain white silk and covered by a wooden cage, which again is completely hidden under a voluminous silken mantle. Within the box reposes the mirror, in a sack of brocade, or rather in a succession of sacks, for, as soon as one begins to perish from age, a new one is added without removing it.

The temples of Isé.

"Of public ritual at these shrines there is virtually none, except on occasional feast-days; and even then it is of the most unpretending kind. Two or three plain-robed priests, calling the deity's attention by strokes upon a gong, recite short prayers and formulas for a few minutes, worship, bow the head, and retire. Now and then the *kagura*—a maiden dance of great antiquity, and said to be emblematic of the goddess Uzume's choragic feats before the cave of Amaterasu—is performed in a building outside of the temple; but it is not a feature of the ritual proper. And the lay-worshippers; what of them? Again the same tale of profound simplicity. First, purified by washing their hands in the neighbouring river, they advance to the silk screen at the fourth *torii*, cast a few coppers into the receptacle for tribute, clap their hands twice together, and then, with bowed heads and bended knees, or in a kneeling posture, remain for a minute or so in silent or muttered prayer. Petitions for prosperity and long life, for correction of faults, and exemption from evil, sin, calamity, and pestilence—these, with humble expressions of worship, all in the fewest possible words, form the Shin-to believer's prayer." **Ritual.**

These temples are allowed to decay by natural processes, although every part of the grounds is kept scrupulously neat and clean. But the buildings are renewed every twenty years, not by pulling down one set and building another in its place, but by using a precisely similar site near by, and building the new temple on it, reproducing the old one most exactly in every detail. Thus two sites are alternately occupied. The trees in the surrounding groves are the finest in Japan. **Rebuilding of temples.**

Such is the Shin-to system of Japan, which, evidently akin to the State and ancestral worship of China, falls short of it in the slightness of its associated moral teaching. Perhaps this is the reason why it appears to have on the whole but a moderate hold on the Japanese, and why they have shown so much readiness on the one hand to accept the more definite moral teaching and the more astounding marvels of Buddhism, and on the other to throw aside ancestral beliefs, and seek a new philosophy and religion from Europe.

["Introduction to Murray's Handbook for Japan: Religions," by E. M. Satow. "The Revival of Pure Shin-to," and other papers in "Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan."]

VARUNA (FROM A NATIVE PICTURE).

BOOK III.

BRAHMANISM.

CHAPTER I.

The Early Vedic Religion.

Analogies to Greek and Roman Religion—Date of the Rig-Veda, anterior to writing—Language of Rig-Veda—Religious basis—The earliest hymns—Worship of powers of Nature personified—Dyaus and Prithivi (heaven and earth)—The origin of things—Mitra and Varuna—Indra, the god of the clear blue sky—The Maruts, or storm-gods—The sun-gods, Surya and Savitri—Pushan—Soma, the Indian Bacchus or Dionysus—Ushas, the dawn goddess—Agni, the god of fire—Tvashtri—The Asvins—Brahmanaspati—Vishnu—Yama, and a future life—Virtues rewarded by heaven—Future punishment—Transition to monotheism and pantheism—Visvakarman—Absence of later Hindu doctrines—Organisation of early Hindus—Morals—The other Vedas—The Brahmanas—Human sacrifice—Animal sacrifice—Tradition of a flood—Immortality—Idea of the sun's course—Origin of caste—Self-assertion of Brahmans—Nature of the Brahmanas—Household sacrifices—Purification—Fasting—Establishment of sacrificial fires—The Upanishads—The syllable Om—The origin of the world in ether—The Atman, or self-existent—The Svetas-vatara—Transmigration of souls—Purpose of the Upanishads.

Analogies to Greek and Roman religion.

WHATEVER may have been the history of the Aryans, by whom the Vedas[1] were produced, previous to their entering India, it is certain that when they did so, long before Budd-

[1] See Muir, "Original Sanskrit Texts" (M.); Max Müller, "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," "Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion," "Sacred Books of the East" (M. M.); Sir Monier Williams, "Indian Wisdom," "Hinduism" (M. W.); Sir W. W. Hunter, "India"; H. H. Wilson's works.

hism took its rise, in the sixth century B.C., they had developed religious ideas and conceptions which present singular analogies and similarities to those which appear to be most primitive among the Greeks; and which suggest, if they do not prove, that the European and Hindu Aryans sprang from a common stock. When we find their divinities termed "devas," or "the shining ones," and recognise the same word in the Latin Deus, divinity; when we compare the Dyaush-pitar (Heaven-Father) of Sanskrit, with Jupiter or Dies-piter of Rome, and the Zeus of Greece; Varuna, the encompassing sky in Sanskrit, with Ouranos Uranus in Greek; and many other like words, we cannot help realising that, strange as it might seem at first, Brahmanism and Greek and Latin religion sprang from a similar source. And it is not very important which is the older. We know that the Hindu sacred books, the Vedas,—at any rate some of them,—are among the oldest of extant human compositions, and exhibit to us some of the earliest human ideas that were handed down by writing.

Date of the Rig-Veda.

The best opinions place the date of the Rig-Veda somewhere between 800 and 1200 B.C. The collection consists of ten books, containing altogether 1,017 hymns; eight out of ten books begin with hymns addressed to Agni, and others addressed to Indra follow. It appears probable that at least two distinct generations or series of authors composed them, the later being more imitative and reflective; and it is probable that some of the hymns date from a period earlier even than 1200 B.C. In the whole series there is no reference to anything connected with writing, and this suggests that they are relatively anterior to the Book of Exodus, where "books" and writing are distinctly mentioned. Even long after the period of the Rig-Veda, writing is never mentioned. Thus we must ascribe the preservation of these wonderful collections entirely to memory, which is, no doubt, equal to the task. Many years, we know, are still regularly spent by Brahmans in the slow, methodical learning and repetition of their sacred literature; and there is every sign of this habit having been handed down from a period when no other means of preserving the Vedas existed. In ancient compositions, later than the Rig-Veda, we are told in detail every event in the life of a Brahman, but there is no mention of his learning to write. It is not till we come to the Laws of Manu that writing is spoken of.

Anterior to writing.

Language of Rig-Veda.

The very language of the Rig-Veda is a further confirmation of its antiquity. The words are so difficult of explanation as to have given rise to extensive commentaries ever since. When the words are known, great differences of opinion arise as to how they are to be connected together, or what idea they represent. Often the most puerile or irrelevant things (to us) are interspersed among the loftiest sentiments, and great verbosity alternates with the most terse and pregnant aphorisms. This precludes the idea of single authorship of any considerable portions. In fact, early Hindu literature was not concerned about authorship in the modern sense. The word Veda, meaning "knowledge," clearly refers to Divine knowledge, imagined as proceeding like breath from the self-existent

Spirit, and inspiring a class of sages called Rishis; and thus it is held to this day to be absolutely infallible.

The general form of the Vedas is that of the simplest lyrical poetry, with a not very regular metrical flow; and the matter is almost exclusively religious. This fact is regarded as due largely to the character of the people. "No great people, surely," said Prof. Whitney, "ever presented the spectacle of a development more predominantly religious; none ever grounded its whole fabric of social and political life more absolutely on a religious basis; none ever meditated more deeply and exclusively on things supernatural; none ever rose, on the one hand, higher into the airy regions of a purely speculative creed, or sank, on the other, deeper into degrading superstitions—the two extremes to which such a tendency naturally leads."

Religious basis.

Although the earliest Vedic hymns are so ancient, they must have been preceded by an indefinitely long period of growth and development of the race, for the language is fixed, complex, full-grown; the idea of gods was fully developed, indeed their number seems to have been fixed as thirty-three, who are described as all great and old, and are besought not to lead their votaries far from the paths of their fathers. It may be said generally that in the earliest hymns each god that is manifested is for the time being contemplated as supreme and absolute, and not limited by the powers of the rest. Max Müller says, "Each god is to the mind of the suppliant as good as all the gods. He is felt at the time as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god." In fact the early Hindu of the Vedas was a worshipper of the powers of Nature personified, and capable of being influenced by his praises, prayers, and actions. Their qualities are not precisely limited or distinguished from one another. While the gods are termed immortal, they are mostly not regarded as uncreated or self-existent, but are often described as the offspring of heaven and earth. There is no uniformity, however, on this point. But there are numerous passages reconcilable with the view that some of these gods represent deified ancestors, as where they are said to have acquired immortality by their acts, or their virtues, or by gift of Agni; and it is even implied that the gods named were the successors of others previously existing. Thus we find Indra thus invoked, "Who made thy mother a widow? What god was present in the fray, when thou didst slay thy father, seizing him by the foot?" and there is no doubt that at times the gods are represented as being at war with one another. As to the powers and prerogatives of the gods, they are above all mortals, who can by no means frustrate their decrees, they will reward dutiful worshippers, and punish the negligent.

The earliest hymns.

Worship of powers of Nature personified.

Heaven and Earth, the progenitors of the gods, are represented by Dyaus and Prithivi. Hymns addressed to them include the following, "At the festivals (I worship) with offerings, and celebrate the praises of Heaven and Earth, the promoters of righteousness,

Dyaus and Prithivi (Heaven and earth).

the great, the wise, the energetic, who, having gods for their offspring, thus lavish, with the gods, the choicest blessings, in consequence of our hymn. With my invocations I adore the thought of the beneficent Father, and that mighty inherent power of the Mother. The prolific Parents have made all creatures, and through their favours (have conferred) wide immortality on their offspring." . . . So closely did the old Hindus approach the Greeks and Romans in their conceptions of Mother Earth and Father Heaven. In various passages, however, they are themselves spoken of as created, especially by Indra, who formed them out of his own body, and to whom they do homage. How then was the origin of things imagined? The following extract is from Sir Monier Williams's metrical rendering of one of the most remarkable Vedic hymns.

The origin of things.

> "In the beginning there was neither nought nor aught,
> Then there was neither sky nor atmosphere above.
> What then enshrouded all this teeming universe?
> In the receptacle of what was it contained?
> Was it enveloped in the gulf profound of water?
> Then there was neither death nor immortality,
> Then there was neither day nor night, nor light nor darkness,
> Only the Existent One breathed calmly, self-contained.
> Then first came darkness hid in darkness, gloom in gloom.
> Next all was water, all a chaos indiscrete
> In which the One lay void, shrouded in nothingness."

But Dr. Muir's literal translation gives a better notion of the original: "There was then neither nonentity nor entity; there was no atmosphere nor sky above. What enveloped (all)? Where, in the receptacle of what (was it contained)? Was it water, the profound abyss? Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night. That One breathed calmly, self-supported; there was nothing different from, or above it. In the beginning darkness existed, enveloped in Darkness. All this was undistinguishable water. That One which lay void, and wrapped in nothingness, was developed by the power of fervour. . . . Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to the development of this (universe); who then knows whence it arose? From what this creation arose, and whether (any one) made it or not,—he who in the highest heaven is its ruler, he verily knows, or (even) he does not know." From this we see that man in the ancient Vedic times had progressed almost, if not quite, as far in speculation as to the origin of things as the latest and most advanced of men, and with as little definite result.

Leaving aside Aditi, apparently a personification of universal Nature or Being, the mother of the gods (Adityas), and capable of setting people free from sin, but confessedly a difficult personification to explain, we pass to consider the characters of Mitra and Varuna, sons of Aditi, frequently associated, and often interpretable as day and night. Varuna is sometimes represented as visible; and the two deities are said to mount on a car drawn by horses, and soar to the highest empyrean, and behold all things in heaven and earth. Sometimes the sun is called the

Mitra and Varuna.

eye of Mitra and Varuna; and both jointly and separately they are termed king of all and universal monarch. Varuna has attributes like those of the Greek Ouranos, Latinised as Uranus. He made the sun to shine; the wind is his breath; river courses are hollowed out by his command, and the rivers pour their water into the one ocean but never fill it. He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships on the ocean, the course of the far-travelling wind, and beholds all the sacred things that have been or shall be done. He beholds as if he were close at hand. Whatever two persons sitting together, devise, Varuna the king knows it, as a third. He has unlimited control of men, and is said to have a thousand remedies; hence he is besought to show his deep and wide benevolence, and drive away evil and sin. Muir's verse translation, almost literal, is so attractive that it demands quotation.

INDRA (FROM A NATIVE PICTURE).

"The mighty Lord on high, our deeds as if at hand, espies;
The gods know all men do, though men would fain their deeds disguise.
Whoever stands, whoever moves, or steals from place to place,
Or hides him in his secret cell—the gods his movements trace.
Wherever two together plot, and deem they are alone,
King Varuna is there, a third, and all their schemes are known.
This earth is his, to him belong those vast and boundless skies;
Both seas within him rest, and yet in that small pool he lies.
Whoever far beyond the sky should think his way to wing,
He could not there elude the grasp of Varuna the King.
His spies descending from the skies glide all the world around,
Their thousand eyes all-scanning sweep to earth's remotest bound.
Whate'er exists in heaven and earth, whate'er beyond the skies,
Before the eyes of Varuna, the King, unfolded lies.
The ceaseless winkings all he counts of every mortal's eyes;
He wields this universal frame, as gamester throws his dice.
Those knotted nooses which thou fling'st, O God, the bad to snare
All liars let them overtake, but all the truthful spare."

In this and in many other passages Varuna appears as a moral Being of high elevation. His forgiveness is implored by the Rishi or sacred bard; and it is urged that wine, anger, dice, or thoughtlessness have led him astray. Very much the same attributes are ascribed to Mitra and Varuna together as to the latter alone. It will be seen later how closely the Zoroastrian Mithra resembles the Indian Mitra; and there cannot be much

doubt that this conception of the Deity existed previous to the separation of the Indian from the Iranian (Persian) branch. Later, Varuna became specially associated with the rule over water, and was solicited to send flood and rain from the sky.

Indra and Agni, at first less important than the foregoing, later grow in importance: they were born of parents, and have various striking qualities, and there are many features of personal description given. Indra, god of the clear sky, is handsome, ruddy or golden-haired, with long arms, but has endless forms which he can assume at will. He rides on a shining golden car drawn by two golden horses, which move more swiftly than thought; he has a thunderbolt and other weapons, and is exhilarated by the libations of *soma* offered by his worshippers. In many passages the known effects of this favourite intoxicant were supposed to be felt by the gods. One of Indra's especial functions is to encounter and vanquish the hostile demons of drought. As Muir says, the growth of these ideas is perfectly natural and intelligible to those who have witnessed the phenomena of the seasons in India. "Indra is thus at once a terrible warrior and a gracious friend, a god whose shafts deal destruction to his enemies while they bring deliverance and prosperity to his worshippers. The phenomena of thunder and lightning almost inevitably suggest the idea of a conflict between opposing forces; even we ourselves often speak of the war or strife of the elements. The worshipper would at one time transform the fantastic shapes of the clouds into the chariots and horses of his god, and at another time would seem to perceive in their piled-up masses the cities and castles which he was advancing to overthrow." Frequently Indra is saluted as the god most powerful over the external world, "the most adorable of the adorable, the caster down of the unshaken, the most distinguished of living things." His worshippers are enjoined to have faith in him, and his power is asserted against denials of scepticism. He has a love for mortals, and is the helper of all men, a wall of defence and a deliverer, hearing and

Indra the god of the clear blue sky.

AGNI (FROM MOOR'S "HINDU PANTHEON").

answering prayers. He is supposed to be capable of bestowing all kinds of temporal benefits, and in fact arbitrarily to control the destinies of men. Yet the simplicity of the worshipper is sometimes shown by prayers that the god will prove his prowess, and statements that "little has been heard of as done upon earth by one such as thou art." Indra is especially the champion and guardian of the Aryan Hindus against the darker races whom they subjected. It appears almost as if the conception of Indra expanded with the advance of the Aryans over India, while that of Varuna declined, who is more directly related to the early common Aryan belief before India was reached, and which appears also in the Zoroastrian Ormuzd and the Greek Ouranos. Another view regards Dyaus as the god whom Indra threw into the shade; answering to the difference between the time when in the more elevated and mountainous regions of Central Asia, the brilliant radiance of heaven was the holiest and most desirable thing, and the later time, in India, when the rainy sky was most longed for, and its representation as Indra became most popular.

Passing by Parjanya, the thundering rain god, and Vayu, the wind, as less important deities, we find the Maruts, Rudras, or storm gods, many in number, often associated with Indra and with Agni. Some extracts from one of the hymns addressed to them will give a better idea of the conceptions attached to them than a description.

The Maruts, or storm-gods.

"They shake with their strength all beings, even the strongest, on earth and in heaven. . . . They who confer power, the roarers, the devourers of foes, they made winds and lightnings by their powers. The shakers milk the heavenly udders (clouds), roaming around they fill the earth with milk (rain). . . . Mighty you are, powerful, of wonderful splendour, firmly rooted like mountains, (yet) lightly gliding along;—you chew up forests like elephants. . . . Give, O Maruts, to the worshippers strength glorious, invincible in battle, brilliant, wealth-conferring, praise-worthy, known to all men. Let us foster our kith and kin during a hundred winters." (M. M.)

The gods personifying the Sun, under different phases, are Surya and Savitri, who are praised and described in the Veda with appropriate epithets; they are drawn in cars by numerous horses, preserve all things, enable men to perform their work, and see all things, both the good and the bad deeds of mortals. Surya is sometimes said to be dependent on Indra, who causes him to shine and prepares his path.

The Sun-gods, Surya and Savitri.

Pushan is another solar deity, a guide on roads and journeys, a protector and multiplier of cattle and of human possessions generally. A hymn addressed to him runs thus: "Conduct us, Pushan, over our road; remove distress, son of the deliverer; go on before us. Smite away from our path the destructive and injurious wolf which seeks after us. Drive away from our path the waylayer, the thief, the robber. . . . O god who bringest all blessings and art distinguished by thy golden spear, make wealth easy of acquisition. Convey us past our opponents; make our paths easy to traverse; gain strength for us here." Another hymn more em-

Pushan.

phatically prays the god for personal favours: "Bring to us wealth suitable for men, and a manly suitable householder who shall bestow on us gifts. Impel to liberality, O glowing Pushan, even the man who would fain bestow nothing; soften the soul even of the niggard. Open up paths by which we may obtain food; slay our enemies; let our designs succeed, O glorious god." With him is sometimes associated Soma, and the two are celebrated together as the generators of wealth and preservers of the world.

Soma, the god animating the exhilarating juice of the *soma* plant, probably a species of *Asclepias*, seems to represent Dionysus or Bacchus among the early Indian gods. The whole of the hymns, 114 in number, of the ninth book of the Rig-Veda are dedicated to him. Prof. Whitney says of him: "The simple-minded Aryan people had no sooner perceived that under the influence of this liquid the individual was prompted to and capable of deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefore were sacred." The worship of Soma was very ancient, as it is mentioned in the Zend-avesta. To Soma are attributed almost all divine power and honours, especially in reference to his influence on the other gods and on his human votaries; but his worship declined and almost wholly passed away with the early Vedic worship.

Soma, the Indian Bacchus or Dionysus.

Ushas, the goddess of dawn, has many of the most beautiful hymns addressed to her. She is described as restoring consciousness, smiling like a flatterer, awakening all creatures to cheerfulness, rousing into motion every living thing, born again and again, revealing the ends of the sky. "Blessed Ushas," says the worshipper, "thou who, animated by strength, shinest forth with wonderful riches, may I obtain that renowned and solid wealth which consists in stout sons, numerous slaves, and horses." (M.) Ushas is most usually described as the daughter of the sky, and is said to have the sun for her lover. The name Ushas (Ushasa) is identical with the Greek *Ἠώς* (*Ēōs*) and the Latin Aurora (=Ausosa).

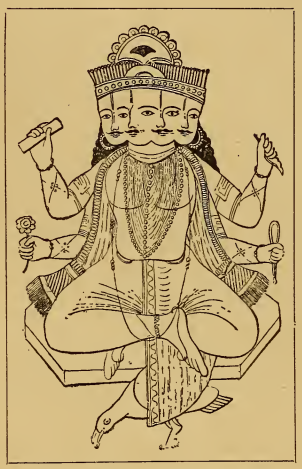
Ushas, the dawn goddess.

Agni, the god of fire (the Roman Ignis, the Slavonian Ogni), is a most prominent deity, being only paralleled, in the number of hymns addressed to him, by Indra. His characteristics aptly portray the wonder with which our forefathers viewed fire. Agni is an immortal and messenger from and to the gods, who has taken up his abode with man. He is both sage and sacrificer, supreme director of religious ceremonies and duties. "O Agni, thou from whom, as a newborn male, undying flames proceed, the brilliant smoke goes towards the sky, for as messenger thou art sent to the gods: thou whose power spreads over the earth in a moment, when thou hast grasped food with thy jaws,—like a dashing army thy blast goes forth; with thy lambent flame thou seemest to tear up the grass. Him alone, the ever youthful Agni, men groom like a horse in the evening and at dawn; they bed him as a stranger in his couch." (M. M.) The world and the heavens are made manifest at his appearance, after having been

Agni, the god of fire.

swallowed up in darkness. He is all-devouring, has a burning head, is thousand-eyed and thousand-horned; his flames roar like the waves of the sea, he sounds like thunder, and roars like the wind. He is described as having the highest divine functions of all kinds, and his votaries prosper and live long. He protects and blesses the worshipper who sweats to bring him fuel, or wearies his head to serve him. Prayers were made to him for all kinds of blessings, and for forgiveness for any sin committed through folly. The same simple familiarity in speaking to the gods which we have noticed before is seen in such an address as this: "If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I were an immortal, I would not abandon thee to wrong or to penury. My worshipper should not be poor, nor distressed, nor miserable." That there was also an association of Agni with a future may be gathered from the following paraphrase. (M. W.)

"Deliver, mighty lord, thy worshippers,
Purge us from taint of sin, and when we die,
Deal mercifully with us on the pyre,
Burning our bodies with their load of guilt,
But bearing our eternal part on high
To luminous abodes and realms of bliss,
For ever there to dwell with righteous men."



BRAHMA (FROM A NATIVE PICTURE).

Tvashtar is the artisan and skilful contriver, and in many ways answers to Hephaistos and Vulcan. He sharpens the iron axe of Brahmanaspati and forges the thunderbolts of Indra. All kinds of created powers are attributed to him. The Asvins are the earliest bringers of light in the morning sky, before the dawn, and are often connected with Surya; they were enthusiastically worshipped and praised, being hailed as chasers away of darkness, and described as the guardians of the slow and hindmost, as physicians restoring the lame, blind, and sick, as placing the productive germ in all creatures, and as capable of renewing the youth of all. Consequently they were supplicated for varied blessings, and were begged to overwhelm and destroy the niggard who offered no oblations. It is thought by good authorities that these gods represent deified mortals who were at the same time swift in their movements and appeared to possess remarkable healing powers.

Tvashtar.

The Asvins.

A somewhat later god than these is variously known as Brihaspati and Brahmanaspati, and personifies the worshipper, represented by the priest and sacrificer interceding with the gods, thus showing a distinct advance in moral ideas. The word Brahman is one of the most difficult in all Sanskrit, having been very diversely derived and explained; but while in its highest use it came to denote the objective Self or Cause

Brahmanaspati.

of the universe, it may have originally represented the impulse and striving towards the gods, then every sacred word, formula, ceremony, or act, and finally the priest. Brahmanaspati is represented as the god of prayer, aiding Indra in conquering the cloud demon, and in some instances appearing to be identified with Agni. He is the offspring of the two worlds (Heaven and Earth), and is the inspirer of prayer, and by prayer accomplishes his designs; he mounts the chariot of the ceremonial and proceeds to conquer the enemies of prayer and of the gods. He is the guide and protector of the pious, whom he saves from calamities and blesses with wealth.

Vishnu is a god comparatively little mentioned in the Rig-Veda, but attaining great importance later. He is most characterised of old by the three steps by which he strode over the world; by his threefold existence as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky; or as the sun in his three positions of rising, culmination, and setting. Triple power and functions are variously asserted of him, and he is said to assist other gods. Only sometimes is he adored independently, as thus: "Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishnu, the worker of many wonders: he is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose primeval, creative wives are indefatigable." Often he is closely associated with Indra. How different a position he afterwards assumes we shall see later on. Most of the goddesses mentioned in the Veda we must omit reference to, as they are of less importance.

Vishnu.

YAMA (FROM A NATIVE PICTURE).

It is in the later portions, the ninth and tenth books, of the Rig-Veda, that we find a marked reference to the ideas of immortality and a future life, although they are not entirely wanting previously, as in passages where mortals are said to have attained immortality, or to have gone to the gods, who prolong their lives. Sometimes, too, the souls of ancestors, the fathers existing with the gods, are invoked. These ideas are in the later books especially connected with Yama, the divine ruler of the spirits of the dead, by some supposed to represent the first man, and having a twin sister, Yami (Max Müller dissents from this view). Sir Monier Williams thus represents Yama in verse:—

Yama and a future life.

"To Yama, mighty king, be gifts and homage paid.
He was the first of men that died, the first to brave
Death's rapid rushing stream, the first to point the road
To heaven, and welcome others to that bright abode.
No power can rob us of the home thus won by thee.

O king, we come; the born must die, must tread the path
That thou hast trod—the path by which each race of men,
In long succession, and our fathers, too, have passed.
Soul of the dead! depart; fear not to take the road—
The ancient road—by which thy ancestors have gone;
Ascend to meet the god—to meet thy happy fathers,
Who dwell in bliss with him. Fear not to pass the guards—
The four-eyed brindled dogs—that watch for the departed.
Return unto thy home, O soul! Thy sin and shame
Leave thou behind on earth; assume a shining form—
Thy ancient shape—refined and from all taint set free."

The two four-eyed dogs are of interest in comparison with Cerberus, the dog of Tartarus. Yama is not represented in the Rig-Veda, though he is in the later mythology, as having anything to do with the future punishment of the wicked. His dogs are said to wander about among men as his messengers, and to guard the road to his abode; the dead are advised to hurry past them with all speed. When the remains of the dead one have been placed upon the funeral pile, Agni, the god of fire, is besought not to scorch or consume him, but to convey him to the fathers as an offering. "Let his eye go to the sun, his breath to the wind. Go to the sky and to earth, according to nature; or go to the waters, if that is suitable for thee. As for his unborn part, do thou (Agni) kindle it with thy heat; with those forms of thine which are auspicious convey it to the world of the righteous." The spirit is then imagined to enter upon a more perfect life in which all desires are fulfilled; occupation will also be found in fulfilling the pleasure of the gods. It must not be supposed that in a time when even the gods are represented as marrying and indulging in soma, the heaven of the departed would be idealised.

Virtues rewarded by Heaven.

The following passage will give an idea of the virtues for which heaven was given: "Let him depart to those who through rigorous abstraction are invincible. Let him depart to the combatants in battles, to the heroes who have there sacrificed their lives, or to those who have bestowed thousands of largesses. Let him depart, Yama, to those austere ancient fathers who have preached and promoted sacred rites." These fathers are in some hymns held up as objects of admiration to their descendants; their descendants supplicate their good will, deprecate their wrath, and pray for their protection. They are asked to give them wealth, long life, and offspring. They are supposed to rejoice in libations and sacrificial food, and to come in thousands to the sacrifices.

Future punishment.

As to future punishment, Indra is in the tenth book of the Rig-Veda prayed to consign to the lower darkness the man who injures his worshipper; but it is not always certain that this lower darkness signifies a place of punishment. In the ninth book Soma is said to hurl the hated and irreligious into the abyss; but references to future punishment are confessedly vague and indistinct in the Rig-Veda.

One of the finest of the hymns of the Rig-Veda is the 121st in the tenth book, thus translated by Max Müller:—

"In the beginning there arose the Source of golden light—He was the only born Lord of all that is. He established the earth, and the sky;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice? (This last clause is repeated after each verse.)

"He who gives life, He who gives strength; whose blessing all the bright gods desire; whose shadow is immortality; whose shadow is death.

"He who through His power is the only King of the breathing and awakening world; He who governs all, man and beast.

"He whose power these snowy mountains, whose power the sea proclaims, with the distant river—He whose these regions are as it were His two arms.

"He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm, He through whom the heaven was established, nay the highest heaven, He who measured out the light in the air.

"He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by His will, look up, trembling inwardly; He over whom the rising sun shines forth.

"Wherever the mighty water-clouds went, where they placed the seed and lit the fire, thence arose He who is the only life of the bright gods.

"He who by His might looked even over the water-clouds, the clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrifice, He who is God above all gods.

"May He not destroy us, He the creator of the earth; or He the righteous who created the heaven; He who also created the bright and mighty waters!"

Thus we have contemplated in the earliest Vedic hymns a series of conceptions of distinct deities associated with the powers of Nature, and correspondingly named. It is only later that the idea seems to arise that these were all representations of different aspects of one power, and sometimes this appears to proceed from a desire to magnify the particular god whose praises are being specially celebrated; later, new names were used to signify these more enlarged conceptions, such as Visvakarman and Prajapati, not limited to any particular department, but believed to be the divine powers governing the earth. Another kind of expression shows an early form of pantheism, identifying the godhead with Nature: Thus "Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the air, Aditi is the mother and father and son. Aditi is all the gods and the five classes of men. Aditi is whatever has been born. Aditi is whatever shall be born." (M.)

Transition to monotheism and pantheism.

Visvakarman (at first a name of Indra), the great architect of the universe, is in the tenth book of the Rig-Veda represented as the all-seeing god, who has on every side eyes, faces, arms, and feet, the father generator, who knows all worlds, and gives the gods their names. Similar attributes are in other hymns ascribed to other divine beings, such as Brahman, Prajapati, etc.; these being probably by different authors. We see here the product of the most advanced thought among these early Aryans, including a singular variety of attempts to express the thoughts to which the great phenomena of the universe gave rise in their minds. That these conceptions should be vague and often discordant and confused, and

Visvakarman.

should include much that is puerile, is to be expected, when we remember that the sum of human thought up to the present day is "man cannot by searching find out God."

Sir Monier Williams thus expresses his mature conclusions on some important points: "The Vedic hymns contain no allusion to the doctrine of transmigration of souls, which is a conspicuous characteristic of the Hindu creed in the later system. Nor do they afford any sanction to the prohibition of widow marriages, the encouragement of child-marriages, the iron rules of caste, and the interdiction of foreign travel. Nor is there in them any evidence that the personifications of the forces of nature were represented by images or symbols carved out of wood or stone." Animals were killed for sacrifices as well as for food, and we find no trace of the objection to eat the flesh of cows, which became so strong at a later period.

Absence of later Hindu doctrines.

The people of the Vedas appear to have inhabited the Punjab, and to have only gradually extended their power into the tracts watered by the Jumna and Ganges. Every father of a family at first was entitled to act as priest in his own family, every chief in his own tribe; but as the hymns or prayers or offerings began to grow elaborate, there was a tendency to restrict worship, especially on important occasions, to special priests, who knew the approved hymns or the prayers which had been believed to be successful. In time it became a part of the chief's credit to retain about him favourite or noted priests, and their offices, like those of the chiefs, tended to become hereditary. Great gifts were lavished upon the priests by the kings, and many of the Vedic hymns commend this practice. Some of the hymns themselves were composed by kings; and the Rishis gradually asserted themselves so far as to claim superior rank to the temporal rulers, and erect themselves into a distinct caste of Brahmans; this position was not, however, acquired without a struggle. Special families were distinguished by symbols, such as the number and arrangement of their locks of hair, or their being shaven in peculiar ways.

Organisation of early Hindus.

As to morals under this *régime*, it appears that one wife was the rule, while a plurality was tolerated; women might marry a second time, and appear to have had some freedom of choice. Immorality was by no means unknown, and Indra is said to have declared that "the mind of a woman was ungovernable, and her temper fickle." Untruth was condemned, and the gods were said to punish lying; thieves and robbers are mentioned as infesting the highways or stealing secretly. Liberality and fidelity were held in high esteem.

Morals.

How forcible is the contrast between the beneficence and the brightness, the helpfulness and the kindliness of the gods, as imagined by the earlier Aryans, and the severity, the ruthlessness, the cruelty, afterwards associated with Hindu gods. Direct access to the gods, direct benefits in return for prayer and offerings; intensity of prayer and meditation, fervency of petition, inevitably securing blessing, these are cardinal features of the early Hindu religion.

The Sama-Veda, and the Yajur-Veda are smaller collections formed mainly out of the Rig-Veda, but considerably modified; the former in verse, relating to the Soma offering, the latter in prose, relating to the other sacrifices. The Yajur-Veda belongs to a period when the Aryans had progressed into Eastern India, and when the Brahmans had acquired supremacy. The fourth great Vedic collection, the Atharva-Veda, belongs to a still later period, probably that of the Brahmanas, and contains the hymns and services then in use, modified or developed from the Vedic time. They exhibit a growth of belief in evil powers, and contain a series of formulas designed to protect against these, and against diseases and noxious animals and plants, together with cursings of enemies, and magic verses about all kinds of daily events, designed to counteract unfavourable events. This Veda contains a great number of words used by the people.

The other Vedas.

Not yet within the region of dates and relation to known persons, we come to the next great division of ancient Hindu literature, the Brahmanas, which exhibit to us a fully developed sacrificial system, and are intended for the use of the priests or Brahmans. We find here a series of prose compositions describing the connection of the sacred songs and words with the sacrificial rites. They may date from the seventh or eighth centuries B.C. We see in them, as in the case of so many priesthoods, the tendency to elaborate, to develop a ritual which could only be carried out by an hereditary caste, and which furnished a means of demanding large contributions from the votaries. The length of the Brahmanas themselves is wearisome, and is matched by their dogmatic assertion and their complex symbolism. Each of the collections of Vedic hymns has its proper Brahmanas, there being no fewer than eight Brahmanas to the Sama-Veda. Besides ceremonial directions, these Brahmanas contain numerous materials for tracing the growth of Hindu religious ideas. In one story of a king who had no son, after extolling the benefits that a son brings, the king offers, if a son be born to him, to sacrifice him to Varuna. When the son was born and was told of his destiny, he refused, and left his father's home. Disappointed of his victim, Varuna afflicted the father with dropsy. The son wandering for years in the forest, at last found a Brahman hermit in distress, whose second son voluntarily offered to be sold in order that he might be sacrificed instead of the king's son. Finally the substitute, by the virtue of Vedic prayers, was released from sacrifice. Another narrative describes how the gods killed a man for their victim, and the part of him fit for sacrifice entered successively into a horse, an ox, a sheep, and a goat, which were all sacrificed in turn. The sacrificial element remained longest in the goat, which thus became specially fit for sacrifice. Here we may see how an introduced human sacrifice may have been replaced by animal sacrifice.

The Brahmanas.

Human sacrifice.

Animal sacrifice.

In the Satapatha-Brahmana, perhaps the most interesting of all these books, there is found an early tradition of a flood. Manu, a holy man, was warned by a fish that a flood would sweep away all creatures, but he would rescue him. He was directed to build a ship and enter

Tradition of a flood.

it when the flood rose; he did so, and fastened the fish to the ship, and was drawn by it beyond the northern mountains. When the flood subsided Manu was the only man left; a daughter was mysteriously born to him by virtue of religious rites, and ultimately the world was peopled with the sons of Manu. In later times it was said that the fish was an incarnation of Brahma, who assumed that form in order to preserve Manu.

The doctrine of immortality is more definitely presented in the same Brahmana than in the Vedic hymns. The gods had by toilsome religious rites become immortal. Death complained to the gods that men would follow their example. The gods enacted that no being should thenceforward become immortal in his own body, but should first present his body to Death.

Immortality.

A remarkable passage shows that the ancient Brahmans had a very advanced conception about the sun: "The sun never sets nor rises. When people think to themselves the sun is setting, he only changes about after reaching the end of the day, and makes night below and day to what is on the other side. Then when people think he rises in the morning, he only shifts himself about after reaching the end of the night, and makes day below, and night to what is on the other side. In fact he never does set at all."

Idea of the sun's course.

There seems little doubt that the origin and establishment of the caste system was largely due to the successful assertion by the Brahmans of their superior rank, combined with the growth of a class of cultivators distinct from the warriors who at first were the great majority of the people. By this time the conquering Aryans had spread themselves over the basin of the Jumna and Ganges, and the Brahmans found it necessary and advantageous to show that they had a more noble, powerful, and important religion than the aborigines whom they conquered. Consequently we meet with such assertions as the following: "Verily the gods do not eat the food offered by the king who is without a purohita (family priest)." In the Atharva-Veda, "May perfect, unceasing and victorious power accrue to those whose purohita I am. I perfect their kingdom, their might, their vigour, their strength. With this oblation I cut off the arms of their enemies." This development was accompanied with the development of ceremonial to such an extent that several classes of priests were required.

Origin of caste.

Self-assertion of Brahmans.

It is exceedingly difficult, without entering into great detail, to give an idea of the contents of the Brahmanas. Assuming the older ceremonials to be known, they comment upon every detail supposed to require explanation, discuss the meaning of particular verses or even of the metres used, and furnish explanations of the origin of the sacrifices, frequently consisting of legends and myths, often told very diffusely. A few extracts, somewhat abbreviated, from Mr. Eggeling's translation of parts of the Satapatha-Brahmana may give some notion of their contents.

Nature of the Brahmanas.

Every Brahmanical householder, from the period of setting up a household fire of his own, was enjoined to perform two monthly sacrifices, one at

new the other at full moon, each lasting two days. The first was a fast day, in which the fire-places were swept and trimmed, and the fires lighted, and the Brahman and his wife took the vow to abstain from meat and some other foods, to cut off the beard and hair, except the crest-lock; to sleep on the ground in one of the chief fire-houses; and to observe silence. "He who is about to enter on the vow touches water, while standing between the (sacrificial) fires, with his face turned towards the east. The reason why he touches water is, that man is (sacrificially) impure on account of his speaking untruth,—and because by that act an internal purification is effected, for water is indeed (sacrificially) pure. . . . Looking towards the fire, he enters on the vow, with the text, 'O Agni, Lord of Vows! I will keep the vow! May I be equal to it, may I succeed in it!' For Agni is Lord of Vows to the gods, and it is to him therefore that he addresses these words." As to the fasting, it is contended that the essence of the vow consists in fasting; for the gods see through the mind of man, and when he takes the vow they know that he means to sacrifice to them next morning, and betake themselves to his house. It would then be unbecoming in him to take food before they have eaten, and he may only eat what is not offered in sacrifice, which must be only what grows in the forest.

Household sacrifices.

Purification.

Fasting.

Every night and morning a burnt-offering of fresh milk had to be made to Agni, and on the morning of the sacrificial day, the householder chose his Brahman or superintending priest, an official who now becomes prominent—this class having indeed been no doubt the originator of the modern Brahmans. Then follows a most complex series of directions and explanations as to the various offerings.

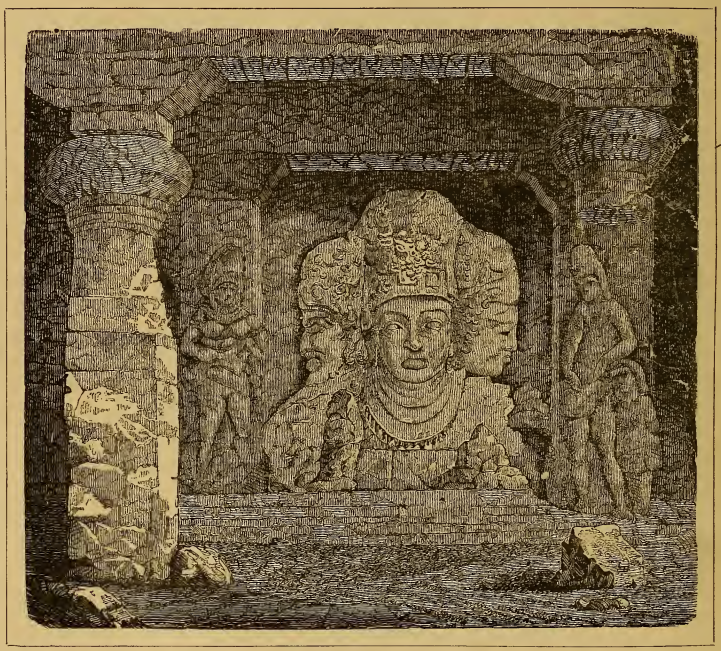
Equally elaborate are the directions given for the ceremony of establishing sacrificial fires by a young householder. Four officiators were required besides the sacrificer; they erected two sheds or fire-houses by strict rules, and the fire was to be produced afresh by friction, or from certain definite sources, and placed upon the carefully purified fire-place. Towards sunset the sacrificer invoked the gods and ancestors thus: "Gods, fathers, fathers, gods! I sacrifice, being whom I am; neither will I exclude him whose I am; mine own shall be the offering, mine own the toiling, mine own the sacrifice!" He and his wife then entered the respective houses, and received with various ceremonies two pieces of wood specially prepared for reproducing the sacred fire the next morning. The offerings which followed were chiefly of rice and clarified butter. Later the sacrificer, having honoured the priests by washing their feet and giving them perfumes, etc., and given to each his share, invited them to eat. The Soma ceremony, according to the Brahmanas, is still more developed; but it is quite impossible to compress an account of it into a short space.

Establishment of sacrificial fires.

The Vedas and the Brahmanas in time proved insufficient for securing the hold of the priestly class on the people. The next great group of compositions were the Upanishads or mystical doctrine. Some of these are contained in a class of writings supplementary to the

The Upanishads.

Brahmanas, known as the Aranyakas, or forest-books, intended for those Brahmans who, after having performed all the duties of a student and a householder, retired to the forest to spend their remaining days in contemplation. The word Upanishad is said by native authorities to mean "to set ignorance at rest by revealing the knowledge of the supreme spirit"; its real etymological meaning is a session, especially of pupils round a teacher. These books consequently became the most important Vedic treatises for learned Hindus. Max Müller considers that although the Upanishads are later than the Brahmanas, their germs already existed in



BRAHMA, VISHNU, AND SIVA, FROM THE ELLORA CAVES.

the Rig-Veda; and the earliest of them, he says, will always maintain a place in the literature of the world among the most astounding productions of the human mind in any age and in any country.

The Khandogya Upanishad, which continues the succession of the Sama-Veda, is one of the most important Hindu philosophical books. It begins by the astonishing advice (to the Western mind), "Let a man meditate," or as some translate it, "Let a man 'worship' the syllable Om." The real meaning is, first, that by prolonged repetition of the syllable, the thoughts should be drawn away from all other subjects and concentrated on the subjects of which that syllable was the symbol.

The syllable Om.

It was the beginning of the Veda, and the essence of it, the symbol of all speech and all life. Om therefore represented man's physical and mental powers, and especially the spirit or living principle, and this is identified later with the spirit in the sun or in nature; and the beginning of this Upanishad teaches that no sacrifices, however perfectly performed, can secure salvation, while meditation on Om alone, or what is meant by it, will secure salvation or immortality. Finally the discussion reaches the highest philosophical subjects. The declaration that the origin of the world is ether, "for all beings take their rise from the ether, and return into the ether; ether is older than these, ether is their rest," has a striking significance when compared with the sentiments and speculations of philosophers at the British Association in 1888. But there is a further elevation of the ether, which includes more than the physical, for after defining Brahman as the immortal with three feet in heaven, the Upanishad says: "The Brahman is the same as the ether which is around us; and the ether which is around us is the same as the ether which is within us. And the ether which is within, that is the ether within the heart. That ether in the heart is omnipresent and unchanging. He who knows this obtains omnipresent and unchangeable happiness." (M. M.)

The origin of the world in ether.

FIGURE OF HINDU PRAYING.
(*From Temple at Madura.*)

The highest doctrine of the Upanishad, according to Max Müller, is that the human Brahman recognised his own Self or "Atman" as a mere limited reflection of the Highest Self, and aimed at knowing his own Self in the Highest Self, which may be identified with the Divine Being, the Absolute, of Western philosophers. Through that knowledge he was to return to the Highest One and to regain his identity with it. "Here to know was to be, to know the Atman was to be the Atman, and the reward of that highest knowledge after death was freedom from new births, or immortality." This Atman was also the source of all visible existence, identical with the Brahman and the Sal, the true and real, which exists in the beginning and for ever, and gives rise to every kind of existence. Although there is much associated with this philosophy that seems trivial or fanciful, it contains the essence of pantheism; modern philosophers find it hard to advance really further than the ancient Hindus. There are many references to the sacrifices and to particular gods, and it is said that he who knows or meditates on the sacrifices as enjoined, has his reward in different worlds with the gods for certain

The Atman or Self-existent.

periods of time, till at last he reaches the true Brahman. In this state he neither rises nor sets, he is alone, standing in the centre; to him who thus knows this doctrine "the sun does not rise and does not set. For him there is day, once and for all."

The meditation on the five senses is one of the most striking; but the one which follows must be quoted as expressing one of the essential expositions of Brahman philosophy.

"All this is Brahman. Let a man meditate on that (visible world) as beginning, ending, and breathing in it (the Brahman).

"Now man is a creature of will. According to what his will is in this world, so will he be when he has departed this life. Let him therefore have this will and belief.

"The intelligent, whose body is spirit, whose form is light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like ether (omnipresent and invisible), from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed; he who embraces all this, who never speaks, and is never surprised,—

"He is my self within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley, smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than a canary seed, or the kernel of a canary seed. He also is my self within the heart, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds.

"He from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed, who embraces all this, who never speaks and who is never surprised, he, my self within the heart, is that Brahman. When I shall have departed from hence, I shall obtain him (that Self)." (M. M.)

In the Talavakara Upanishad occurs the following notable passage: "That which is not expressed by speech and by which speech is expressed, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore: That which does not think by mind, and by which, they say, mind is thought: That which does not see by the eye, and by which one sees the eyes: That which does not hear by the ear, and by which the ear is heard: That which does not breathe by breath, and by which breath is drawn, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore." (M. M.) This Upanishad is asserted to rest on penance, restraint, and sacrifice; "the Vedas are its limbs, the True is its abode. He who knows this Upanishad, and has shaken off all evil, stands in the endless unconquerable world of heaven."

The Svetasvatara contains a more fully developed doctrine, although it at times identifies the Brahman or highest self with several of the lower divinities. It teaches the unity of souls in the one and only self; the unreality of the world as a series of figments of the mind, as phenomenal only. There is no evolution of the Brahman; he is absolute and does not directly create. He deputes that office to Isvara or Deva, the Lord, Brahman under the semblance of a personal creating and governing god.

The Svetasvatara.

It is interesting to compare the pantheism of this Upanishad with previous expressions. Thus "I know that great Person of sunlike lustre

beyond the darkness. A man who knows him truly, passes over death; there is no other path to go. This whole universe is filled by this Person, to whom there is nothing superior, from whom there is nothing different, than whom there is nothing smaller or larger, who stands alone, fixed like a tree in the sky. That which is beyond this world is without form and without suffering. They who know it, become immortal, but others suffer pain indeed. . . . Its hands and feet are everywhere, its eyes and head are everywhere, its ears are everywhere, it stands encompassing all in the world. Separate from all the senses, yet reflecting the qualities of all the senses, and it is the lord and ruler of all, it is the great refuge of all." (M.M.)

Certain of the narratives incidentally introduced into the Upanishads show a still further development of what is dimly visible in the Rig-Veda, and still more clearly expressed in the Brahmanas, namely, a struggle between the good or bright gods (devas) and the evil spirits. In one of these Indra, as chief of the devas, and Virokana, chief of the evil spirits, are represented as seeking instruction of Prajapati, as a supreme god. Prajapati said, "The self which is free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, which desires nothing but what it ought to desire, and imagines nothing but what it ought to imagine, that it is which we must search out, that it is which we must try to understand." (M. M.) The two seekers desire to realise that self, and are led on by successive stages of illusion, Virokana being easily satisfied with the idea that the body is the self; but Indra persists in inquiries, and finally learns that the real self is the knower or seer as distinct from the mind or the eye as instruments.

Another Upanishad introduces in full expression the doctrine of transmigration. The immortality of the Self is taught, and that after death some are born again as living beings, some enter into stocks and stones. "He, the highest Person, who wakes in us while we are asleep, shaping one lovely sight after another, he indeed is called the Bright, he is called Brahman. . . . There is one eternal thinker, thinking non-eternal thoughts; he, though one, fulfils the desires of many. The wise who perceive him within their Self, to them belongs eternal peace. . . . He, the Brahman, cannot be reached by speech, by mind, or by the eye. He cannot be apprehended, except by him who says: *He is.* When all desires that dwell in the heart cease, then the mortal becomes Immortal, and obtains Brahman." **Transmigration of souls.**

Max Müller sums up the purpose of the Upanishads as being "to show the utter uselessness, nay the mischievousness of all ritual performances; to condemn every sacrificial act which has for its motive a desire or hope of reward; to deny, if not the existence, at least the exceptional and exalted character of the devas, and to teach that there is no hope of salvation and deliverance, except by the individual self recognising the true and universal Self, and finding rest there, where alone rest can be found." **Purpose of the Upanishads.**

WORSHIPPING THE GANGES.

CHAPTER II.

The Brahmanism of the Codes.

The Sutras—Rationalist philosophers—The six Shastras—Common tenets—How to attain emancipation—The banefulness of activity—The Sankhya philosophy—The Yoga philosophy—Early rituals—Gautama's institutes—Rites of purification—The four orders of Brahmans—The ascetic—The hermit—The householder's duties—Kings—When the Veda is not to be recited—Various restrictions—The duty of women—Outcasts—Penances and penalties—The laws of Manu—Date—Alleged origin—Self-repression inculcated—Study of the Veda a privilege—The gods in Manu—New births and hells—Duties of the four castes—Lofty claims of the Brahmans—The four periods of life—The student—Some liberal sentiments—The householder—The chief daily rites—Sacrifices for the dead—Position of women—Gifts—Spiritual merit—The hermit in the forest—The mendicant ascetic—The duties of a king—The Brahman's superiority—Crimes—Punishments and penances—Falsehood excused—Caste—Growth of mixed castes—Transmigration of souls—Efficacy of the code—Code of Yajnavalkya.

THE very mass of the Vedic sacred literature became its bane. No one could learn it all and understand it all. There arose a need for condensed statements of the revealed truth and the laws of ceremonial, and we have these in the form of Sutras, or collections of aphorisms tersely giving the most needful information; and these were composed by different authors for different Brahmanical families, and are exceedingly numerous. They are based upon the Vedas and the subsequent Brahmanas, and exhibit many of the peculiarities of the Vedic language. They give us for the first time a full account of the castes, composed at a time contemporaneous with the rise and spread of Buddhism.

The Sutras.

During the same period, probably about 500 B.C., there arose, contem-

porary with Buddha, a number of rationalist philosophers, who, while accepting the authority of the Vedas and the supremacy of the Brahmans, speculated freely on questions of philosophy and the moral government of the universe. Finally these were arranged in six main systems of teaching, sometimes called the six Shastras. Which of these is the earlier cannot yet be considered settled. But a great deal is common to most of the systems, and is still held by the majority of educated Hindus. Such articles of common belief are: the eternity of the soul, both the supreme soul or Brahman and the individual soul or Atman; the eternity of matter, or that substance out of which the universe is evolved; that the soul can only exercise thought and will when invested with some bodily form and joined to mind, and has in successive ages become manifest as Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, etc., and in the form of men; that the union of the soul with the body is a bondage, and in the case of men produces misery; that consequences inevitably follow acts, whether good or bad, and these are partly suffered in heaven or hell, and partly have to be worked out through continual transmigrations of the soul in varied animal, material, or higher forms; that this transmigration is the explanation of all evil, but the soul bears the consequences of its own acts only, though these may have taken place in an inconceivable number of past existences, not recollected; and finally, that the great aim of philosophy is to produce indifference in thought, feeling and action, and to enable the individual to return to the condition of simple soul.

Rationalist philosophers.

The Six Shastras.

Common tenets.

The terseness of these Sutra philosophies may be illustrated, from the Nyaya of Gautama (a philosopher distinct from the great Buddha). Deliverance from the misery of repeated births is to be thus attained: "Misery, birth, activity, fault, false notions; on the removal of these in turn (beginning with the last), there is the removal also of that which precedes it; then ensues final emancipation" (M.W.). A Hindu comment on this is as follows: "From false notions proceed partiality and prejudice; thence come the faults of detraction, envy, delusion, intoxication, pride, avarice. Acting with a body, a person commits injury, theft, and unlawful sensualities—becomes false, harsh, and slanderous. This vicious activity produces demerit. But to do acts of charity, benevolence, and service with the body; to be truthful, useful, agreeable in speech, or given to repetition of the Veda; to be kind, disinterested, and reverential—these produce merit. Hence merit and demerit are fostered by activity. This activity is the cause of vile as well as honourable births. Attendant on birth is pain. That comprises the feeling of distress, trouble, disease and sorrow. Emancipation is the cessation of all these. What intelligent person will not desire emancipation from all pain?"

How to attain emancipation.

Banefulness of activity.

This system, with its supplement, the Vaiseshika, teaches the eternity of material atoms, and also of the supreme Soul and of individual souls. The Sankhya philosophy is still more positive on these points, and says: "There cannot be the production of something out of nothing; that which is not cannot be developed into that which is." It recog-

The Sankhya philosophy.

nises that there is a being or essence which evolves or produces everything else, together with Souls which neither produce nor are produced, but become united with the world-evolver in varied degrees. The development of these ideas in later Hindu theology and philosophy will be referred to hereafter.

The Yoga philosophy is the foundation of much of the asceticism of the Hindu. It directly acknowledges the supreme Being, and aims at teaching the human soul to attain perfect union with the supreme Soul. In it we have the fuller development of the benefits of contemplating the syllable *Om*, the symbol of the deity. Mental concentration is facilitated by bodily restraint and postures, religious observances, suppression of the breath, restraint of the senses, etc., and by these in their varied forms, the devotee is supposed to attain union with the supreme Being, even in the present life.

The Yoga philosophy.

The remaining chief systems of philosophy, the Jaimini and the Vedanta, are mainly concerned with ritual. The former may be said to have made a god of ritual, and appealed to the Veda as infallible. The Vedanta professes to be based upon the Upanishads and their pantheism.

Much of the ceremonial of the Hindus was also very early condensed in Sutra form, and every school had its own form. Several of these, preceding the celebrated laws of Manu, have come down to us. They are a kind of manual composed by the Vedic teachers for use in their respective schools, and only later put forward as binding on Aryans generally. The "Institutes of the Sacred Law," ascribed to Gautama, begins by acknowledging the Veda as the source of the sacred law, and proceeds to fix the period and mode of initiation of a Brahman, and the rites of purification after touching impure things. Here is a specimen of these rites.

Early rituals.

Gautama's Institutes.

"Turning his face to the east or to the north, he shall purify himself from personal defilement. Seated in a pure place, placing his right arm between his knees, arranging his dress (or his sacrificial cord) in the manner required for a sacrifice to the gods, he shall, after washing his hands up to the wrist three or four times, silently, sip water that reaches his heart, twice wipe his lips, sprinkle his feet and his head, touch the cavity in the head with his right hand, and place it on the crown of his head and on his navel."

Rites of purification.

Students of the Vedas had to study each for twelve years, but might restrict their study to one Veda only. After the Veda had been studied, he might choose which order of Brahmans he would enter; that of the student, the householder, the ascetic, or the hermit in the woods. The ascetic was required to live by alms, to restrain every desire, and maintain an attitude of indifference towards all creatures, whether they did him an injury or kindness. The hermit was to live in the forest, and subsist on roots and fruits, practising austerities. He was to worship gods, manes (ancestor worship), men, goblins, and Rishis (great Vedic teachers). He must not enter a village, nor step on ploughed land; his dress must be made of bark and skins.

The four orders of Brahmans.

The ascetic.

The hermit.

For the householder, marriage and its rites are of the utmost importance, and full directions are given as to the choice of a wife and the ceremonies attending marriage, which vary according to the kind of marriage. The offspring of marriages with other castes give rise in each case to a distinct caste. Complex domestic ceremonies are prescribed, with offerings to the deities presiding over the eight points of the horizon, at the doors of the house to the Maruts, to the deities of the dwelling inside the house, to Brahman in the centre of the house, to the Waters near the water pot, to the Ether in the air, and in the evening to the beings walking about at night. A kindly courtesy is shown in the direction that a householder before he eats shall feed his guests, infants, sick people and women, aged men, and those of low condition. A Brahman is allowed to earn his living by varied occupations in times of distress; but he is forbidden to sell a great many specified kinds of goods.

The householder's duties.

The authority of kings is upheld in Gautama's Institutes, but at the same time high privileges are demanded for Brahmans, who, if of high rank and religious character, must not be corporally punished, imprisoned, fined, exiled, or reviled. Truth-speaking and the ascertainment of truth are strongly inculcated.

Kings.

One of the most curious chapters in these Institutes details a multitude of circumstances in which the Veda is not to be recited; as for instance, if the wind whirls up the dust in the daytime, or if it is audible at night, if the barking of many dogs and jackals or the braying of many donkeys is heard, when the reciter is riding in a carriage or on beasts of burden, in a burial ground, in the extremity of a village, when it thunders and rains, etc., etc. Equally curious are the particulars of the gifts which may be accepted from twice-born persons (*i.e.*, pure Aryans). If the means of subsistence cannot be otherwise obtained, it may be accepted from a Sudra (one of the slave or subject races). A householder may not eat food into which a hair or an insect has fallen, nor what has been smelt at by a cow, nor what has been cooked twice, nor what has been given by various people of bad character performing low offices. The classes of animals that may not be eaten remind one of the ceremonial restrictions of Leviticus; but in fact the principle of tabooing certain things to those who belong to a higher or select order is found in many parts of the world. The milk of sheep, camels, and entire-hoofed animals was forbidden to the Brahmans. Five-toed animals were not to be eaten, except the porcupine, the hare, the boar, the iguana, the rhinoceros, and the tortoise; nor animals with a double row of teeth, those covered with an excess of hair, those with no hair, entire-hoofed animals, and indeed whole groups of creatures.

When the Veda is not to be recited.

Various restrictions.

Women were enjoined to fulfil their duty to their husbands strictly, and restrain their tongues, eyes, and actions; yet much that Christians would revolt against is declared lawful and right for her to do. Early betrothals are enjoined. The crimes for which a man becomes an outcast are very varied, including murder and many crimes

The duty of women.

against Brahmans, and association with outcasts; thus boycotting is almost as old as Brahmanism, if not older. "To be an outcast," says Gautama, "means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men, and to be deprived after death of the rewards of meritorious deeds."

Outcasts.

Numerous and severe penances for various offences are enjoined. He who has killed a Brahman must emaciate himself and thrice throw himself into a fire, or remaining chaste he may, during twelve years, enter the village only for the purpose of begging, carrying the foot of a bedstead and a skull in his hand, and proclaiming his deed; thus standing by day, sitting at night, and bathing thrice a day, he may be purified in twelve years, or by saving the life of a Brahman. It is most striking how vigorously the Brahman literature maintains the sanctity and inviolability of its priests, and claims to exert throughout the life of the Aryans a minute authority scarcely paralleled by the Church of Rome. Some of the severest penalties are those inflicted for touching spirituous liquor. Thus "they shall pour hot spirituous liquor into the mouth of a Brahman who has drunk such liquor; he will be purified after death." Severe secret penances are enjoined on those whose sins are not publicly known. It is not to be supposed that the worship of the gods is intentionally lowered by these regulations; but the very great importance assumed by ceremonial observances and penances naturally tended to lower the dignity of the gods and raise that of the Brahmans. It is not wonderful, therefore, that Buddhism should have arisen.

Penances and penalties.

THE LAWS OF MANU.

We have not space to compare this lawbook with later ones which bear the names of Vasishtha, Baudhayana, and Apastamba, or to give an account of the Grihya Sutras or books specially on domestic ceremonies; but must pass on to the celebrated Laws of Manu, a metrical version of the whole Brahmanical scheme, dating, according to some authorities, from the fifth century B.C.; but Prof. Bühler does not consider it certain that it existed in its present form earlier than the beginning of the second century A.D., though undoubtedly it is derived from earlier versions containing substantially the same matter. It results, in fact, from the gradual transformation of the teaching of a school into a general lawbook. But in process of time this book became surrounded by a multitude of fictitious legends designed to support its divine authority and secure the obedience of all Aryans. The first chapter of Manu is an apt illustration of this, and we therefore quote a portion from Bühler's translation.

Date.

"The great sages approached Manu, who was seated with a collected mind, and having duly worshipped him, spoke as follows:—

"'Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the four chief castes and of the intermediate ones.

Alleged origin.

"'For thou, O Lord, alone knowest the purport (*i.e.*) the rites, and the

knowledge of the soul, taught in this whole ordinance of the Self-Existent, which is unknowable and unfathomable!

"'He who can be perceived by the internal organ alone, who is subtile,

HINDOO RELIGIOUS MENDICANT.

indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shone forth of his own will.

"'He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them.

"'That seed became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world.'"

After a very fanciful account of the derivation of all creation and of the relations of the creator to the creatures, it is stated that the creator himself composed these Institutes and taught them to the author, Manu, who deputes Bhrigu his pupil to recite them.

It appears that the introduction of the Laws of Manu as a general authority was due to the great accumulation of older works, having but a local and limited authoritiy, and to the gradual extension of the influence of a particular school of general religious and legal instruction. No doubt one factor which contributed to its wide reception was the extended description of the duties and powers of the king and of the administration of justice, and another was its general relation and suitability to all Aryans, whatever their caste. Their authority was clenched and upheld by their being given out as the work of Manu, the typical man, the offspring of the self-existent Brahman, and consequently of double nature, divine and human. Hence he was invoked as Lord of created beings, and even as identical with Brahman, the supreme Soul. In the Rig-Veda he is frequently termed Father Manu, and it is stated that "the five tribes" or "the races of men" are his offspring. We have already referred to the legend in the Satapatha-brahmana in which Manu is said to have been saved from a great flood which destroyed all other creatures. He thus naturally represents social and moral order, and is the type of the temporal ruler, the inspired teacher and the priest combined. In many passages of the Rig-Veda his sacrifices are mentioned, and the gods are begged to accept the offerings of the priests as they accepted those of Manu.

That writing was known and in considerable use when the Laws of Manu were compiled, is evident from several passages, and also from the complex translations which are mentioned, which would have been impossible without writing. The number of archaic phrases and the primitive customs described show that it is based on earlier works; and by careful study a very good idea of its development may be formed.

In giving some account of the Laws of Manu an endeavour will be made to dwell principally upon their religious aspect; but it is difficult for the Western mind to realise the extent to which every detail of a Hindu's life and conduct is connected with and supported by his religious belief. In fact the Christian ideal, that the whole life should be religious, has long been practised by a vast number of Hindus, although the form, basis, and nature of the religions differ so widely.

High religious ideal.

The assent of the heart is the inner sanction of the Hindu law, supported by the authority of Manu, the Veda, the Vedic teachers, and the customs of holy men. The desire of rewards is declared to be not laudable in itself, but it is recognised and utilised; and the man who discharges his prescribed duties is promised the attainment of the deathless state, and even in this life the realisation of all his desires. How completely the system was directed to self-repression and the

Self-repression inculcated.

production of passivity in this life may be seen by this verse: "That man may be considered to have really subdued his organs, who, on hearing and touching and seeing, or tasting and smelling anything, neither rejoices nor repines." The privilege of being instructed in the Veda is strictly fenced in, but the limitations may be relaxed by presents of money. Even in times of dire distress, however, a Vedic teacher was rather to die with his knowledge than sow it in barren soil. The Brahman unlearned in the Veda is stigmatised as useless, like a wooden elephant, having nothing but the name in common with his kind. The Veda is, indeed, extolled to a position which is only rivalled by those whom some have called Bibliolaters. Thus we read that the Veda is the eternal eye of the manes, gods and men, and beyond human comprehension. Everything not founded on it is founded on darkness, and produces no reward after death; the eternal lore of the Veda upholds all created beings. He only who knows the Veda deserves royal authority, the office of a judge, the command of armies. By knowledge of the Veda the taint arising from evil acts is burnt out of the soul. A Brahman who retains the Rig-Veda in his memory is not stained by guilt, though he may have destroyed the three worlds. Study of the Upanishads is mentioned as necessary to the attainment of union with the supreme Soul.

Study of the Veda a privilege.

As to the gods other than this universal Spirit or Soul, they scarcely go beyond the lists already given in the Vedic period, such as Indra, Surya, the Maruts, Yama, Varuna, Agni, etc., whose energetic action the king is to emulate; but they appear to occupy a very moderate place in the scheme, the Supreme Spirit and the Brahmanic rites being chief. Indeed, there is a manifest leaning towards pantheism, it being frequently declared that everything proceeds from Brahma the universal Soul, and will ultimately be absorbed once more in the same. The whole philosophy is affected by the doctrine of transmigration of souls, new births in the same or a lower order of creation or in hells being the result of evil conduct, and absorption in the Supreme Soul being the grand result of the greatest merit. The hells described, though terrible, are consequently only temporary. Among the torments are "being devoured by ravens and owls, the heat of scorching sand, being boiled in jars," etc. Altogether, theology is largely absent from Manu. But it must be remembered that the constant study of the Veda is everywhere inculcated. There is scarcely any reference to public worship or to temples; and from its whole tone we see how the family was the keystone of the Brahmanic religion. The influence of the Brahmans over the domestic life of the people was profound and sufficient at the time when the code of Manu was composed.

The gods in Manu.

New births and hells.

The original castes are stated to be four, the Brahman, the Kshatriya or warrior, the Vaisya (cultivator), and the Sudra or servant; and (as in the tenth book of the Rig-Veda) they originated respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Brahma, who assigned them their separate duties. To Brahmans he assigned teaching and studying the Veda, sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, and giving and

Duties of the four castes.

accepting of alms; to Kshatriyas the protection of the people, the bestowal of gifts, the offering of sacrifices, the study of the Veda, and abstinence from sensual pleasures; to the Vaisyas tending cattle, the bestowal of gifts, the offering of sacrifices, the study of the Veda, trading, lending money, and the cultivation of land; to the Sudras simply to serve the other three.

Lofty claims of the Brahmans.

The Brahman caste is exalted far above the others, having sprung from the mouth of Brahma, being the first-born, the preserver of the Veda, and having the right of expounding it. "What created being can surpass him, through whose mouth the gods continually consume the sacrificial viands and the offerings to the dead?" The most distinguished Brahman is he who fully performs his duty and knows *the* Brahman; he in fact becomes one with Brahma the creator. The most extravagant claims of lordship over all creatures, of possession of everything, are made on his behalf. In fact, not only is everything bestowed upon him, his own already, but other mortals are stated to owe their subsistence to the benevolence of the Brahmans. In some passages of Manu a Brahman is even lifted to the rank of a divinity, whether he were ignorant or learned, and even if he were occupied in a mean occupation. A Brahman who studies Manu and faithfully performs his duties is said to be never tainted by sins of thought, word, or deed, and to sanctify any company he may enter, together with seven ancestors and seven descendants. Surely more arrogant self-assertion was never advanced and admitted than by these Brahmans. The king is warned not to provoke them to anger, for it is asserted that they could instantly destroy him and his army, by their power over all creation, and by the utterance of magic texts. Yet inconsistently enough, it is allowed that just as Kshatriyas cannot prosper without Brahmans, so Brahmans cannot prosper without Kshatriyas. Their persons are declared inviolable, and the crime of threatening a Brahman with a stick will be punished in hell for a hundred years, while the actual striker of a Brahman will remain in hell a thousand years. Still more extravagant is this further threat: "As many particles of dust as the blood of a Brahman causes to coagulate, for so many thousand years shall the shedder of that blood remain in hell." This system could of course only be maintained by the receipt of heavy fees. The repetitions of the Veda, and the performance of the sacrifices were made to depend upon the gifts to the officiating Brahmans. No taxes were to be paid by them; and any king who suffered a learned Brahman to die of hunger would have his kingdom afflicted by famine, while the meritorious acts of any Brahman whom he protected would increase the king's wealth, length of life, and kingdom. Yet, if after all these injunctions, a Brahman failed to receive proper patronage and support, he might become a soldier, a cultivator, or a trader.

The four periods of life. The student.

We must give some further detail of the Brahman's life and course of study; for although it only partially applies to the other classes of Hindus, it represents that ideal which they continually looked up to and revered, and is as characteristic of Hindu religious life as that of the clergyman of the present day is of our own. We cannot

fail to be astonished at the lengthy student period which the Brahman must go through. Studentship might last for nine, eighteen, or thirty-six years, or even for the whole of life. The most important of the numerous preliminary rites was the investiture with the sacred cord or sacrificial string, which must be of three threads of cotton, twisted to the right, and worn over the left shoulder and across the body to the right hip. The ceremony

HINDU SUTTEE (SATI), OR THE SELF-IMMOLATION OF A WIDOW.

commenced with taking a staff as tall as the pupil, and worshipping the sun while standing and walking round the sacred fire, after which he begged alms and food in succession of each person present according to a fixed order. After having eaten, and purified himself with water, a series of formalities is required before the teacher begins to instruct his pupil in the Veda, the syllable Om being always pronounced at the beginning and end of a lesson.

Once initiated, regular bathing, with libations of water to the gods, the inspired Rishis, and deceased ancestors, is required of the Brahman student, and he must reverence the deities (explained later to mean, "worship the images of the gods"), and place fuel on the sacred fire. He must live a chaste life, refrain from meat and all sensuality, from dancing, singing, and playing musical instruments, must never injure any living creature, must not wear shoes or use an umbrella, and must refrain from anger, covetousness, idle disputes, and gambling. The regulations for securing reverent behaviour towards the teacher are very elaborate; and parents and elders generally are to be highly regarded. It is declared that the trouble and pain which parents undergo on the birth of their children cannot be compensated even in a hundred years, and obedience to them and to the teacher are the best forms of austerity; the son must rejoice to do what is agreeable and beneficial to them; by honouring them the three worlds are gained; for him who honours them not, all rites are fruitless.

Somewhat surprisingly, in the midst of these stringent regulations we come upon the following liberal sentiments: "He who possesses faith may receive pure learning even from a man of lower caste, and an excellent wife even from a base family."

Some liberal sentiments.

"Even from poison nectar may be taken, even from a child good advice, even from a foe a lesson in good conduct, and even from an impure substance gold.

"Excellent wives, learning, the knowledge of the law, the rules of purity, good advice, and various arts may be acquired from anybody."

Finally, the Brahman who has not broken his vow during his student stage is promised after death the highest abode, and that he will not be born again in this world.

The stage of a householder being at length reached, the Brahman must marry a wife of equal caste, free from bodily defects and having various good qualities; but polygamy is allowed though not recommended, and when the first wife is one of equal caste, another wife may be taken from each of the inferior castes. Eight different forms of marriage, four laudable and four blamable, the chief differences being in the matter of dowry and attendant circumstances, the highest rank being accorded to a marriage where the parent of the bride offers her with costly garments and jewels to a learned Brahman; the son of such a wife is said to liberate from sin ten ancestors and ten descendants if he does meritorious works.

The householder.

The Brahman householder had to perform daily five chief rites; (1) muttering the Veda; (2) offering water and food to ancestors; (3) a burnt offering to the gods; (4) an offering to all creatures, including aged parents, good and evil spirits, consisting of the scattering of rice-grains on the housetop or outside the door; (5) an offering to men, consisting of hospitable reception of (Brahman) guests. This last was naturally considered of great importance, as it afforded the chief means of support to the students, ascetics, and hermits. Sacrifices for the dead were

The chief daily rites.

Sacrifices for the dead.

required to be performed every new moon, and at these times learned Brahmans were specially entertained. A long list of those who must not be invited or who must be shunned on these occasions is given, including physicians, temple-priests (implying that these were rising in importance and were considered to have interests opposed to those of the domestic Brahmans), sellers of meal, actors or singers, one-eyed men, incendiaries, drunkards, gamblers, those who had forsaken parents. The great importance assigned to these celebrations for deceased ancestors,—being declared much more important than the rites in honour of the gods,—seems to indicate that ancestor worship among the Aryans was later than nature worship. The funeral sacrifices further acquired importance to the Hindus as affording the basis of their law of inheritance. All who offered the funeral cake and water together were bound in one family, represented by the eldest male, although the living family had a joint interest in the family property. This part of the subject we cannot here detail, although intimately connected with and enforced by the religious sanction.

An astonishing number of daily rites and of things to be avoided is laid down for good Brahmans, and this can only be matched by the extreme of early Pharisaic restriction; but although the eating of meat is forbidden in general, it is expressly enjoined on certain occasions.

As regards the position of women in Manu, it is one of complete subjection; the husband was not to eat with his wife, nor look at her when she ate; women were forbidden to repeat the Veda, or to perform any religious rite separately; they must continually feel their dependence on their husbands. The wife must worship her husband as a god. Women were credited with many inbred evils. When unfaithful to her husband she is born of a jackal in the next life, and tormented with diseases. No repudiation or divorce of a wife was (originally) recognised, and if sold or repudiated she could not be the legitimate wife of another. There is no ground for the long-current statement that Manu or the Vedas supported or enjoined the burning of widows (Sati[1]). The re-marriage of widows is mentioned, but with censure, and a widow who remains chaste is rewarded with heaven. Very early marriage of girls was permitted if a suitor was distinguished and handsome. **Position of women.**

Householders are enjoined to be liberal in gifts. "If he is asked, let him always give something, be it ever so little, without grudging;" the giver receives corresponding rewards, either in worldly prosperity or in future existences. Truthfulness is highly recommended: "he who is dishonest in speech is dishonest in everything." Giving no pain to any creature, the householder is to slowly accumulate spiritual merit, the only lasting companion. "Single is each being born; single it dies; single it enjoys the reward of its virtue; single it suffers the punishment of its sin. . . He who is persevering, gentle, and patient, shuns the company of men of cruel conduct, and does no injury to living creatures, gains, if he constantly lives in that manner, heavenly bliss." **Gifts.** **Spiritual merit.**

[1] *Sati* means, "she who is faithful," and is a feminine form of the root seen in "sooth" = truth.

The hermit and ascetic periods of life were held up to Brahmans as the culmination of their existence. We do not know how many Brahmans went through this discipline; but it is recommended to the house-holder, that when his skin becomes wrinkled and his hair grey, and he has grandchildren, he should go and live in the forest, taking with him the sacred fire and implements for the domestic sacrifices which he is still to perform, and there live in control of his senses, wearing his hair in braids, and the beard and nails unclipped. He was still to recite the Veda, and to be patient of hardships, friendly towards all, of collected mind, compassionate to all living creatures. He must feed only on special kinds of vegetables. A considerable number of austerities are enjoined on him, including exposure to fires in summer, living under the open sky and clothed in wet garments in winter, with other performances conducive to short life, much study not being forgotten. Finally he may, subsisting only on water and air, walk straight on "until his body sinks to rest"; then, having got rid of his body, he is exalted in the world of Brahma, free from sorrow and fear.

The hermit in the forest.

The forest dweller who has not found liberation may become a mendicant ascetic, absolutely silent, caring for no enjoyment, indifferent to everything, but concentrating his mind on Brahma. "Let him not desire to live, let him not desire to die; let him wait for his appointed time as a servant waits for the payment of his wages." "Let him patiently bear hard words, let him not insult anybody, and let him not become anybody's enemy. . . . Against an angry man let him not in return show anger, let him bless where he is cursed." These are only a few of the numerous precepts for promoting the high spiritual life of the ascetic. Meditation, self-repression, equability, contentment, forgiveness, honesty, truthfulness, abstention from anger, purification, etc.—these may be said to sum up the moral law for all Brahmans.

The mendicant ascetic.

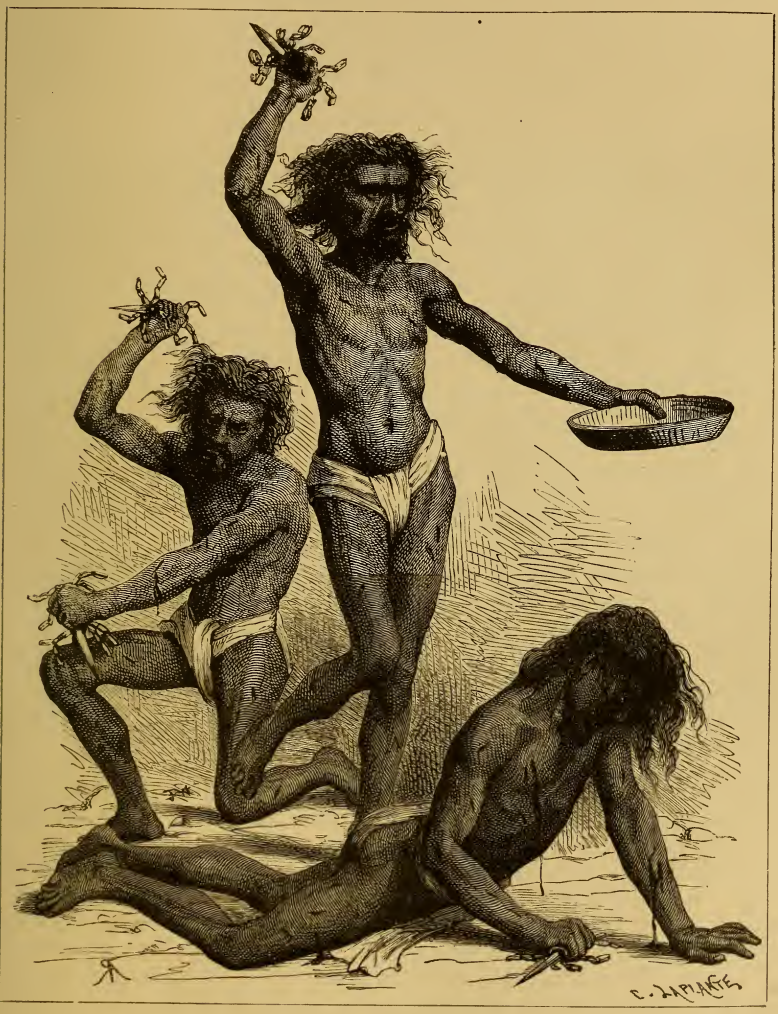
We can only lightly dwell on the duties of a king and of government as described in Manu. The king represents Agni and Indra, the Maruts, Varuna, Yama and other gods, out of all of whom he is supposed to be framed; thus he is "a great deity in human form." He has divine authority, is to protect all creatures, and be an incarnation of the law. He must have seven or eight ministers, the chief of whom must be a Brahman. Punishment is his chief instrument, indeed the only maintainer of the law. He is, however, to be obedient to the Brahmans, and be determined not to retreat in battle. The Brahmans are to be the judges, either by themselves, or as assistants to the king. The criminal code is marked by much severity, and not a little inconsistency. Offences by the low-born against the higher classes were very severely punished, often with great cruelty; while Brahmans were very leniently treated. A Brahman's life was not to be taken, however grave or numerous his crimes. Among "mortal sins" are: killing a Brahman, drinking spirituous liquor, stealing the gold of a Brahman, adultery with a Guru's (spiritual teacher's) wife, associating with

The duties of a king.

The Brahman's superiority.

Crimes.

those who did those things, falsely attributing to oneself high birth, falsely accusing one's teacher, forgetting or reviling the Vedas, slaying a friend, giving false evidence, stealing a deposit, incest and fornication; but the



YOGIS (HINDU RELIGIOUS FANATICS).

classification and punishments show a very crude estimate of their relative importance. Many punishments are designed as penances, to remove the guilt of the offender. Various ordeals are pre-

Punishment and penances.

scribed to ascertain if a witness speaks the truth, such as fire and water. Altogether, the rules of evidence do not inspire us with the idea that the early Brahmans had invented very excellent machinery for discovering truth; and such statements as the following are not calculated to show them in a favourable light. In some cases a man who, though knowing the facts to be different, gives false evidence from a pious motive, does not lose heaven. Whenever the death of a Sudra, a Vaisya, a Kshatriya, or of a Brahman would be caused by the declaration of the truth, a falsehood may be spoken. In cases of violence, of theft and adultery, of defamation and assault, the judge must not examine witnesses too strictly. But he is to exhort all witnesses to speak the truth, promising them bliss after death and fame here below, while false witnesses are firmly bound by Varuna and are helpless during one hundred existences.

Falsehood excused.

Reverting once more to the question of castes, we may note that the Brahman was supposed to have three births; the first his natural birth, the second his investiture with the girdle of Munga grass, the third his initiation to perform the greater sacrifices; the Kshatriyas or warriors, and the Vaisyas or cultivators, were only twice born, the second birth happening on their investiture with the sacred thread. We may recall here that the term caste is not an original Hindu or even an ancient word. It is believed to be an adaptation of a Portuguese word, *casta*, race or family, from the Latin *castus*, pure. The word used in Manu is *varna*, or colour, while in later Hindu phrase caste is denoted by *jati* or *jat*, meaning birth.

Caste.

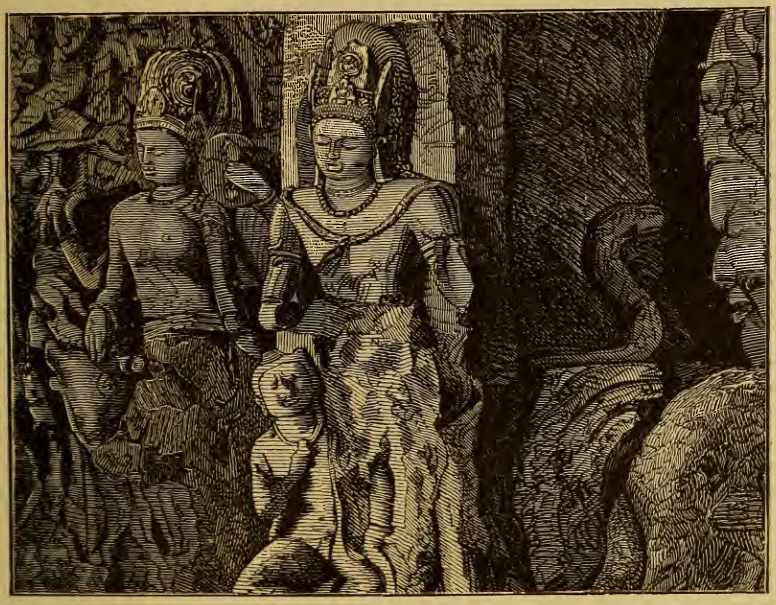
The code of Manu was forced to recognise that wide departures took place from the original purity of caste, although maintaining that only those born of wedded wives of equal castes were to be considered as belonging to the same caste as their fathers. Hence distinct names were given to the offspring between the different castes; some of these are declared to be ferocious in manners and delighting in cruelty. These had already been assigned to distinct occupations, which increased as the Hindu life grew more settled and diversified. Some of them are said to be inherently fit only for low and degrading offices, and unworthy to receive the sacramental rites. The modern development of the caste system must be dealt with later.

Growth of mixed castes.

Finally, as to the important belief in the transmigration of souls, which in the Hindu system plays so large a part, it appears to have been wielded by the Brahmans very much as a mode of influencing actions on earth. Evil actions done with the body were to be punished by being born next in something inanimate, those done by speech were followed by birth as a bird or a beast, while sins of the mind, such as covetousness, evil thoughts, and adherence to false doctrines, led to re-birth in a low caste. Self-control in all these respects led to emancipation from all births and final blessedness. This scheme is elaborated in great detail, many gradations being fixed in descending order, each the just recompense for some

Transmigration of souls.

fault. The specific reason for many of these cannot be imagined, although some are intelligible enough, such as these: "men who delight in doing injury become carnivorous animals; thieves, creatures consuming their own kind; for stealing grain a man becomes a rat, for stealing meat, a vulture," etc. Sensual men are said to suffer in a succession of dreadful hells and agonizing births, slavery, imprisonment in fetters. The last pages of Manu are devoted to further glorification of Brahmans who do their duty, and to the extolling of the Self or Soul in all things; "for he who recognises the universe in the



SCULPTURED FIGURES IN THE CAVE AT ELEPHANTA.

Self, does not give his heart to unrighteousness. . . . He who thus recognises the Self through the Self in all created beings, becomes equal-minded towards all, and enters the highest state, Brahman. A twice-born man, who recites these Institutes, revealed by Manu, will be always virtuous in conduct, and will reach whatever condition he desires."

It must be owned that the system thus developed in Manu does not fail for lack of penalties or of precise directions. Its efficacy is to be sought in its gradual growth, its accordance with the ideas of creation, supreme power, and morality which had long been current, and its promulgation by those who had most intellectual power and most capability of swaying the conduct of men. Thus we may imagine the extraordinary influence which the sacred class of Brahmans attained in early Indian history, an influence which has been sufficient to perpetuate itself

Efficacy of the code.

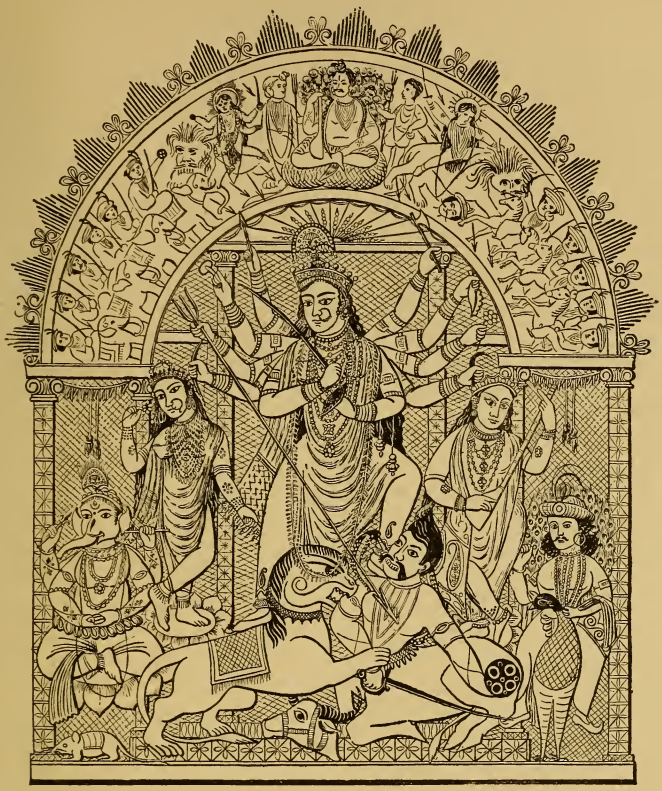
to our own times, which remains very great, and which more than two thousand years ago was sufficient to produce by exaggeration and reaction the remarkable religion of Buddhism. But looking on it calmly, while admitting the loftiness of many of its precepts and imaginings, it cannot be said that its general moral elevation was great. The scheme was powerful enough to bind together society for centuries, but not powerful enough to diffuse itself widely among other races, or to become more than a Hindu religion.

There is one other code to which we must refer, besides that of Manu, namely the Darma Shastra of Yajnavalkya, possibly dating from the first century A.D. It is still the chief authority in the school of Benares. It is much shorter than that of Manu, is more systematic, and represents a later stage of development. It adds to the sources of authority the Puranas and various traditional and scholastic authorities. To some extent caste is carried farther, and a Brahman is forbidden to have a Sudra as a fourth wife. We have reached a period when writing is in regular use, and written documents are appealed to as legal evidence; coined money is in use. It is evident that Buddhism has arisen, and that the shaven heads and yellow garments of its votaries are well known; the king is also recommended to found monasteries for Brahmans, an evident imitation of Buddhists.

Code of Yajnavalkya.

Compare the following philosophy with that of Manu. "The success of every action depends on destiny and on a man's own effort; but destiny is evidently nothing but the result of a man's act in a former state of existence. Some expect the whole result from destiny or from the inherent nature; some expect it from the lapse of time; and some from a man's own effort; other persons of wiser judgment expect it from a combination of all these." (M. W.) But there is no sufficient difference in the nature of the precepts to make it necessary to quote further.

We may here refer briefly to the celebrated rock-temples of India, excavated in solid rock many centuries ago, but by no means confined to Hinduism, having often been excavated by Buddhists and Jains. Some of them display surprising skill in construction as well as in sculpture. Many are ornamented with figures of the gods or scenes from their supposed adventures. The majority of the Brahmanic temples are dedicated to Siva. The most famous are those of Elephanta, an island in Bombay harbour; one of them contains a colossal trimurti, or three-faced bust, representing Siva in his threefold character of creator, preserver, and destroyer. Many other caves, scarcely less famous, are at Ellora in the Nizam's dominions.



GANESA. LAKSHMI. DURGA. SARASVATI. KARTIKEYA.

(*From a native picture.*)

CHAPTER III.

Modern Hinduism I.

Reaction from Brahmanism—Triumph of Buddhism—Downfall of Indian Buddhism—The caste system—The Mahabharata—The Bhagavad-gita—Krishna—Incarnations of the Deity—Immortality taught—The Ramayana—Partial incarnations—Conquests of Rama—Resistance of Brahmanism—Kumarila Bhatta—Sankara—Worship of the supreme Brahman—The Smartas—Vishnu worship—The Puranas—The Vishnu Purana—Description of the Supreme Being—Great Vishnuite preachers—Ramanand—Kabir—Chaitanya—Influence of Buddhism—The linga and the salagram—Brahma—Vishnu the preserver—Incarnations of Vishnu—Rama—Krishna—Buddha—Jagannath—Lakshmi—Siva the destroyer—Ascetic Sivaites—Durga—Kali—Ganesa—Gangsa—Local deities and demons—Worship of animals and trees—Deification of heroes and saints.

IN our chapter on Buddhism, it will be shown that the new religion which deposed Brahmanism from supremacy in India, and greatly depressed it for more than a thousand years, was partly a natural reaction from the haughty sway of the Brahmans, and their reliance on ritual and sacrifice, and partly the development of

Reaction from Brahmanism.

a movement which had already risen within the older system. The educated Brahmans came to see that the Vedic gods were poetic imaginations which could not all be true, and that whereas various gods—the Sun, the Encompassing Sky, the Dawn, etc.—were represented as independent and supreme, they must be emanations of one supreme Cause. While they continued to uphold the popular ideas about the gods, and to conduct the customary sacrifices, they began to develop a theological literature, of part of which we have already given an account, the Upanishads and the Puranas, teaching the unity of God and the immortality of the soul, still mingled with many myths and superstitions. Their new system involved the brotherhood of man; but it was reserved for Gautama to break through all the old conventions, and to found the great system of Buddhism. All classes found in it something that was lacking in Brahmanism, and rejoiced in the upsetting of many things that had been irksome. From the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., Buddhism increasingly triumphed, until it was professed by the majority of the Indian people. But in the fifth century the Buddhists were persecuted by the adherents of the old religion. By the end of that century the Buddhist leaders had taken refuge in China, and many of its priests had carried the faith to new lands. As late as the twelfth century a few remained in India, but now they are non-existent, unless Jainism be regarded as representing the old Buddhism. But the influence of Buddhism upon Brahmanism had been profound, and modern Hinduism is a very different thing from the religion of the Vedas and Brahmanas. Indeed, Sir W. W. Hunter terms modern Hinduism the joint product of Buddhism and Brahmanism. The latter was active and slowly changing during all the time of the predominance of the former, and we have the testimony of Greeks in Alexander's time and later, and of Buddhist priests from China who visited India in the fifth and seventh centuries, that Brahman priests were equally honoured with Buddhist monks, and temples of the Hindu gods adjoined the Buddhist religious houses.

Triumph of Buddhism.

The Hindus date the final triumph over Buddhism from the preaching of Kumarila, a Bengal Brahman, who powerfully advanced the Vedic teaching of a personal Creator and supreme Being, against the impersonal negations of Buddhism; but he also shone as a persecutor. Sir W. W. Hunter, however, traces the change which followed to deeper-seated causes—such that the rise of Hinduism was a natural development of racial characters and systems. According to him it rests upon the caste system and represents the coalition of the old Vedic faith with Buddhism, as well as with the rude rites of pre-Aryan and Mongolian races. We cannot here give an account of the caste system. The immense subdivision of castes is the result partly of intermarriages, partly of varied occupations, partly of locality, partly of the introduction of outside tribes to Hinduism. Religious exclusiveness and trades unionism, once grasped, made easy progress, and converted India into a vast grouping of separate classes. Caste is a powerful instrument

Downfall of Indian Buddhism.

The caste system.

for personal discipline and the maintenance of convention and custom, but it is a weakener of united popular action and national unity. Its great force is in its hereditary instincts and in social and religious excommunication. The offender against caste laws may be fined by his fellow-members, may be forbidden to eat or intermarry with them, and may be boycotted by the community.

We cannot understand the growth of modern Hinduism without reference to the two great Indian epic poems, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The former is a vast aggregation of poems and episodes, arranged into a continuous whole, and is the longest poem in the world, being fourteen times as long as the Iliad. It includes many portions dating back to Vedic times, with others of later date up to a comparatively modern time. It includes the whole cycle of Hindu mythology since the Vedas, and practically represents a deification of human heroes, side by side with views of Divine incarnation. Its central story relates a prehistoric struggle between two families descended from the Moon god for a tract of country around Delhi. It is believed to have existed in a considerably developed form five or six centuries before Christ, but it has been greatly modified by subsequent Brahmanic additions, especially didactic and religious in their nature, teaching the submission of the military to the Brahman power. **The Mahabharata.**

The Bhagavad-gita, or song of Bhagavat, is the most important episode of this great epic, Bhagavat being a term applied to Krishna, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, the Pervader and Preserver. Krishna makes a revelation to the hero Arjuna, just before a great battle, in order to remove his scruples about destroying human life. This revelation in effect teaches the supremacy of the soul over the body, and in fact its eternity of existence in the supreme Being, so that death cannot harm it. Duty to caste and its obligations is highly extolled; but the poem is most remarkable to us for its exposition in poetry of the Vedantist philosophy of Pantheism, which teaches that all the universe is indeed Brahma, from whom all proceeds and to whom all returns. Krishna in giving an account of himself to Arjuna, says (we quote from Sir Monier-Williams's "Indian Wisdom"):— **The Bhagavad-gita.**

> "I am the ancient sage, without beginning,
> I am the ruler and the all-sustainer,
> I am incomprehensible in form,
> More subtle and minute than subtlest atoms;
> I am the cause of the whole universe;
> Through me it is created and dissolved,
> I dwell as wisdom, in the heart of all.
> I am the goodness of the good, I am
> Beginning, middle, end, eternal time,
> The birth, the death of all. I have created all
> Out of one portion of myself. Think thou on me,
> Have faith in me, adore and worship me,
> And join thyself in meditation to me.
> Thus shalt thou come to me, O Arjuna;

Thus shalt thou rise to my supreme abode,
Where neither sun nor moon have need to shine,
For know that all the lustre they possess is mine."

Krishna.

Among other revelations of Krishna, he states that he is born on earth from time to time for the establishment of righteousness. In lauding work, Krishna says :—

"Know that work
Proceeds from the supreme. I am the pattern
For man to follow ; know that I have done
All arts already ; nought remains for me
To gain by action, yet I work for ever
Unweariedly, and this whole universe
Would perish if I did not work my work."

THE KRISHNA AVATARA.
(*From a native picture.*)

It will be evident from these quotations that the Bhagavad-gita contains much lofty thought; indeed, it has been praised as unequalled for sublimity of conception, reasoning, and diction. Yet it is in no slight degree parallel with Buddhist ideas, in preaching deliverance through self-renunciation and devotion, ending in absorption in the Deity. Although women are not raised by it, yet the declaration of Krishna is, that all who resort to him will reach the highest. He says : "I have neither friend nor foe ; I am the same to all ; and all who worship me dwell in me and I in them. To them that love me, I give that devotion by which they come at last to me. No soul that has faith, however imperfect the attainment, or however the soul have wandered, shall perish, either in this world or in another. He shall have new births till, purified and made perfect, he reaches the supreme abode."

Incarnations of the deity.

The repetition of incarnations of deity is an important feature in this teaching ; and from this root has developed the great "avatar" or incarnation idea of the Hindus, the idea being that the deity is continually being manifested for the guidance and protection of his

people. Throughout the transition period, from Brahmanism to Hinduism, varying forms of Krishna, as the incarnation of Vishnu[1] are continually described. He appears as the protecting hero and saint and sage, the overcomer of evil spirits, the popular wonder-worker.

From some of the characteristics of Krishna it has been imagined that he has been derived from Christ; but there is no proof of this, and, indeed, the multiplication and varying form of the incarnations tells against this idea. In fact, the belief proceeds from a date before the Christian era. The meaning of the word Krishna, "black," also makes against the Christian relationship; it rather points to respect for common humanity of black and white alike; for Krishna is the teacher of Arjuna, "white."

This doctrine about Krishna brings into view the essential link by which the intellectual Brahmans connected their higher philosophy with the common beliefs of the people. Krishna manifests the noblest traits of Hindu genius; he also condescends to the most ordinary pursuits of men and children, and even to sportive recreation. The higher doctrine of immortality is preached in such passages as the following in the Bhagavad-gita, "There is an invisible, eternal existence, beyond this visible, which does not perish when all things else perish, even when the great days of Brahman's creative life pass round into night, and all that exists in form returns unto God whence it came; they who obtain this never return. . . . Bright as the sun beyond darkness is He to the soul that remembers Him in meditation, at the hour of death, with thought fixed between the brows,—Him the most ancient of the wise, the primal ruler, the minutest atom, the sustainer of all,—in the hour when each finds that same nature on which he meditates, and to which he is conformed. . . .

Immortality taught.

VISHNU.
(*From a native picture.*)

[1] Vishnu is a god named in the Rig-Veda as a form of the sun striding across the heavens in three paces.

They who put their trust in Me, and seek deliverance from decay and death, know Brahma, and the highest spirit, and every action. They who know me in my being, my person, and my manifested life, in the hour of death, know me indeed."

The other great epic poem, the Ramayana, or the goings of Rama, is a chronicle which relates primarily to another region of Aryan conquest, Oudh, and then recounts the advance of the Aryans into Southern India. It represents perhaps a later stage than the earlier parts of the Mahabharata, but was arranged into something like its present form a century earlier—perhaps about the beginning of the third century B.C. Like the sister epic, it presents the Brahman idea of the Godhead in the form of an incarnation, Rama, of Vishnu, to destroy a demon. Briefly stated, the story is as follows. It begins by relating the sonlessness of the king of Oudh, a descendant of the sun-god. After a sacrifice to the gods, four sons were born of his three wives, the eldest, Rama, having one-half the nature of Vishnu; the second, Bharata, one-fourth; and two others, twins, having each one-eighth. This exemplifies the Brahman doctrine of partial incarnations, Krishna being a full incarnation; and, beyond this, there might be fractional incarnations of the Divine essence, in men, animals and even inanimate objects. The wonderful youth, marriage to Sita, and exile of Rama, are next told and the refusal of Bharata to take the kingdom on his father's death. Rama continuing an exile, Ravana, the demon king of the south, heard of his wife's beauty, and carried her off in a magical chariot to Ceylon. Rama then makes alliances with the aboriginal peoples of Southern India, invades Ceylon, slays Ravana and delivers his wife, who has to undergo the further trial of being suspected of infidelity and banished. She is the type of womanly devotion and purity, and after sixteen years' exile is reconciled to her husband, with whom she is after all translated to heaven.

The Ramayana.

Partial incarnations.

SIVA, BRAHMA, AND VISHNU.

Conquests of Rama.

Such was the framework in which the change from ancient Brahmanism to modern Hinduism was developed and taught. These epics bear witness to the fact that notwithstanding the great extension of Buddhism in India, there was no time when Brahmanism was not working with great skill and intellectual force to adapt itself to the changed conditions. At a council of the Buddhist monarch Siladitya at Kanauj on the Ganges in A.D. 634, while a statue of Buddha was installed on the first day, on the second an image of the Sun-god, on the third an

Resistance of Brahmanism.

image of Siva, the product of later Brahmanism, was inaugurated. A great series of Brahman apostles arose simultaneously with the decay of Buddhism, beginning with Kumarila Bhatta, about A.D. 750, who revived the old Brahman doctrine of a personal God and Creator, and reconverted many of the people. He was the first of a long line of influential religious reformers, who all solemnly cut themselves off from the world like Buddha, and give forth a simple message, readily understood, including in essence, according to Sir W. W. Hunter, "a reassertion, in some form, of the personality of God and the equality of men in His sight."

Kumarila Bhatta.

Sankara Acharya was the disciple of Kumarila, still more famous than his master; he popularised the late Vedantist philosophy as a national religion, and "since his short life in the eighth or ninth century, every new Hindu sect has had to start with a personal God" (Hunter). He taught that the supreme God Brahma was distinct from the old Brahman triad, and must be worshipped by spiritual meditations, not by sacrifices; and he perpetuated his teaching by founding a Brahman sect, the Smartas. However, he still allowed the practice of the Vedic rites, and worship of the deity in any popular form; and it is claimed by popular tradition that he founded many of the Hindu sects of the present day. Siva worship is supposed to be specially his work, though it existed long before; and he has ever been represented by his followers as an incarnation of Siva. Siva is, as we have said before, the Rudra or Storm-god of the Rig-Veda, recognised as the Destroyer and Reproducer. He was worshipped contemporaneously with the Buddhist ascendency and is highly spoken of in the Mahabharata; but Sankara's followers elevated his worship till it became one of the two chief forms of Hinduism.

Sankara.

SIVA.
(*From a native picture.*)

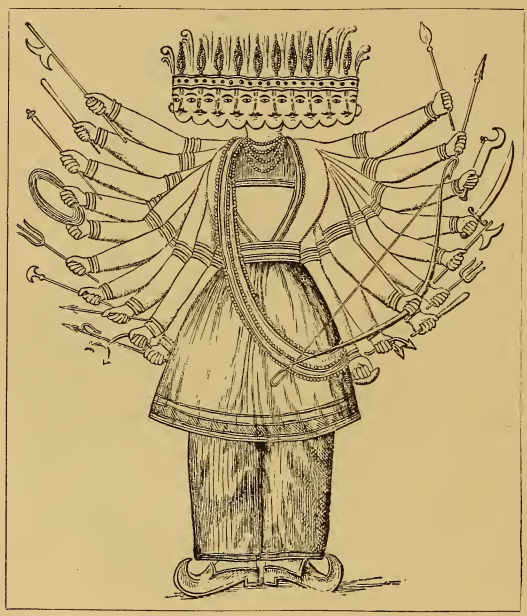
The doctrine of Sankara just referred to, that Brahma or Brahman, is the supreme God, distinct from the triad Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, who are manifestations of him. The supreme Brahman is the absolute, having no form, nor shape, self-existent, illimitable, free from imperfection. There are but a few worshippers of Brahman

Worship of the supreme Brahman.

or Brahma alone. As creator he is believed to have finished his work, and there is now only one temple to him, at Pushkara in Ajmir. Ward, in 1818, wrote: "The Brahmans in their morning and evening worship repeat an incantation containing a description of the image of Brahma; at noon they present to him a single flower; at the time of burnt-offering, ghee is presented to him. In the month of Magh, at the full moon, an earthen image of him is worshipped, with that of Siva on his right hand and Vishnu on his left."

The Smartas of Southern India are a considerable sect who follow the philosophic teaching of Sankara. There are numerous religious houses connected with this sect, acknowledging the headship of the monastery of Sringiri, in the western Mysore hills; and the chief priest of the sect, the head of this monastery, is specially acknowledged by all Sivaite worshippers, who regard Sankara as one of the incarnations of Siva.

The Smartas.



RAVANA.
(*From a native picture. See account of Ramayana.*)

"The worship of Vishnu," says Sir W. W. Hunter, "in one phase or another, is the religion of the bulk of the middle classes; with its roots deep down in beautiful forms of non-Aryan nature-worship, and its top sending forth branches among the most refined Brahmans and literary sects. It is a religion in all things graceful. Its gods are heroes or bright friendly beings, who walk and converse with men. Its legends breathe an almost Hellenic beauty." This is the lofty position assigned to Vishnuism by one of the most learned and most impartial students—a very different opinion from that which regards the car of Juggernaut as the representative of all that is vile.

Vishnu worship.

The doctrines of modern Hinduism, in their learned aspect, are contained in the Puranas (in Sanskrit), a series of eighteen treatises, in which various Brahmans expound, in lengthy dialogues, the supremacy of Vishnu or Siva. The chief of them is the Vishnu Purana,

The Puranas.

dating from the eleventh century, but containing, as the word "purana" signifies, ancient traditions, some of which descend from Vedic times; and others are traceable to the two great epics. "It includes a complete cosmogony or account of primary creation, accounts of the destruction and renovation of worlds, genealogies of gods and patriarchs, the reigns of the Manus, the institutes of society, including caste and burial rites, and the history of the princes of the solar and lunar races, a life of Krishna, and an account of the end of the world. It is not necessary to dwell upon its contents, which would require a volume. Pantheism is woven into the general scheme, God and Nature being identified, and Vishnu, as supreme God, being incarnated in Krishna.

The Vishnu Purana.

The style of the Vishnu Purana on its philosophical side may be gathered from the following extracts, relating to the supreme deity, as translated by H. H. Wilson: "Who can describe him who is not to be apprehended by the senses, who is the best of all things, and the supreme soul, self-existent; who is devoid of all the distinguishing characteristics of complexion, caste, or the like, and is exempt from birth, vicissitude, death, or decay; who is always, and alone; who exists everywhere, and in whom all things here exist; and who is thence named Vasudeva (the resplendent one in whom all things dwell). He is Brahma, supreme lord, eternal, unborn, imperishable, undecaying; of one essence; ever pure as free from defects. He, that Brahma, was all things, comprehending in his own nature the indiscrete (spirit) and the discrete (matter). He then existed in the forms of Purusha and Kala.

Description of the supreme Being.

KALI DANCING ON SIVA.
(*From a native picture.*)

Purusha (spirit) is the first form of the supreme. Next proceeded two other forms—the discrete and the indiscrete; and Kala (time) was the last. These four the wise consider to be the pure and supreme condition of Vishnu. These four forms, in their due proportions, are the causes of the production of the phenomena of creation, preservation, and destruction. Vishnu being thus discrete and indiscrete substance—spirit and time—sports like a playful boy, as you shall learn by listening to his frolics." Here it should be noted that the creation of the world is very commonly considered by the Hindu to be the sport or amusement of the supreme Being.

The life of Krishna, as given by this Purana, is so full of fabulous marvels as to read like an Arabian Night's story, without its charm. It is sufficient to say that this Purana did not work the great development of Vishnu worship, which was due to a series of Vishnuite preachers, beginning with Ramanuja in the 12th century, rising against the cruel doctrines of the Sivaites. It was not till the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century that the great development of popular religion in the name of Vishnu took place, under the apostolic leadership of Ramanand. This teacher had his headquarters in a monastery at Benares, and travelled from place to place in Northern India. He chose twelve disciples from the despised castes of the barbers, leatherdressers, weavers, and the like, who, like the Buddhist monks, had to forsake the world, and depend solely on alms, while they went about teaching religion. They addressed the people in the vernacular Hindi, and largely helped to make it a literary language. The inclusion of lower-caste men among Ramanand's chief disciples is a proof that his reaction was directed against Brahman exclusiveness; and it embraced many features of Buddhism, including the monasteries or retreats for the mendicants.

Great Vishnuite preachers.

Ramanand.

Kabir, the greatest of Ramanand's disciples, is notable for his effort to combine the Mohammedans with the Hindus in one religious fraternity. The caste system and Brahman arrogance, as well as image-worship, found in him a strong opponent. He taught that the god of the Hindu is the same as the god of the Mahometan. "To Ali (Allah) and to Rama" (writes one of his disciples) "we owe our life, and should show like tenderness to all who live. What avails it to wash your mouth, to count your beads, to bathe in holy streams, to bow in temples, if, while you mutter your prayers or journey on pilgrimage, deceitfulness is in your heart? The Hindu fasts every eleventh day; the Mussulman on the Ramazan. Who formed the remaining months and days, that you should venerate but one? . . . Behold but one in all things. He to whom the world belongs, He is the father of the worshippers alike of Ali and of Rama." Kabir recognised in all the varied lots and changes of man, his hopes and fears and religious diversities, the one Divine Spirit; when this was recognised, Maya, or illusion, was over, and the soul found rest. This was to be obtained, not by burnt-offerings or sacrifices, but by faith and meditation on the Supreme being, and by keeping his holy names for ever on the lips

Kabir.

and in the heart. Kabir had a vast number of followers, especially in Bengal; the headquarters of his sect is the Kabir Chaura at Benares.

The worship of Juggernaut, more properly Jagannath (literally, the Lord of the world) dates only from the beginning of the 16th century, being mainly propagated by Chaitanya, who was so great a preacher of the Vishnuite doctrines that since his death he has been widely worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu. He preached a religion of faith to Hindus and Mohammedans alike; but he laid great stress on obedience to religious teachers. By contemplation rather than ritual he taught that the soul would find liberty from the imperfections and sins of the body. After death the soul of the believer would dwell for ever in a heaven of perfect beauty, or in the presence of Vishnu himself, known in his supreme essence. Chaitanya.

After the death of Chaitanya there appeared teachers who lowered the spiritual level of Vishnuism, some preaching the religion of enjoyment, others giving increased importance to the idea of physical love; one adoring the infant Krishna as the cowherd. Vallabha-Swami (sixteenth century) was one of the chief of these; he established a ritual of eight services in which the image of Krishna as a lovely boy is bathed, anointed, sumptuously dressed and fed, and in which beautiful women and other sensual delights figure largely. Such a religion appealed largely to the well-to-do, the luxurious, and the sensually minded, and was made the pretext for self-indulgence.

Before particularising the forms of modern Hindu worship, we must briefly indicate the influence which Buddhism and other popular religious of India have had on Hinduism. The brotherhood of man is implicitly if not explicitly recognised by many of the Hindu sects; the Buddhist communities or monasteries are reproduced in the monastic houses of many Hindu brotherhoods. Sir W. Hunter describes the rules of the Vishnuite communities as Buddhistic, with Brahmanical reasons. One of the brotherhoods of Kabir's followers has as its first rule the very Buddhistic one that the life neither of man nor of beast may be taken, the reason being that it is the gift of God. Truth is enjoined as the great principle of conduct; for all ills and ignorance of God spring from original falsehood. Retirement from the world is commended, worldliness being hostile to tranquillity of soul and meditation on God. Similarly the Buddhist trinity of ideas, Buddha, Dharma (the Law), and Samgha (the congregation) is largely present, more or less openly, in Hinduism. Not the least strange conjunction of Hinduism with other religions is that in which Siva-worshippers visit Adam's Peak in Ceylon to worship the foot-prints of their deity. Buddhists revere the same impression as the impression of Buddha's foot, while Mohammedans revere it as a relic of Adam, the father of mankind. This is but a specimen of the common resorts of Hindu pilgrims, where Mussulman and Hindu alike revere some sacred object. Influence of Buddhism.

Hindus also absorbed or adopted many rites and superstitions of non-

Aryan peoples, such as the serpent and dragon worship of the Nagas, reverence for crocodiles and generative emblems, fetish and tree worship, etc. The worship of generative emblems (*linga*) found a wide field among the Sivaites, whose god was the reproducer as well as destroyer; while the fetish, or village or local god, in the shape of an unhewn stone (known as *salagram*) or a tree, usually the tulasi plant, became the usual symbols of the Vishnuite. In not a few cases their rites are little elevated above those of primitive savagery as conducted by low-caste Hindus.

The linga and the salagram.

Coming now to a description of the chief Hindu gods as popularly worshipped, we find Brahma, the creator, represented as a red man with four heads, dressed in white, and riding upon a goose. Brahma's wife, Sarasvati, the goddess of wisdom and science, is depicted as a fair young woman with four arms; with one right hand she presents a flower to Brahma; in the other she holds a book of palm-leaves; in one of her left hands she carries a string of pearls. In the Mahabharata she is called the mother of the Vedas. She is worshipped once a year in the same month as Brahma by all who have any learning; and with this worship are connected pens, ink, paper, books, etc. Women take no part in this festival.

Brahma.

Vishnu is adored by the Vishnuite sects as the equal or even the superior of Brahma, and is especially termed the Preserver, exempt from impatience and passion. Various legends in the Puranas describe the other gods as submitting to Vishnu, who is termed omniscient and almighty. In pictorial representations Vishnu usually appears as a black man with four arms: in one hand a club is held, in a second a shell, in the third a discus, in the fourth a lotus, and he rides upon the Garuda bird.

Vishnu.

Sir Monier-Williams describes both Vishnuism and Sivaism as forms of monotheism, because they set aside the coequal trinity Brahma, Vishnu and Siva in favour of their special god: but it may be doubted whether many of the Vishnuites can be called intelligent monotheists, rather than superstitious worshippers of they know not what. The opinion of this great Indian scholar, that Vishnuism "is the only real religion of the Hindu peoples, and has more common ground with Christianity than any other non-Christian faith," must be taken as having but a limited application when he has to qualify it by referring to "the gross polytheistic superstitions and hideous idolatry to which it gives rise." We must acknowledge the distinguishing merit of Vishnuism to be, that it teaches intense devotion to a personal god, who exhibits his sympathy with human suffering and his interest in human affairs by frequent descents (avatars) upon earth. Of these we must give a brief account.

As many as twenty-eight avatars of Vishnu have been enumerated in the Puranas. They represent the descent into human bodies, by birth from earthly parents, of a portion or the whole of the divine essence of the god; they do not interfere with the divine body of the god,

Incarnations of Vishnu.

which remains unchanged. Of these we may enumerate (1) the Fish, whose form Vishnu took to save Manu, the progenitor of mankind, from the universal deluge. Manu obtained the favour of Vishnu by his piety, was warned of the coming deluge, and commanded to build a ship, wherein he

SIVA TEMPLE, BENARES.

was to take the seven Rishis or patriarchs and the seeds of all living things. When the flood came, Vishnu, as the Fish, dragged the ship, by a cable fixed to a horn on his head, to a high crag where it was secured till the flood went down. The avatars of the tortoise, the boar, the man-lion, the

dwarf, and Rama with the axe, we must pass over. The great Rama, Ramachandra, or the moon-like Rama, has been already referred to as the subject of the Ramayana. "Every man, woman, and child in India," says Sir Monier-Williams, probably with some exaggeration, "is familiar with Rama's exploits for the recovery of his wife, insomuch that a common phrase for an ignorant person is 'one who does not know that Sita was Rama's wife.' From Kashmir to Cape Comorin the name of Rama is on every one's lips. All sects revere it, and show their reverence by employing it on all occasions. For example, when friends meet, it is common for them to salute each other by uttering Rama's name twice. No name is more commonly given to children, and no name more commonly invoked at funerals and in the hour of death. It is a link of union for all classes, castes, and creeds."

Rama.

But Krishna is the most popular of all the incarnations of Vishnu, and is represented as manifesting his entire essence. He is especially the god of the lower orders, having been brought up among cowherds and other peasants, with whom he constantly sported. A multitude of marvellous stories are told about him; but it is evident from the history of Krishna literature and practices that he, like Rama, is a deified hero. Sir Monier-Williams identifies him as a powerful chief of the Yadava tribe of Rajputs in central India east of the Jumna, while the original of Rama was a son of a king of Oudh. So possible is it to trace gods adored by multitudes of human beings to the exaggeration and deification of heroic men.

Krishna the preserver.

Thus we shall be little surprised to find Buddha adopted as one of the incarnations of Vishnu. The Brahmans account for this by saying that Vishnu, in compassion for animals, descended as Buddha in order to discredit the Vedic sacrifices. The Brahmanical writers, says Wilkins, "were far to shrewd to admit that one who could influence men as Buddha did could be other than an incarnation of deity; and as his influence was in favour of teaching opposed to their own, they cleverly say that it was to mislead the enemies of the gods that Buddha promulgated his doctrine, that they, becoming weak and wicked through their errors, might fall an easy prey."

Buddha.

Not content with incarnations that have taken place, the Vishnuites look for a future descent which they call the Kalki avatar. He is to appear at the end of the Kali age (which began with his descent as Krishna), when the world has become utterly wicked, and will be seen in the sky, seated on a white horse, wielding a drawn sword, for the destruction of the wicked and the restoration of the world to purity.

We have not included Jagannath among the incarnations of Vishnu, both because it is believed that he is an appearance of Vishnu himself, and also because it is probable that he was originally the god of a non-Aryan tribe adopted into Hinduism. It is a sight of this god that is so vehemently desired, whether as he is bathed or dressed, or being drawn on his car. Chaitanya, the reformer, is another incarnation of

Jagannath.

Vishnu, according to the popular notion, although he lived in almost modern times. Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, is very considerably worshipped as the goddess of Love, Beauty, and Prosperity. She is represented as of a bright golden colour, seated on a lotus, and having only the ordinary number of arms. Lakshmi.

Siva, the destroyer, is naturally represented as of a stern and vindictive disposition; but yet this is compatible with his being regarded as a beneficent deity. Death being the transition to a new form of life, the Destroyer is truly the Re-creator, and this accounts for the meaning of his name—the Bright or Happy one. Siva is exclusively a post-Vedic god, though he has been identified by the Hindus with the Rudra of the Vedas, and numerous features of Siva's character and history are developed from those of Rudra. In the Ramayana, Rudra (Siva) is represented as marrying Uma, the daughter of Daksha; it is this same Uma who is much more widely known under the names of Parvati, Durga, and Kali. It is stated that a great quarrel arose between Siva and Daksha, his father-in-law. In this quarrel Uma gave herself voluntarily to the flames, and became a sati (suttee), and was reborn as Parvati. Siva then became an ascetic, living with Parvati in the Himalayas, destroying demons. He is represented sometimes with Parvati, wearing round his black neck a serpent and a necklace of skulls, and with an extensive series of emblems, such as a white bull on which he rides, a tiger's skin, etc.; he has three eyes, one being in his forehead. As Mahadeva (the great god), which is his most usual name, he may be shown as an ascetic with matted hair, living in meditation and self-discipline in a forest. It is said that Siva, in a quarrel with Brahma, cut off his fifth head, which, however, stuck to the destroyer's hand. To escape from a pursuing giant created by Brahma, Siva fled to Benares, where he became absolved from his sin and freed from the head of Brahma, thus causing Benares to become a specially sacred city. Siva, the destroyer.

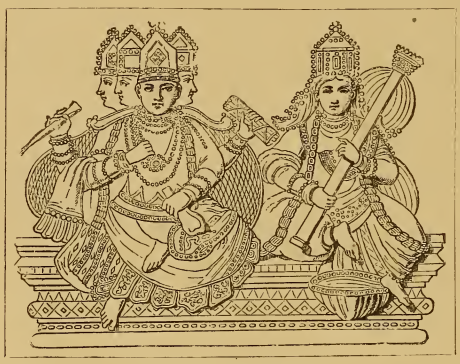
In consequence of Siva's patronage of the bull as his steed, a strange custom has arisen in connection with the funerals of Sivaites. Whenever it is possible, a bull is set free to wander, and has a sacred character, so that no one dares to injure it; sometimes as many as seven bullocks are thus set free. This is believed to secure the favour of Siva. Similarly, since he was an ascetic, many of his followers pay court to him by a life of austerity and painful suffering. This was much more frequent in former times than now, for the British Government has discouraged or prohibited many of the most painful exhibitions. Formerly many Siva worshippers would be swung from iron hooks fixed in their backs, or would jump from a height upon the edges of sharp knives. But it is not easy to put down such practices as the maintenance of the arms and legs in one position for years, the holding of the fist clenched till the nails grow through the palm, the keeping of silence or the fixing of the eye continuously upon the sun. There are still many thousands of these devotees in India. Intoxication is also freely indulged in by Sivaites during their worship, this being believed to be pleasing to the god. After all, Siva is most Ascetic Sivaites.

worshipped under the emblem of the Linga, although he is said to have a thousand names.

The wife of Siva occupies a comparatively subordinate position as Uma and Parvati; but as Durga she is a powerful warrior, with many stern and fierce qualities. In this character she is represented to have appeared in many incarnations, and is very widely worshipped. The name Durga was given to her as having slain a demon named Durga. The tales about this are of the most mythical and exaggerated nature. Notwithstanding her powers, Durga is portrayed with a gentle and beautiful face and a golden colour; but she has ten arms, holding various weapons, while her lion leans against one leg and her giant against the other. Of the various forms of Durga we can only refer to Kali (the black woman), probably some tribal goddess adopted into the Hindu series. She won a victory over giants by drinking their blood with the aid of Chandi, another form of Kali. The account of the image of Kali given later in describing one of the Bengal festivals will explain some of her qualities. Formerly human beings, as well as considerable animal sacrifices, were offered to Kali, a human sacrifice being said to please Kali for a thousand years. Cutting their flesh and burning portions of their bodies were among the actions by which worshippers sought to please the goddess. The great number of Hindus who bear the name of Kali or Durga or Tara indicates her popularity down to the present day.

Durga.

Kali.



BRAHMA AND SARASVATI.

Ganesa, the elder son of Siva and Parvati, the god of prudence and policy, having an elephant's head, indicating his sagacious nature, is the god of Bengal shopkeepers; he has a trunk, one tusk, and four hands. Kartikeya is the younger son of Siva and Parvati, and is called the god of war; in southern India his name is Subramanya. Lastly, we must notice Ganga, the Ganges, whose birth and doings are the subject of elaborate legends, and whose waters are believed to have power to cleanse from all sins, past, present and future. A specially sacred spot is that where the Ganges meets the ocean, at Sagar island, to which vast numbers of people flock each January, to bathe with joy in the flood, and to worship the long line of deities whose images are set up by priests who take toll of the pilgrims.

Ganesa.

Ganga.

But when we have exhausted the list of great gods, we have only touched as it were the more prominent of Hindu deities, which are popularly

said to number three hundred and thirty millions. In fact, throughout India the old local deities and demons, so much noticed in China, hold extensive sway. Every village has its own special guardian mother, who has a husband associated with her as protector. But the mother is most worshipped, and is believed to be most accessible to prayer and offerings, and very liable to punish, and to inflict diseases if neglected. Many have a specialty, such as the prevention of a particular disease, or the giving of children. Many are deifications of notable women; some are in effect devils, delighting in blood. All are believed to control secret operations of nature, and to have magic powers which may be imparted to worshippers.

Local deities and demons.

Some even go so far as to say that the predominant belief of the Hindus, especially in the villages, is a dread of evil spirits, who are believed to bring about all evils and diseases, and often have peculiar and special areas of destructiveness. They may have material bodies of a more ethereal structure than those of men, have differences of sex, and possess the power of assuming any shape and moving through the air in any direction. Some of these are the Asuras, or demons created at the foundation of the world or by the gods (though originally the word meant simply beings of a godlike nature). We cannot go into their classes; but it is to be noted that the majority of demons are believed to have been originally human beings, whose evil nature lives after them as demons. All crimes, diseases, and calamities are due to special devils. They mostly require food, and especially the blood of living animals. Sometimes mounds of earth, piles of bricks, etc., do duty as shrines for their "worship," the offering of food and recital of incantations being the chief rites. Every village has its own demon. A volume might be occupied in describing the devil-cults of India. In the south, where they are believed to delight in dancing, music, etc., "when pestilence is rife in any district, professional exorcisers, or certain persons selected for the purpose, paint their faces, put on hideous masks, dress up in fantastic garments, arm themselves with strange weapons, and commence dancing. Their object is to personate particular devils, or rather perhaps to induce such devils to leave the persons of their victims and to occupy the persons of the dancers, who shriek, fling themselves about, and work themselves up into a frenzy of excitement, amid beating of tom-toms, blowing of

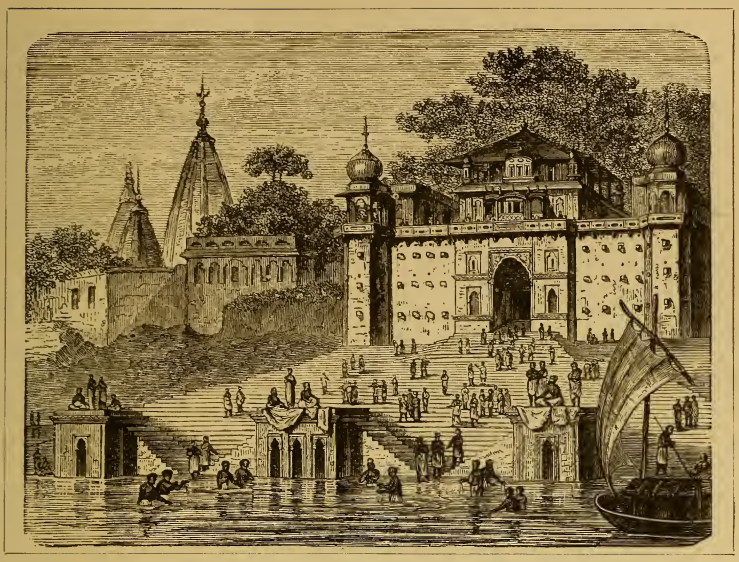
SASTHI.
(*From a native picture.*)

horns, and ringing of bells. When the dancers are thoroughly exhausted, they sink down in a kind of trance, and are then believed to be gifted with clairvoyance and a power of delivering prophetic utterances. The spectators ask them questions about missing relatives or future events, and their deliverances are supposed to be oracular" (Monier-Williams). Many strange festivals are held in connection with this devil-worship in India, and the facts show how general must formerly have been the practices now found among the more savage races. The extensive animal worship of cows, serpents, monkeys, etc., and the worship of trees still prevailing is another considerable survival of more primitive times. It depends largely in India on the view taken of the sacredness of life, and the transmigration of the souls of men into animals. Again, the worship of great men seems even more deeply implanted in the Hindu than in the Chinese mind, and again and again great leaders, preachers, teachers or saints are deified, and regarded as incarnations of Vishnu or Siva; and even men of moderate fame are after death honoured and worshipped, and a shrine is set up to them in the place where they were best known. Surely we have said enough to show that in every way the Hindus are very remarkable for their worship of the superior powers in all conceivable forms.

Worship of animals and trees.

Deification of heroes and saints.

[See "Oriental Religions: India," by S. Johnson, English and Foreign Philosophical Library. Sir W. W. Hunter's "India," vol. vi. of the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," and also separately published. Rev. W. Ward's "View of the History, Religion and Literature of the Hindus, 1818." Rev. W. J. Wilkins's "Hindu Mythology and Modern Hinduism." Sir Monier-Williams's "Religious Thought and Life in India," and "Indian Wisdom;" "Sacred Books of the East."]



A GHAUT AT BENARES, WITH RECESSES FOR DEVOTEES.

CHAPTER IV.

Modern Hinduism II.

Inclusiveness of Hindu worship—Variations in modern times—Religiousness of the Hindus—Household worship—The guru—Initiation—Elements of worship—Brahman ritual—Ritual of the common people—Temple services—Temple priests—Frequent festivals—Images—Festival ceremonies—Miracle-plays—Festivals of Durga—Pilgrimages to holy places—Benares—Temple of Bisheshwar—Pilgrims' observances—Puri—The great temple—The images—Consecrated food—The Car festival—Reported immolation of victims—A touching incident—Vishnu temple at Trichinopoly—Vishnuite sects—Sivaite sects—The Saktas—The Sikhs—The Sikh bible—The Brahmo Somaj—Rammohun Roy—Devendra Nath Tagore—Keshub Chundra Sen—The Universal Somaj—Fatalism—Maya, or illusion—Transmigration—Rewards and punishments—Death and cremation—Ceremonies for the dead—Moral state—Condition of wives—Position of women—Widows—Suttee—Disconnection of morals and religion—Hindu virtues.

IN describing modern Hindu religious practices and worship, we are met with a most varied assemblage of rites and customs, often mutually discordant, all of which have an equal claim to inclusion under the name Hinduism. Never has there been a religion so expansive and all-inclusive. As a recent Bengal census report states, the term denotes neither a creed nor a race, neither a church nor a people, but is a general expression devoid of precision. It embraces alike the disciples of Vedantic philosophy, the high-class Brahman, the low-caste worshippers of all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, and the semi-barbarous aborigines who are entirely ignorant of Hindu mythology, and worship a stone in time of sickness and danger. There is so great a difference in the prevalent forms of worship in different districts, there are so many personal

Inclusiveness of Hindu worship.

and household ceremonies, differing according to rank or locality, and also there have been so many changes in modern times, that it is quite impossible to give more than a partial view in a limited space. The common people believe their worship has lasted unchanged for long ages, and Europeans have largely adopted the same view; but while the Hindu nature remains very largely the same, variations in worship have been multitudinous. The great car festival of Jagannath is a modification of a Buddhist festival; and it would be easy to multiply proofs of the changes in modern Hinduism.

Variations in modern times.

To a greater extent than any nation under the sun, the Hindus are a religious people. As Mr. Wilkins says, "to treat of the ordinary life of the Hindu is to describe the Hindu religion. From before birth to the close of life periodical ceremonies are enjoined and, for the most part, practised." Mostly they are survivals from animism, sorcery, astrology, and the like primitive beliefs. Thus, before the birth of a child the mother must not wear clothes over which birds have flown, must always have a knot in her dress round the waist, must not walk or sit in the courtyard, in order to avoid evil spirits must wear an amulet round her neck containing flowers consecrated to the god Baba Thakur, and must drink every day a few drops of water touched by this amulet. The naming of a boy is a most important ceremony, including a thanksgiving service, with gifts for the benefit of ancestors. The names of gods or deified heroes are often chosen, with the addition of another chosen by the astrologer, who calculates the horoscope of the child.

Religiousness of the Hindus.

Every household at all raised above poverty has a family priest (unless the head is himself a Brahman), who performs service, usually twice a day, in a room in which the family idol is kept. There is also a platform opposite the entrance gate of the house, to receive the images made for the periodic festivals. The priest bathes and anoints the idol, recites a ritual, and presents offerings of fruits and flowers given by the family. The family, however, are not usually present, the priest being the only person whose presence is needed. The offerings are his perquisite, and he is supported entirely by one or two families. Of course he is present at all the important family ceremonies.

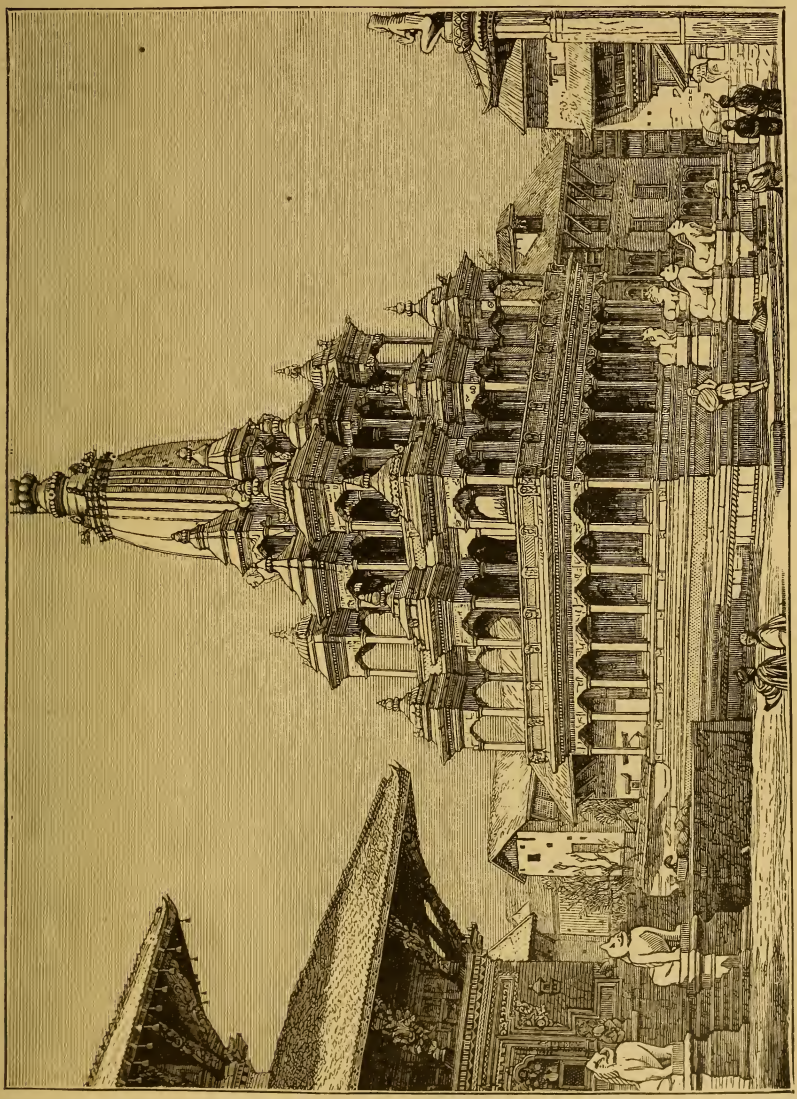
Household worship.

The guru, or religious teacher, is a distinct functionary; he is the initiator into the Hindu sects, and the teacher of their doctrines; but he does not live in the house of a disciple. The Hindus are taught that it is better to offend the gods than their guru, for the latter can intercede if the former are angry; but if the guru is offended, no one can intercede, and the curse of the guru brings untold miseries. He usually visits his disciples only once a year, unless he wants more money. His treatment of them is very lofty; and educated Hindus themselves describe the gurus as covetous, unprincipled, and familiar with vice. The best entertainment, new carpets and large presents are demanded by them, and few teach anything of value. Every Hindu boy of eight years old (sometimes older) receives from his chosen guru, who need not

The guru.

Initiation.

be a Brahman, a sacred text or mantra, called the seed text, which is taught



TEMPLE OF KRISHNA, NEPAUL.

to him in private, with the name of the god selected by the guru for his especial worship. This text must never be repeated to others, and must be

said over mentally or in whispers one hundred and eight times a day (the number is often counted by a rosary). The youth, before receiving it, fasts, bathes, and appears in spotless robes; and if he be of the twice-born (Brahman, Kshatrya, or Vaisya) castes, he for the first time puts the sacred thread round his neck. The relationship between the disciple and his guru continues throughout life. The present race of gurus are as a rule self-indulgent and ignorant men. The astrologer is an equally necessary personage to the household; no journeys can be undertaken, no new business begun without his aid; he fixes the hour for weddings and religious festivals, and numerous other matters depend absolutely on his pronouncing the time opportune.

The great elements of Hindu worship may be defined as (1) mediation, (2) works of merit, (3) purchasing the favour or arresting the disfavour of the gods by presents and sacrifices. The educated Hindu certainly has a high object, namely, to gain a realisation of his identity with the supreme Being, and to become reunited to Him. This state can only be approached by the Brahman ascetic; all others not Brahmans must by religious works seek to be reborn in some future life in a higher caste, until they reach the bliss of Brahmanism.

Elements of worship.

We have already indicated to some extent the ritual observances laid down for Brahmans in the sacred books. These are still kept up in essence; and so numerous and laborious are they, that two hours both morning and evening, and an hour in the middle of the day, are occupied in fulfilling them all. The ascetics have plenty of time for this; but Brahmans engaged in business find them very trying, and a few perform them by deputy, through a family priest. Previous to any act of worship a complex ablution must be performed, with many details and prayers; then the sun is worshipped, with meditation on Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; the text known as Gayatri is next repeated three times while holding the breath. It runs thus: "Om" (see p. 192), "earth, sky, heaven! We meditate on the adorable light of the resplendent generator (the sun) which governs our intellects, which is water, lustre, savour, immortal faculty of thought, Brahma, earth, sky, heaven." Thus, the light of the sun is taken as the type of all effulgent power; and, as a native commentator says, "it must be worshipped by them who dread successive births and deaths, and who eagerly desire beatitude. . . ." But this prayer must be preceded by the repetition of the names of the seven worlds: 1. This earth. 2. The world of the unconscious dead awaiting the end of the present age. 3. The heaven of the good. 4. The middle world. 5. The world of births, for animals destroyed at the end of each age. 6. The abode of the sons of Brahma. 7. The abode of Brahma the supreme. The word Om is to be repeated before and after this list. Many other ceremonies follow. The heart is supposed to be cleansed from sin by drawing up a little water by one nostril and expelling it by the other. One of the prayers is, "May whatever sin I have committed by night, in thought, word, or deed, be cancelled by day. Whatever sin is in me, may it be far removed."

Brahman ritual.

Before the reading of the Vedas, which follows, offerings of grain, etc., must be made to the gods, with invitations to them to be present and cheerful during the reading of the Veda; then similar offerings must be made to Yama and the great progenitors of mankind, then for the Brahman's ancestors, and for all men, with the object of relieving the wants of sufferers in hells, or increasing the blessedness of those in heaven. After this exhausting series of ceremonies, the Brahman, before taking his meal, offers a portion to deities, ancestors, and to all other beings, and must then feed his guests before partaking himself. Finally he must wash his hands and feet, afterwards tasting the water. As his food is given him, he says, "May heaven give thee!" and when he takes it he says, "May earth receive thee!" He may not yet eat until he has passed his hand round the plate to separate it from the rest of the company, has offered five pieces to Yama, has made five oblations to breath, and has wetted his eyes. In addition to these rites (which are here only partially given) there may be others significant of the particular sect to which the man belongs. Some will also wait for possible guests before taking food, for Brahma himself is represented as present in every guest.

But it must be owned that the mass of the Hindus have no such elaborate daily ritual. The Sakta sect, it is true, and the more religious members of other sects, have a considerable daily ceremony, all including much the same ideas of purification of body, averting the anger of ghosts or ancestors, the offering of sacrifices to the great gods and goddesses, the recitation of their deeds as told in the Puranas, etc. But the majority of Hindus only bathe daily, and raise their hands and bow to the rising sun. Shopkeepers have an image or a picture of Ganesa in their shops, and burn a little incense before it in the morning; Vishnuites have one or more of the god's emblems, especially the Salgrama (a fossil Ammonite), which they guard as if it were a living being, bathing it in the hot season, etc., and before these daily prayers are offered. The names of the gods are repeated a great number of times a day. However, on days when it is not very convenient to go through a long form, the Hindu will be content with repeating the text he was taught by his guru, which is often an unmeaning jingle.

Ritual of the common people.

The public temples contain the principal religious apparatus of the mass of the Hindus. But it must not be imagined from this that their temples are as a rule large. They are not, in general, places for the assemblage of numbers of people, and in fact they are mostly not more than ten or a dozen feet square. They are simply small buildings in charge of a priest, who takes care of an idol or image, which is supposed to be a special abode of the deity, and who receives offerings from worshippers coming one by one, and prostrating themselves before the image. Many of them have been built by public contributions, others by rulers, and many by well-to-do private persons anxious to secure merits to balance their sins. If they desire to make a large offering, they do not build a larger temple, but a number of smaller ones, seven, fourteen, twenty-one, or even more,

Temple services.

some of which may never be used. Old temples of this kind are not repaired; the new man does not wish to do what will but add to the merit of another. Usually the temple has an outer court, often with verandahs round, in which pilgrims may lodge when they come from a distance. The temple itself has two main portions—the vestibule, and the shrine containing the image, only large enough to admit the priest. One of the singular forms observed is the ringing of a bell to attract the notice of the god to his worshipper, who merely walks round, hands his gift to the priest, and bows to the image.

Temple priests.

The priests of these temples are all Brahmans, who alone perform the proper worship, usually without any spectators. The sacred texts are merely muttered, and being in Sanskrit, are unintelligible to the masses; the texts, of course, differ according to the god or incarnation that is being worshipped. The essential character of this worship lies in the treatment of the image as if it were a living being, and the priest his servant; washing, dressing, feeding, decorating, putting to bed, etc., are all gone through most carefully. With all this the people have nothing to do but to bring the offerings, which become the priests' property. Of course, in the case of deities whose rites require animal sacrifices, there is a great business of slaughtering victims, and afterwards disposing of the meat not required by the priests; it finds a ready sale, being especially valuable owing to its sacred character.

Frequent festivals.

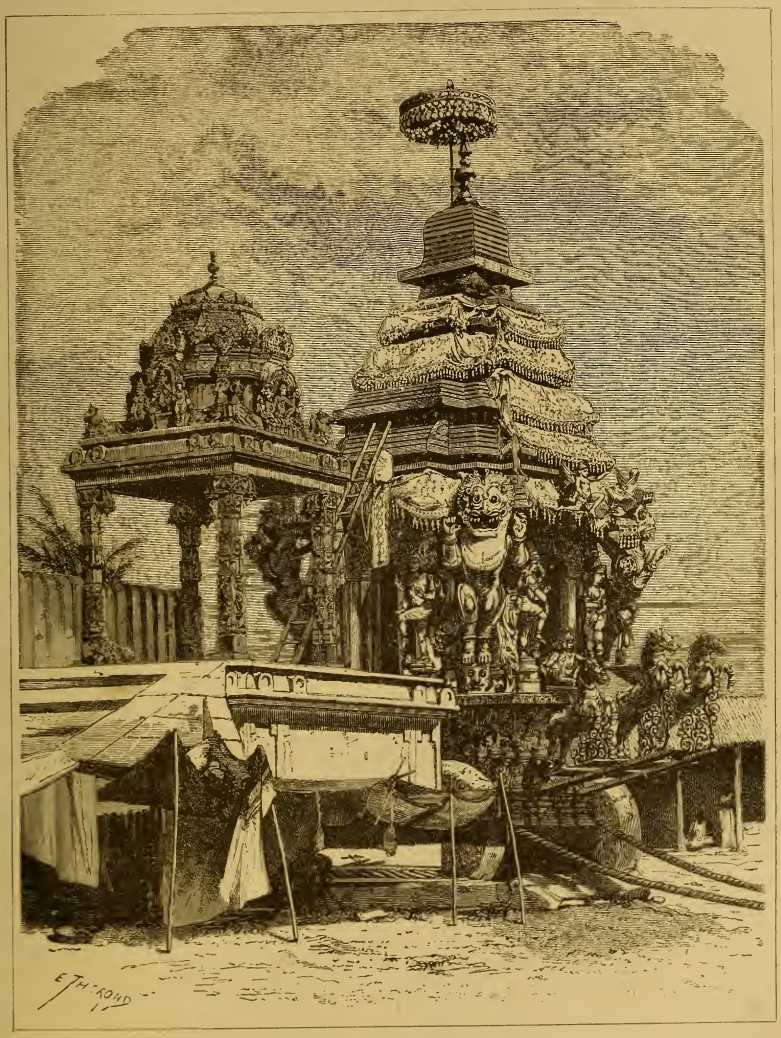
The regular daily worship of the temples forms but a small part of the religious life of the Hindu. His attention is mainly given to the festivals which occur so frequently, though somewhat irregularly, as to occupy the place of the Christian Sunday. Most of the gods have special festival days, and others are only worshipped publicly on such days. Not only are special images of the gods made for the temples, but also for many private persons, whose houses become public temples for the day or days of the festival, and are visited by crowds of people. Usually, after the proper ceremonial has been gone through, various amusements—nautch dances, plays, musical entertainments—are provided. Sometimes two or more adjoining villages will join in these celebrations, each householder paying his share.

Images.

Images are provided for these festivals by regular tradesmen. They are largely based upon bamboos tied together, and covered with hay and mud from a sacred stream. They are then dried in the sun, and afterwards painted, dressed, and otherwise decorated according to some mode presented by the sacred law-books. When they are taken to the place of worship, the priest engaged for the occasion performs a ceremony called the giving of life, in which the god is invited to reside in the image for one, two, or three days. It then becomes sacred, and must be touched by none but a Brahman,—must be approached by none but a Hindu. A full morning and evening worship is celebrated before the image, that in the evening being followed by amusements. The concluding day witnesses the farewell of the deity, who is thanked for favouring the

Festival ceremonies.

worshippers with his or her presence, and is supplicated to return next year. When the god is supposed to have departed, the sacred image



CAR OF JAGANNATH AT PURI, ORISSA.

becomes once more common clay, and may be touched by any one. About sunset it is taken to a river bank, or to a tank, with a musical procession, dancing women and lighted torches. The image is rowed out to the middle

of the stream and dropped into the water, there to dissolve and decay. The amount of worship performed by Hindus is increased by the necessity of averting the evil which other gods besides their own special deity may cause, and by their desire to gain any possible additional benefit. We cannot give space to a recital of the important public festivals which occur throughout the months of the year. These vary in different localities, and the total number is enormous. For instance, there are festivals all over Bengal to Jagannath, in imitation of the great ones at Puri, cars and great images being similarly provided. There are numerous special festivals to Sasthi, who watches over women in child-bearing, and protects children.

Miracle plays. At the festivals of Krishna miracle-plays form an important feature, and represent the most important events in the lives of the gods, the actors being got up to represent them, and not omitting their many indecent words and actions. By such representations, among other things, the illiterate Hindu masses come to have a more vivid idea of the history of their gods than any people.

Festivals of Durga. The festival of Durga in Bengal is especially elaborate, the sons of Durga, Sarasvati, the wife of Brahma, and Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, being attendant figures. Durga herself has ten hands, holding weapons emblematic of her victories. The forms of worship previous to the coming to life of the goddess are very long, and one or more animals may be sacrificed, sometimes a buffalo. So generally is this festival observed,—husbands and sons returning home for it, and business being suspended,—that it has been termed the Christmas of Bengal. It is celebrated in the sixth month (parts of September and October). The festival of Lakshmi, which follows, is the occasion for sitting up at night playing cards or amusing themselves, for the goddess is believed during the night to pass over all who are awake. In the seventh month there is a very repulsive celebration of Durga in her bloodthirsty aspect. "In the images which represent her at this festival," says Mr. Wilkins, "she is black, as her name Kali implies, and her husband is lying down under her feet. Her tongue protrudes from her mouth, her four arms are extended, one hand grasping a sword, another the head of a giant, and the other two signalling to her hosts. As ear-rings she has two dead bodies of her foes; her neck is adorned with a necklace of skulls, and her only garment, a zone, is made of the hands of her vanquished foes, whilst her hair falls down in long tresses to her waist. Intoxicated with the blood of her foes, her eyes flash with rage, her eyebrows are dyed with crimson, and blood flows down her breast." This worship is attended with midnight sacrifices of animals, shrieking invocations, and drunken orgies. Many of the festivals assume the aspect of carnivals. At some of the festivals of Siva hooks used to be inserted in the backs of men, which were then swung in the air at a great height; but this is now discontinued, either a dummy being used, or the hook fixed to a rope round the man's body.

The next great department of Hindu worship is that concerned with pilgrimages to particular places of great sanctity or to special temples.

Large numbers of Hindus have given themselves up to nothing but travelling from one sacred place to another; but a great proportion of the people strain every nerve to visit a shrine at least once in their lifetime, and will exercise self-denial for many years to pay the expenses of their journey and provide offerings for the gods, believing that their pilgrimage will secure them great blessings both in this world and the next. They cheerfully endure the greatest privations or sufferings on the way, and show the most intense joy when they come in sight of their destination, or see the sacred image exhibited. "I have seen the people throw themselves on the ground," says Mr. Wilkins, "and kiss the very dust as soon as they have caught sight of the holy city of Benares; I have seen them take the dust from the wheels of Jagannath's car, and place it on their head with signs of the intensest pleasure; I have heard them shout with joy as they have come in sight of the meeting of the waters of the Ganges with the sea at Saugor Island." Many now travel by rail to the famous shrines, and thus the crowds that visit them are greater than ever; but many still go by road or boat, often being drowned, or dying by the wayside. Some take vows to perform long distances by measuring their length upon the ground. The sacrifice of life is increased by the demands of the priests, which too often do not leave the pilgrims enough money to provide for the return journey. It cannot be said that the amount or character of the worship paid is an adequate justification for the weary toil and expense of the journey. Bathing, presenting offerings, walking round the temples and seeing the place are the chief religious acts, and too often the rest of the time is occupied with immoral or degrading practices which the priests facilitate. The reputation of many shrines is kept up by the preaching or talking of travelling adherents, always engaged for the purpose of vaunting the benefits obtained by a pilgrimage. Visits are also paid in the hope of obtaining the much-valued blessing of a son, or in fulfilment of a vow in time of distress or sickness.

Pilgrimages to holy places.

We can only notice in any detail the two greatest places of pilgrimage in India, Benares and Puri: the former being the special abode of Siva, the latter of Vishnu. In no Indian city has gross idolatry a stronger hold than in Benares; ugly idols, monstrosities, and reproductive emblems are met with on all sides. More temples have been built and more money has been spent on worship under British rule than during an equal period of Mussulman domination; but this is accounted for by the greater wealth and freedom of the people. Some years ago more than a thousand temples were counted in Benares proper, exclusive of suburbs, and of images in house walls. These are devoted to a great variety of deities, sometimes Siva under different names, or relatives of other deities connected with Siva; and not content with an image of the god worshipped in a particular temple, in many cases the priests have added images of others in niches or in rows; sometimes even a hundred are to be seen in rows. The exceeding sanctity of Benares is accounted for by a legend which we have already given (p. 227), and this holy character extends to ten miles from the Ganges,

Benares.

the tract being bounded by a winding road fifty miles long, containing hundreds of temples. To walk along this road is itself a most meritorious act; residents are taught that they should walk along it at least once a year; and whosoever dies within this area, even a heretic or a criminal, gains heaven.

Temple of Bisheshwar.

The most important temple in the city is that of Bisheshwar (god of the world), a name given to Siva as king of all the gods in the Benares territory, the gods of the sacred road being his police force. He is supposed to reside in a stone linga emblem, and before this crowds of people pass daily with offerings of rice, flowers, grain, ghee, and money. Many of the worshippers in approaching the god show signs of great fear, dreading to call down his anger. Another of the great places of attraction is the Mankarnika well, a foul tank of water which is believed to wash out the greatest crimes.

Pilgrims' observances.

Pilgrims taking the fifty miles journey round Benares have to go through a severe ritual; they must, if possible, bathe before starting, and at the end of each day, and must walk barefoot, must provide for their own wants without receiving from or giving to others, must not quarrel or use bad language on the road, and must give gifts to the priests of the Mankarnika well at the end of the journey.

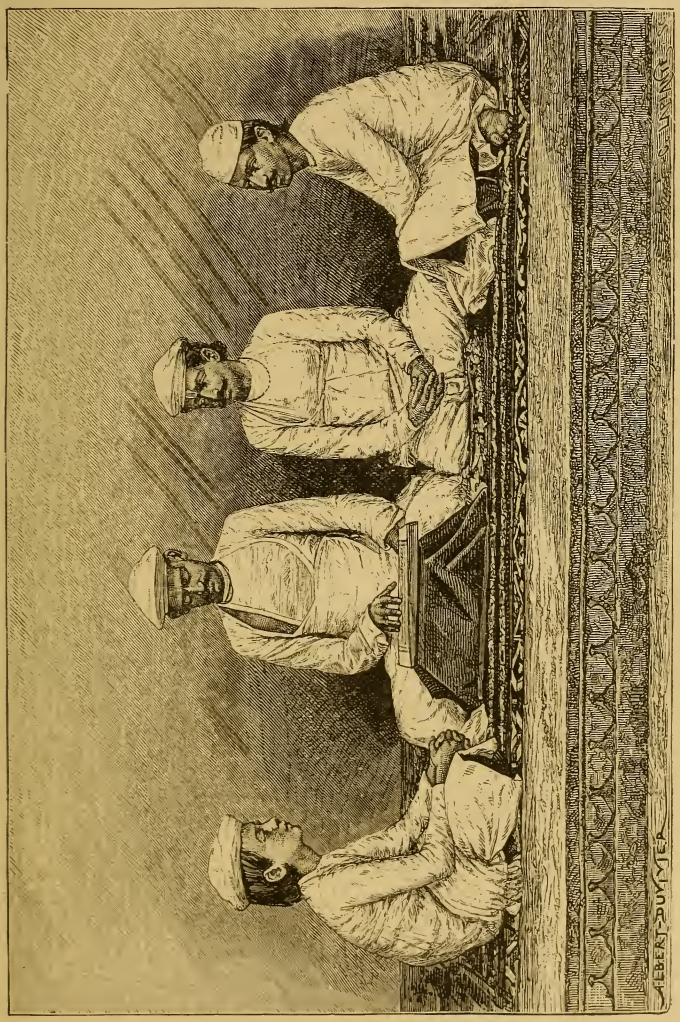
Puri.

In a somewhat different way from Benares, Puri (the city) on the coast of Orissa is as famous and holy in the eyes of Hindus. Here Vishnu is worshipped as Jagannath (the Lord of the World); and a series of notable festivals throughout the year keep up a continual round of religious excitement, culminating in the famous Car Festival, attended by something like 100,000 pilgrims. There seems little doubt that Puri was a Buddhist sanctuary, to the reputation of which Jagannath has succeeded. The present temple dates from the end of the twelfth century, and is a pyramidal building on a site about twenty feet above the surrounding country. Vishnu worship was greatly modified by Chaitanya, who taught that faith and love were more acceptable to the deity than penance and rites. The temple already had a large double enclosure with lofty walls; and Chaitanya taught that within it men of all castes were equal, and might eat together of the sacred food. Altogether the worship of Jagannath became that of a gentle, genial deity with human feelings and sympathies, and having no trace of those bloodthirsty qualities generally associated in this country with the 'car of Juggernaut.' No doubt the genial has become the jovial and the voluptuous with many of the worshippers, and the worship itself is accused of licentiousness, but as warmly defended from the charge by some who have had good opportunities of knowing.

The great temple.

The inner enclosure of the great temple, nearly four hundred by three hundred feet, includes a number of small temples and sacred places and trees as well as the large temple. The latter contains four principal halls, the Hall of Offerings, the Dancing Hall for amusements, the audience chamber, and the shrine proper, both the latter being eighty feet square.

In niches in the shrine are three large images of three of Vishnu's incarnations—the Boar, the Man-lion and the Dwarf. The principal images are those of Jagannath, painted black; of Balarama, his brother, white, and



BRAHMANS OF BENGAL.

Subhadra, their sister, golden yellow. They are made of one block of iron-wood, and are most uncouth representations of human bodies without hands or legs, the arms being stumps to which The images.

golden hands are fixed. The male images are about six feet high, the female four and a half feet. The clothing and ornaments of these images are changed several times a day, so that they appear very different at different hours, sometimes being dressed as Buddha, sometimes as Krishna, sometimes as Ganesa. Various stories are told to account for these ugly images, one being that God is so great that no figure can properly represent Him, consequently these ugly ones are made to inspire people with fear, that they may propitiate Him by gifts. Most probably they are modified forms of Buddhist images; there is an additional shapeless stump about six feet high, which is said to have the mark of a wheel on the top, representing the Buddhist wheel of the law. A certain relic is imbedded in the image of Jagannath, and is carefully transferred when new images are made; what it is, none but the priests know, and it is probably a Buddhist relic.

Numerous other gods or forms of the principal gods have images in or near the shrine. The chief images are only moved at the great festivals; but daily services of a complete character, as if they were human beings, are performed. At the four chief meals of the day large quantities of cooked food are brought into the temple and consecrated by being set in front of the idol. It is cooked by men of low caste, and eagerly eaten by pilgrims of all castes after consecration, or even taken home as a sacred treasure. On some days this food is supplied to 100,000 people, for payment, of course, so that the profits of the priests in charge are enormous. The great festivals at Puri are the Dol Jatra festival, a sort of spring carnival; the Snan Jatra, when the images are bathed with sacred water and beautifully dressed, after which they are supposed to have taken a fever from exposure and are put in a sick chamber for a fortnight, during which time they are repainted; and then follows the Rath Jatra, or Car Festival, when the gods are taken for a ride on their cars. These chariots have often been described; they are of immense weight and cumbrousness, that of Jagannath being forty-five feet high, and having sixteen wheels. Amid an enormous concourse the images are placed on the cars, and dressed, and have golden hands and arms attached to them. When this is complete, the chief guardian of the temple, the Kurda Raja, termed "the sweeper of the temple," sweeps the road for one hundred yards in front of the cars, worships the images, and touches the ropes of the car as if he were dragging them; then hundreds of Hindus specially set apart for the office, aided by the attendant pilgrims, drag the car slowly to a set of temples about two miles distant. This great effort, however, occupies four days, and on arrival at the destination the image of Lakshmi is taken to see Jagannath. After four or five days the return journey takes place. It is at this festival that immolations of pilgrims have been supposed to take place as part of the routine, so that the car of Juggernaut has become with many almost synonymous with a system of ruthless crushing of human victims; but this is really contrary to the spirit of the worship of Vishnu. No doubt self-immolation has not unfrequently taken place, because the worshippers felt their sins were all

Consecrated food.

The Car Festival.

Reported immolation of victims.

atoned for, and they did not wish to return to the world to commit fresh sins; and in the crowds many have no doubt been accidentally crushed to death; but human sacrifice is not inculcated by the priests nor in any way encouraged by them, for a drop of blood spilt in the presence of Jagannath pollutes priests, people, and consecrated food. If a death takes place within the precincts of the temple, the worship is suddenly stopped, and the offerings are taken away from the sight of the offended deity. There is an almost continual round of festivals at Puri, which indeed lives on its religious character, having no other attraction.

Other notable localities for pilgrimages are the great temples of Tanjore, Madura, and Ramesvara (an island between India and Ceylon), these being seats of Siva worship. It is a great pilgrims' feat to visit Benares and bring from thence a pot of Ganges water to Ramesvara, to pour it on the symbol of Siva and then bathe in the sea, of course with payment of fees. Sir Monier-Williams relates a touching incident in connection with this. "Shortly before my arrival at the temple a father and son had just completed their self-imposed task, and after months of hard walking succeeded in transporting their precious burden of Ganges water to the other side of the channel. The longed-for goal was nearly reached and the temple of Ramesvara already in sight, when the father died suddenly on the road, leaving his son, a mere child, utterly destitute and unprotected. The boy, however, had one treasure left—his jar of Ganges water. This, if only it could be poured upon the sacred symbol, would prove a complete panacea for all his earthly troubles. Eagerly he grasped his burden once more and hurried on to the shrine. Imagine the child's outburst of passionate grief when the door was closed against him. He had no fee for the presiding priest."

A touching incident.

The most remarkable Vishnu temple in southern India is that of Sri-rangam, at Trichinopoly. It has a vast series of seven enclosures one within another, in which hundreds of Brahmans live. The corners of the four gateways of each square have splendid pyramidal towers. The whole is supposed to represent Vishnu's heaven. The principal image is lying down, and believed to be immovable —of course with a legend to account for the position, and there is a shrine over it in the shape of the syllable Om. A second image of Vishnu is kept for carrying in processions at the Car Festival, etc. The crown of the idol is covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies, and the other ornaments are equally rich. Temples like this maintain large bands of musicians and troops of dancing girls, to take part in the festivals.

Vishnu temple at Trichinopoly.

We must now give some brief account of the sects into which the Hindus are divided. To some extent these follow lines already indicated, as worshipping Vishnu or other gods under different manifestations, or following the teaching of particular reformers. Thus, to begin with the Vishnuite sects, there are the Ramanujas, or followers of Ramanuja, the Ramanandis, the Kabir Panthis, and numerous other sects founded by individuals. All these have special marks which must be

Vishnuite sects.

painted on their foreheads, after bathing at the great festivals, with a special white earth. The Ramanujas, for instance, are distinguished by two perpendicular lines passing from the roots of the hair to the eyebrows, and a transverse line across the top of the nose connecting the other two. In the centre is a transverse streak of red. They are also marked with patches of red and white on the breast and arms, supposed to represent certain signs of Vishnu. Their chief special belief is that Vishnu is Brahman, the supreme Being. The Ramanandis specially worship Vishnu as Ramachandra, with Sita his wife. This sect has many monasteries, and many travelling members, who collect offerings and visit shrines, all these being celibates. They practically disregard caste. The Kabir Panthis, following Kabir, believe in one god, and need not join in the outward worship of the Hindu deities; but they sing hymns to Kabir, their founder. Their moral code is excellent, including truth, humanity, and hatred of violence.

There are very many worshippers of Vishnu under the form of the infant Gopal, child of the cowherd. This sect, founded by Vishnu Swami and extended by Vallabha, is notable for its belief in costly apparel and liberal feeding as meritorious, in opposition to asceticism. The chief temple of Gopal is in Ajmir.

The Madvas of Southern India are followers of Madhava, said to have been an incarnation of the god Vayu in the 12th century. They wear a single cloth of a dirty yellow colour, go bareheaded, and have the symbols of Vishnu stamped with a red-hot iron on their shoulders or breast. They worship a plurality of gods, but teach that the human spirit is distinct from the Divine Spirit, though united to it, and that absorption in the godhead is impossible, thus differing markedly from the ordinary Hindu belief.

The majority of the Vishnu worshippers of Bengal belong to the sect founded by Chaitanya, whose influence raised the festivals of Puri to such popularity. His followers believe that Vishnu is the supreme soul and the one substance in the universe, and that Chaitanya was an incarnation of him. They also lay great stress upon *bakti*, or faith, of which there are five degrees: (1) peace, calm contemplation; (2) servitude; (3) friendship; (4) filial affection; (5) sweetness. Their cult is a joyous one, qualified by the necessity of implicit obedience to the guru. Caste is laid aside at their feasts.

The distinguishing marks of the Sivaitic sects are horizontal lines instead of perpendicular; and differences of width and colour indicate the particular sect. The Sivaites are very largely Brahmans, and the sects are not so extensive and popular as those of the Vishnuites. Among them are the Dandis, or staff bearers, mendicants who spend most of their time in meditation. Often they become almost idiotic from their perpetual suppression of thought and speech. The Yogis are another sect of meditationists with very special regulations, which are believed to give them the power of levitation, of travelling immense distances instantly, of rendering themselves invisible, etc. Many of them are

Sivaitic sects.

practically jugglers and fortune-tellers, travelling about and practising on popular credulity.

The Saktas include those sects specially devoted to the worship of

THE MAHA SATI AT AHAR, RAJPUTANA (CONTAINING TOMBS OF ALL THE CHIEFS OF OUDEYPORE).

female forms of the deity, such as Sarasvati, Lakshmi, Sita, Parvati, Durga, Kali, etc. The Saktas look upon their female deity as the active energy of all things, and the source of all beings, for without the

The Saktas.

female element they could not be born. It is chiefly in modern books termed Tantras that these views are taught. They have been called the Bible of the Saktas, and are akin to the Puranas in parts, but in others deal largely with the peculiar rites of the Saktas, and charms and spells, mostly being in the form of dialogues between Siva and his wife. No doubt in this cultus the lowest grade of Hinduism was reached. It upholds and propagates the most unbridled ideas of sensuality, in the belief that to indulge the grossest appetites with the mind fixed on the supreme Being was the most pious act possible. The drinking of alcoholic liquors forms a great element in Sakti worship, as well as the eating of meat. The powers supposed to be acquired by meditating on the texts and spells of the Tantras outdo anything imaginable. By them it is possible to predict the future, work more wonders than the gods, inspire any one with love, turn plants into meal, etc. Credulity cannot go farther than in the case of the believers in Saktism. It is believed, however, that the spread of education by the English has done much to diminish the sway of these baleful notions.

Here we may call attention to an opposite phenomenon in modern Hinduism—the spread of theistic sects of an increasingly pure tendency.

The Sikhs. The Sikhs of the Punjaub owe their rise to Nanak, a follower of Kabir in the 15th century, born not far from Lahore in 1469. He became a guru or teacher, and his followers were termed Sikhs or disciples. He taught a religion free from caste and idolatry, having been largely influenced by the growing Mohammedanism around him; but he still remained more of a pantheist than a monotheist, and he taught that God should be especially worshipped under the name of Hari, one of the titles of Vishnu. After his death there succeeded him a line of chief gurus, who, at first friendly, developed great hostility to the Mohammedans, and became largely military leaders. Their political history must be read elsewhere. The fourth guru, Ram-das, set up a lake temple in the sacred tank at Umritsur, which became the head-quarters of the Sikhs. The fifth guru, Arjun, compiled the first Sikh bible largely from the precepts of his predecessors. Govind, the tenth guru, compiled a second book or supplement, devised a form of baptism, imposed a vow not to worship idols, to bow to no one but a Sikh Guru, and in many ways cemented the bonds of the party. War was made a religious duty; and while Govind refused to name a successor as guru, he created the Sikh bible (or Granth), a permanent object of worship with the title Sahib. Henceforth it was to be their infallible guide; whatever they asked it would show them.

The Sikh bible. The Sikh bible is written in the old Hindi dialect, with a peculiar mode of writing. It declares the unity of God, but is based on pantheistic ideas. Many of the names of Vishnu are accepted as names of the supreme Deity. It forbids image worship, but the way in which the Granth itself is worshipped, dressed, and decorated, goes far to elevate it into an idol. Many ordinary Hindu superstitions are included in it, such as the belief in the sanctity of the cow, the vast number of transmigrations of souls, and complete submis-

sion to the guru. In recent years the Sikh faith has very considerably retrograded towards Vishnuism. Many Sikhs now adopt caste, wear the Brahmanical thread, and observe Hindu festivals and ceremonies. There is a notable temple to Govind at Patna containing many remains of him. The temple at Umritsur is one of the most striking sights in India; it is dedicated to the one god under his name Hari; but he is believed to be visibly represented by the Sacred Book.

A very significant development of modern Hinduism is that represented by the Brahmo Somaj, which represents a revival of the theism to be found in the Vedas, influenced not a little by the teaching of Christianity. **The Brahmo Somaj.** Rammohun Roy (born 1774), founder of the Brahmo Somaj, was a high-caste Brahman, son of a Vishnu worshipper, and highly educated in Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit. At the age of sixteen he wrote a tract against idolatry, and excited such opposition that he left home for some years, studying Buddhism in Tibet. He afterwards studied English, obtained government employment, and mixed with Europeans. After his father's death he was more free in his opposition to what he considered perversions of the true Vedic religion; and he particularly drew attention to the fact that suttee, the self-immolation of widows, was not sanctioned by the Vedas. In 1819, after studying Christianity, he published a book, "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness," in which he stated that he found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other that had come to his knowledge. Nevertheless he strongly objected to accept the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, for he considered it to be of the same nature as that of a plurality of gods. Thus he is properly described as a Unitarian. He preferred to choose the best from all religions, believing that inspiration was not confined to any age or nation; thus he accepted whatever was good in the sacred books of all nations. **Rammohun Roy.**

The Brahmo Somaj was finally established in 1830, "for the worship of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the universe." No image or portrait was to be admitted, no sacrifice was to be made, and nothing worshipped by other men was to be spoken of with contempt in the building. Although he has spoken and written against the caste system, Rammohun Roy did not give it up, nor abandon the Brahmanical thread. The Vedas were still read at his meetings, while the Bible was not introduced. In 1831 he visited England with several objects, but fell a victim to the climate and died in 1833 at Bristol. To him must be given the credit of the first striking new departure in the elevation and purification of modern Hinduism.

His practical successor was Devendra Nath Tagore, born in 1818, who in 1839 formed a society for the knowledge of truth, and in 1841 joined the Brahmo Somaj. He prepared a scheme for organising that society as a church in 1843, including seven solemn vows to be taken by members. The members were to abstain from idolatry, to worship the great God, Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, through the **Devendra Nath Tagore.**

love of God and doing works dear to God,—to lead holy lives and to seek forgiveness through abandonment of sin. A minister was appointed, and by 1847, 767 persons had taken the vows, while many others adhered to them. About 1850 it was decided that the Vedas were not infallible, and that only such views as were in harmony with Theistic truth were to be accepted from them. Approved extracts were made from the Vedas, Manu, the Satapatha Brahmana, etc. The views of the church include the Fatherhood of God, who has never become incarnate, but whose providence is over his creatures, and who hears their prayers. Repentance is the one path of atonement, forgiveness, and salvation. The only necessary religious deeds are good works, charity, contemplation and devotion, and the attainment of knowledge, all penances and pilgrimages being useless. The only sacrifice is self-sacrifice, the only temple is the pure heart. Caste is not acknowledged.

With all these advanced views, much tacit recognition of Hinduism, and even conformity with it was still maintained; and in 1865 a new reformer proclaimed his mission, the well-known Keshub Chunder Sen, imbued with more advanced views as well as a more emotional and spiritual nature. He wished to abolish all caste observances, and this led to a rupture. A new form of initiation, the admission of women and the reform of marriage observances followed; but after vigorous work for a number of years, Keshub agreed to the marriage of his daughter while a child to the Maharajah of Kuch Behar, at which some Hindu ceremonies were observed, and this caused much scandal. Nevertheless his church, the Progressive Brahmo Somaj of India, showed much vitality under his almost autocratic rule up to his death on January 8th, 1884. The original society, now known as the Adi Somaj, continues under the guidance of Devendra Nath Tagore, but has somewhat gone back towards Hinduism. Keshub had the skill to introduce new festivals to replace the older Hindu celebrations, including religious meetings with public processions, music, and singing. He also professed himself inspired to put down sectarianism and discord between sects. His influence still lives; the apostolic Durbar of his church refused to allow the platform from which he taught to be used, and declared that Keshub was still the leader of the church. It would be curious to note if this is followed by any further step towards his deification.

Keshub Chunder Sen.

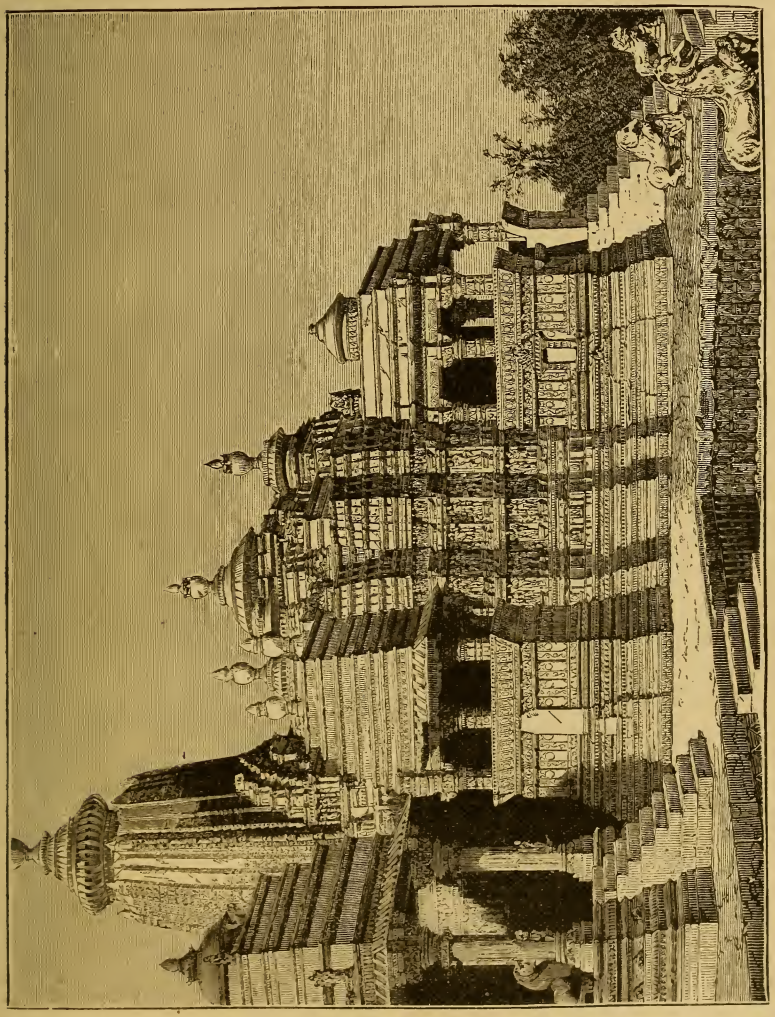
The party who left Keshub after the marriage of his daughter have formed a stronger church than the one they left, under the title of the Universal Somaj. They have adopted a sort of presbyterian government, to prevent the autocratic rule of one man, and only those who have given up idolatry and caste in private as well as in public can be office-bearers. Altogether there are about 1,500 strict members and 8,000 adherents of these various Theistic bodies in India, distributed over 178 churches.

The Universal Somaj.

We have said little hitherto of certain common notions of the Hindus, which however influence them very greatly and hinder improvement. For

instance, fatalism is one of their strongest beliefs. All a man's life is controlled by the Deity, and it is fruitless for man to oppose the decrees of God. It is this resignation to fate which so largely paralyses

Fatalism.



TEMPLE OF KALI, RAJGRIHA, INDIA.

the efforts of the people, especially in regard to sickness. The belief in Maya, or illusion, is another of their beliefs. It is said that all mankind are the victims of illusion, especially in imagining

Maya, or illusion.

themselves to be something different from God. It is commonly said that the supreme Being was tired of being alone, and formed the world as a sport or amusement, and that all the miseries of life came from Maya, the creatures being ignorant that they are really one with God.

Transmigration.

Again, belief in the transmigration of souls pervades all India. It will be found to constitute a prominent feature in Buddhism. We may here briefly state the essential details of the creed. Existence after death is a matter of course. A predominantly good life is rewarded with heaven, an evil life with hell. After a longer or shorter time the soul returns to earth to be re-born in a higher or lower station, according to its good or evil deeds. Re-births may be indefinitely numerous, and may be alternately higher and lower, or higher only if the conduct has been sufficiently good. Many of the gods are believed to have a heaven of their own, into which they take their worshippers for a longer or shorter time, and admit them to various degrees of nearness to themselves. Many are the acts which confer these privileges, but especially pilgrimages, acts of worship, sacrifices, building temples, giving gifts to Brahmans, and honouring gurus. The higher states of blessedness are exclusively for Brahmans; but those of lower caste may by good works earn re-birth in higher castes till they at last become Brahmans.

Rewards and Punishments.

The various hells and heavens are elaborately described in the Puranas. There are said to be a hundred thousand hells, one for each class of offence. For instance, a glutton is to be cast into boiling oil; he who injures a man of superior caste is punished by being torn by swine; one who contemptuously treats a religious mendicant is made to stick fast in the mud with his head downwards. But fortunately for both sinners and priests, these punishments may be remitted if appropriate atonements, good deeds, and offerings are made. For corporeal sins, says Manu, a man will be re-born as a plant or a mineral; for verbal sins, as a bird or a beast; for mental sins, in the lowest human state. The slayer of a Brahman will be re-born as a dog, boar, ass, bull, etc.; he who steals gold from a priest will be born a thousand times in the bodies of spiders, snakes, etc. But the earlier books are far surpassed by the later ones in their teaching on this point. Thus, in the Agni Purana it is taught that "a person who loses human birth passes through 8,000,000 births amongst inferior creatures before he can appear again on earth as a human being. Of these he remains 2,100,000 among the immovable parts of creation, as stones, trees, etc.; 900,000 amongst the watery tribes; 1,000,000 amongst insects, worms, etc.; 1,000,000 amongst birds, and 3,000,000 amongst the beasts. In the ascending scale, if his works be suitable, he lives 400,000 lives amongst the lower castes of men, and 100 amongst Brahmans. After this he may obtain absorption into Brahma." To such an extent can the policy of frightening people into goodness, or rather into compliance with priestly demands, be developed. Happily the Hindus, as a rule, do not remember the sufferings of their imaginary previous lives or conditions; and it is a ready way of

accounting for any misfortune to say that it is a punishment for sins committed in a former life.

With such views it is not surprising that death and its approach should be made the occasion for endeavouring to obtain future benefits, or relief from penalties. The Hindu is taught that after death his spirit will wander in wretchedness, unless he dies near the Ganges or some holy stream, or unless his body is burned on its banks, or at any rate near some water, and some portion of his ashes must be thrown into it. This leads to a custom of exposing the dying on the banks of rivers. Long rows of steps line the banks and rude buildings, used for the dying to lie in, called ghats. The benefits of so dying are represented as so great, that relatives often believe it to be the greatest kindness to expose them, often carrying them through terrible heat, and exposing them at imminent risk. Great numbers of lives have been sacrificed in this way when the disease was by no means mortal; the word of the native doctors is taken as sufficient, and great haste is made lest the patient should die at home. The whole scene is repulsive and injurious in the highest degree. A few minutes before death is expected the victim is brought down to the brink of the river, where he dies more or less immersed in the stream. No doubt in some cases advantage is taken of these circumstances to administer poison. A native writer says: "Persons entrusted with the care and nursing of a dying man at the burning ghat soon get tired of their charge (no women being allowed to be there); and rather than minister to his comforts, are known to resort to artificial means. The process of immersion is another name for suffocation." So tenacious are some people of life, that they will sometimes survive nine or ten immersions, and be brought home again; but their continued life is considered disgraceful. Death.

The burning of the corpse follows quickly on death. "The corpse is removed from its resting-place to the burning ghat, a distance of a few hundred yards, and preparations for a funeral pile are speedily made. The body is then covered with a piece of new cloth and laid upon the pyre, the upper and lower parts of which are composed of firewood, faggots, and a little sandalwood and glue to neutralise the smell. The Manipora Brahman, an outcaste, reads the formula, and the son, or nearest of kin, changing his old garments for new white clothes, at one end of which is fastened an iron key to keep off evil spirits, sets fire to the pile. The body is consumed to ashes, the portion remaining unburnt is thrown into the river. The son, after pouring a few jars of holy water on the pile, bathes in the stream and returns home with his friends." Then follow wild expressions of grief on the part of the women. Often the family cannot afford to buy enough wood to consume the corpse, and part is left for jackals and vultures. The Brahmans of course go through much more elaborate funeral ceremonies than are here indicated. Cremation.

After the cremation come the Shradda, or ceremonies for the benefit of the dead; these may be comparatively inexpensive, or may be made the occasion of lavish expenditure. On the thirtieth day after death, offer-

ings of food, sweetmeats, etc., are made to the spirit of the deceased and his or her ancestors, and at the same time a number of Brahmans and persons of other castes are entertained. These ceremonies are evidently much akin to the ancestor-worship of the Chinese, as already detailed, showing how powerful a factor this reverence for ancestral spirits has been in races very dissimilar. One of the prayers is "May those in my family who have been burnt with fire, or who are alive who are yet unburnt, be satisfied with the food presented on the ground, and proceed contented towards the supreme path! May those who have no father nor mother, nor kinsman, nor food, nor supply of nourishment, be contented with this food offered on the ground, and attain, like it, a happy abode!" Some of the food is cast into the fire, by which means it is supposed to reach those for whom it is intended. Brahmans repeat these ceremonies frequently in the first year after death, and afterwards annually. The title to property is most intimately bound up with the funeral rites. Only a son or near male relative is properly qualified to perform them; but if males fail, females or other heirs may undertake the duty. Large promises are made in the Puranas and other sacred books to those who properly perform the Shradda rites, including the forgiveness of all their own sins. The details, like those of all religious matters in so religious a people, are far too lengthy to be given.

Ceremonies for the dead.

What about the influence of Hindu religious ideas upon their moral condition? Many writers agree that this is bound up with the position of women, and that until they are freed and elevated no permanent improvement can be made. Here is an extract from a Hindu lady's book on the duties of wives. "The husband is the wife's religion, the wife's sole business, the wife's all-in-all. The wife should meditate on her husband as Brahma. For her, all pilgrimages should be concentrated on her husband's foot. The command of a husband is as obligatory as a precept of the Vedas. To a chaste wife her husband is her god. When the husband is pleased, Brahma is pleased. The husband is the wife's guru, her honour, the giver of her happiness, the bestower of fortune, righteousness, and heaven, her deliverer from sorrow and from sin."

Moral state.

Condition of wives.

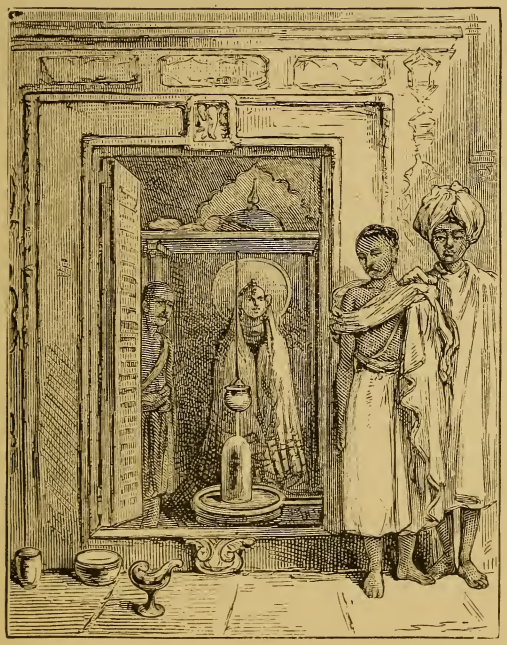
Of course the seclusion of women is not generally possible among the lower classes, but it is often aimed at by them; and the full consequences of the belief that the birth of a girl is a misfortune follow most Indian women through life. On the contrary, Hindu women pray, make pilgrimages, fast, and make costly offerings, that they may have sons who can by performing the Shradda rites deliver their ancestors from sufferings after death. All a girl's worship is directed towards obtaining good husbands and sons, by a series of rites which we cannot particularise; nor can we enlarge upon the evils of girl marriages (at the age of from seven to ten), and of plural marriages in the higher castes, or the details of wedding ceremonies, which however are full of religious significance.

Position of women.

The wives of the poorer people have considerable freedom; but among the richer classes a wife is the servant not only of her husband but of all

the older women of his family. She must always be visited in the presence of her brothers-in-law, and must not speak to her husband in the daytime, nor even take her meals with him. Too frequently she is the subject of painful tyranny and abuse on the part of the older women of the zenana.

Yet the life of a Hindu wife is heaven compared with that of a childless widow. The faithful wife was long expected to sacrifice herself on his funeral pile (suttee), and, according as she did it or not, was lauded or cursed. Many widows in the past, from lack of courage to perform what they vowed, had themselves drugged and forcibly immo- **Widows.**



SHRINE OF THE GODDESS PARVATI, WIFE OF SIVA (EARLIER FORM OF KALI, DURGA, ETC.), IN A TEMPLE AT POONAH.

lated. Frequently widows would most calmly and impassionately devote themselves to the fire, never giving a cry or a sigh of pain. So powerfully can the belief that they are doing what is pleasing to the gods and their deceased husbands work upon the Hindu women. In **Suttee.** 1830 suttee was prohibited in States under British rule; but it was still practised in some of the native States. Mr. Wilkins states that the last case he heard of was about 1880.

The extreme difficulty experienced in abolishing suttee is explained by the treatment to which surviving widows are subjected, especially childless widows, who are forbidden to marry again, and become the household

drudges and objects of scorn of the zenana. One meal a day, with a fast for two days a month, is their hard lot; with the deprivation of ornaments and of every pleasure. In many cases the sufferings of a widow are such that she would gladly die. No doubt the older widows are able to assert themselves, and in time gain influence. But enough has been said to show that the key to much of the religious and social question in India is bound up with the condition and education of women. Some improvement has already come with the improved education of the better classes, and the partial opening of the zenanas to European ladies and to lady doctors; and herein lies great hope for the future.

The Hindu system is such that merit and pardon can be obtained for gross offences without any reform of heart and life. Thus it is not surprising that theft, dishonesty, lying, ingratitude, forgery, perjury, revenge, cruelty, and personal immorality are very rife among them. Mr. Wilkins says: "It does not surprise me at all to find the Hindus morally what they are, as I remember that whilst their books contain some of the highest and noblest moral precepts, their deities, when incarnate, are described as ignoring these beautiful moral lessons; and still further, when I see that religion and morality are quite separate in their view. . . . When a Hindu's anger is excited, truth, honour, trust—all are forgotten, and no means are left unemployed that can injure an enemy. The term 'mild Hindu,' certainly is the purest sarcasm; they submit to oppression and cruelty because they are physically incapable of resistance. Only give them the opportunity to avenge themselves and to oppose others, and certainly they are as vindictive in their way as any race of men on earth. They do not use the knife or the dagger, it is true, but they resort to poison, and, what is sometimes even worse, the poison of their own untruthful tongues." On the other hand, we must credit the Hindus with much fraternal affection and filial regard, much charity in the form of gifts, great patience, industry, and ingenuity. Out of these elements and their great intellectual powers we may hope that there may yet arise a nation mighty in goodness and noble in character.

Disconnection of morals and religion.

Hindu Virtues.

[In addition to works referred to in the previous chapter, the following are valuable: Bose's "The Hindus as They Are"; H. H. Wilson's "Hindu Sects"; "Medical Jurisprudence," by Dr. Norman Chevers; Dr. Lall Mittra on "Orissa"; Rev. T. E. Slater's "Life of Keshub Chundra Sen"; many articles in *The Calcutta Review*.]

BUDDHA AND THE LOTUS.

BUDDHISM.

CHAPTER V.

Life of Buddha.

The soil prepared—The founder's period—Real existence of Buddha—Buddhist sacred books—The native land of Buddha—His youth and early life—The great renunciation—His long retirement—His enlightenment—His temptation—Opening of his mission—The eightfold path—The origin of suffering—The freedom of Buddhism—Early converts—General features of Buddha's life—alternation of itinerancy with rest—The Buddhist gardens—Buddha and the courtesan Ambapali—Anxious inquirers—The new order of monks—Buddha not a socialist—Buddha's principal adherents—Lay believers—Women and Buddhism—Reception of sisters or nuns—Opposition—Brahmans confuted—The best sacrifice—Method of teaching—Long-drawnd issertations—A noble youth's conversion—Socratic method—Parables—The book of the Great Decease—Buddha prepares for his final discourse—His last temptation—His death.

THAT Buddhism arose in a country and among people saturated with Brahmanism,[1] as we have described it, must never be forgotten in contemplating its rise and development. Without pre-existing Brahmanism it would have lacked its most essential elements, its *raison d'être*. The higher Brahman philosophy had already merged the multitude of early Vedic gods into the Universal Spirit, and had developed very considerably their Pantheistic system; but at the same time the fetters of Brahman control, the observance of expensive and frequent rites, the obligation to obey the Vedic teaching and the authorised comments upon it were made more and more strict and onerous; and a spirit of reaction naturally arose. That the reform associated with the great Buddha's name was only one evidence of this spirit, may be seen by the account we have already given of other rationalist philosophies (p. 192, etc). But while these gave a more or less nominal assent to the Vedas, Buddhism declared the good man's independence of Brahmans and Vedas, and his power of working

The soil prepared.

[1] [Rhys Davids' "Hibbert Lectures." Oldenberg's "Buddha" (O). Sacred Books of the East (S.E.).]

out his own salvation. It put forward at once a higher ideal of a religious life and claimed a release from the bonds of Pharisaism.

When we come to examine into the life of the supposed founder of Buddhism, we find great uncertainty even as to the period at which he lived. Many good authorities formerly placed him in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C.; but the latest and apparently the most reasonable view assigns him to the fifth century B.C. and places his death about 420–400 B.C.

The founder's period.

How far Brahmanism was directly connected with the origin of Buddhism can probably never be known; but the deity "Brahman" of the earlier religion is adopted, amplified, and subdivided in early Buddhism; and no doubt the encouragement of the hermit and ascetic lives had led to the formation of communities of hermits and ascetics who may be taken as the prototypes of Buddhist monastic orders. Probably there were several sects of new religionists, who did not stick closely to the Veda and professed to have found a more excellent way, of whom the Buddhists and Jains have alone remained.

We need not doubt that Buddhism had a founder, though less may be attributable to him than is commonly imagined. Those who have believed that the story of Buddha was altogether a myth representing a sun-hero have had to construct more imaginary tales than those they seek to destroy. The study of the Buddhist accounts, as preserved in Ceylon, written in the Pali, or sacred language of Buddhism (an early modification from Sanskrit), shows that from a very early time (supposed to be considerably before the Christian era) their religion has been believed to have been founded by the Knowing or Enlightened One (Buddha), also designated the Exalted One (Bhagava). But it must be confessed that we have no genuine ancient biography of Buddha dating from the same age as the early Pali texts. Such information as they do contain is rather in an incidental and unconnected form; but this does not cause us to doubt his having existed and been a religious leader, for at that early period and among that people the idea of composing a biography of a man had not arisen; and all the ancient Hindu books are destitute of any specimen of an attempt at even a brief biography of a man. But the existence of numerous Buddhist sacred books, the composition of which almost certainly took place before the council of the seven hundred fathers met at Vesali in the fourth century B.C., together with the nature of their contents, suffices to assure us that they represent the teaching of a great teacher, the Buddha, who preached salvation and deliverance to the people, and was in rivalry or opposition to six other heads of sects, of whom one, Nataputta, founded the Jain system, often represented as an offshoot of Buddhism, though it is rather a representative of similar tendencies acting at the same time. "It is evident," says Prof. Oldenberg "that Buddha was a head of a monastic order of the very same type as that to which Nataputta belonged; that he journeyed from town to town in the garb and with all the external circumstances of an ascetic, taught and

Real existence of Buddha.

Buddhist sacred books.

gathered round himself a band of disciples, to whom he gave simple ordinances." The form in which details concerning him have been preserved is chiefly his discourses and teaching, sometimes doubtfully associated with the name of the place where they were uttered; and in addition to this the main events of his life are frequently referred to.

The native land of Buddha was situated between the lower Himalayas of Nepal and the middle course of the river Rapti, in the north-east of Oudh. The little river Rohim, which joins the Rapti near Goruckpore, about 100 miles north of Benares, is its eastern boundary. Both the Rohim and the Rapti appear by the same names in early Buddhist literature. In this fertile region, liable to heavy rains and long-lying inundations, the Aryan tribe or people of the Sakyas (the Powerful), grew rice and maintained a close connection with the more powerful kingdom of Kôsala (Oudh) to the south-west, which ultimately absorbed them. Although it has been widely represented that the Buddha was a king's son, the oldest records only mention the father as Suddhodana, a wealthy landowner, one of whose wives, Maya, of the same tribe, died soon after the birth of her son, who was named Siddhattha, and was often called Sakya, or Sakya-muni, the Sakya sage; this event took place probably somewhere about 500 B.C. He passed his youth in Kapila, the capital of the Sakyas, and there is no early tradition of his having become a Vedic student; rather the events of his after-life tend the other way, exhibiting him as a reformer and an opponent of Brahmanic pretensions. He appears to have been married, and to have had one son, Rahula, who became one of his disciples; but there is no absolutely certain detail about the reasons and circumstances which led him at the age of twenty-nine to abandon his home, and become a wandering ascetic, thenceforward known as the ascetic Gautama (pronounced Gowtama). One of the earliest records represents him as having felt deeply and often meditated on the weakness and decay of old age, and the horror of sickness and death, and having thus lost the buoyancy of youth and the enjoyment of life. Other early records tell that "the ascetic Gautama has gone from home into homelessness, while still young, young in years, in the bloom of youthful strength, in the first freshness of life. The ascetic Gautama, although his parents did not wish it, although they shed tears and wept, has had his hair and

The native land of Buddha.

His youth and early life.

SEATED FIGURE OF BUDDHA.

The Great Renunciation.

beard shaved, has put on yellow garments, and has gone from his home into homelessness." Elsewhere we read, "distressing is life at home, a state of impurity; freedom is in leaving home; while he reflected thus, he left his home." (O.)

Thus seeking spiritual enlightenment, freedom, deliverance, Gautama travelled during a period of seven years, placing himself in succession under two notable teachers. Leaving them without being satisfied, he travelled through the kingdom of Magadha, and arrived at the town of Uruvela. There, in a beautiful forest land, he spent many years in self-discipline, repressing and curbing his desires and aspirations, and waiting for supreme enlightenment. Fasting, suppression of the breath, and other forms of self-mortification were tried with the greatest persistence, but in vain. Five other ascetics, who had been his companions for a time, abandoned him. Finally came the great crisis, when, sitting under a tree (the Bo-tree, or Tree of Knowledge), he passed through successive stages of abstraction until he became enlightened about the transmigrations of souls, and the Four Sacred Truths, (1) that suffering is universal in the world; (2) that its cause is desire or attachment; (3) that it can be ended by Nirvana; (4) the way to attain Nirvana. "When I apprehended this," say the early records, "and when I beheld this, my soul was released from the evil of desire, released from the evil of earthly existence, released from the evil of error, released from the evil of ignorance. In the released awoke the knowledge of release; extinct is re-birth, finished the sacred course, duty done, no more shall I return to this world; this I knew." (O.) He had become the Buddha, the awakened, the enlightened.

His long retirement.

His enlightenment.

For some time Buddha remained near the tree of knowledge, fasting and enjoying the happiness of deliverance; the oldest narrative states that this period lasted four times seven days. After this time, he is believed to have undergone severe temptation to enter at once into the desired condition of Nirvana instead of preaching his doctrine to the world. Meeting a Brahman, who questions his right to assume the title of Brahman, Buddha tells him that he is a true Brahman who has put away all evil from himself, who knows nothing of contempt or impurity, and has conquered himself. Finally at the request of the supreme Being Himself, Brahma Sahampati, Buddha resolved to proclaim to the world the truth he had attained.

His temptation.

Buddha's formal mission, by general consent, opened at Benares. He is supposed to have started with preaching to the ascetics who had been his former companions, expounding to them the perfect way, a mean between mortification and self-indulgence, and leading to rest, to knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nirvana, by the eightfold path: "Right faith, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right thought, right self-concentration." This, his first sermon, is recorded in a form which, if it can scarcely be regarded as giving the actual words Buddha uttered, embody a very early form of what the Buddhist monks regarded a the essence of their master's teaching. As we

Opening of his mission.

The eightfold path.

read it, we realise more vividly how suffering was regarded by Hindus generally as the bane of existence, a feeling which might well arise in the ceaseless turmoil of strife and oppression among which they lived. "Birth is suffering, old age is suffering, sickness is suffering, death is suffering, to be united with the unloved is suffering, to be separated from the loved is suffering, not to obtain what one desires is suffering; in short, the fivefold clinging to the earthly is suffering." The origin of suffering.

"This, O monks, is the sacred truth of the origin of suffering: it is the thirst for being, which leads from birth to birth, together with lust and desire, which finds gratification here and there; the thirst for pleasures, the thirst for being, the thirst for power."

"This, O monks, is the sacred truth of the extinction of suffering, the extinction of this thirst by complete annihilation of desire, letting it go, expelling it, separating oneself from it, giving it no room." He then expounded to them the eightfold path, by which he had attained the supreme Buddhahood in this world and the worlds of gods. Henceforth there was for him no new birth. The new doctrine is summed up thus:— "Walk in purity, to make an end of all suffering."

The five ascetics being the first converts, others soon began to flock round them, and Buddha sent them forth to preach in the surrounding country. A conspicuous feature in their teaching, contrasting markedly with that of the Brahmans, was their freedom from constraint, from forms, from ceremonies, from Pharisaism. "I am loosed from all bands, divine and human," says Buddha. "Ye also, O disciples, are loosed from all bands, divine and human. Go ye out, O disciples, and travel from place to place for the welfare of many people, for the joy of many people, in pity for the world, for the blessing, welfare, and joy of gods and men. Go not in twos to one place." The freedom of Buddhism.

Returning then to Uruvela, where he had entered into the knowledge of deliverance, he preaches to a band of ascetics, whose leader, Kassapa, he converts after performing numerous miracles, according to the records. The whole body then proceeded to Rajagaha, the capital of Magadha (Behar), whose king, Bimbisara, he converted; this was followed by the conversion of many of the noble youths of Magadha, so much so as to lead to much murmuring, the people fearing that the ascetic was come to bring childlessness and widowhood and the subversion of families. Early converts.

From this time forward we can frame no proper history of Buddha's life; but from the early records about him it is easy to realise the general nature of his career, although without those touches of individuality which Hebrews and Europeans so well knew how to hand down, but which have scarcely been noted by the Hindus and Chinese. This is partly because individuality, as we understand, it was largely undeveloped among them. Their civilisation created types rather than individuals, accustomed continually to do the same thing, feel similarly, and think alike. But one thing is certain; in early Buddhism there is little trace of a contradictory spirit within the order, no trace of a disciple General features of Buddha's life.

developing the master's teaching in new and unexpected directions, or making himself a second founder. Whether Buddha himself was all that he is described in the earliest records or not, he has no rival, and his disciples closely imitated what they believed him to have said or done. Thus the picture of Buddha's life will describe much of that of his immediate disciples.

The contrast of the principal Indian seasons marks the two chief alternations in Buddha's life. The three rainy months necessitated a season of rest and retirement in or near towns and villages; and this period was devoted partly to teaching the disciples who flocked round him. The rest of the year was spent by Buddha in travelling from place to place, attended by disciples, throughout the kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha and their neighbourhood, chiefly comprised within Oudh and Behar. They do not appear to have entered Western Hindustan where Brahmanism had its stronghold. Near the chief cities of these kingdoms, Savatthi (now Sahet Mahet on the Rapti), and Rajagaha (now Rajgir), pleasant gardens were given to Buddha and his followers, well provided with places for lodging, eating, and assembling. We may gather some idea of what these places were like from a description in one of the early Buddhist books. "Not too far from, nor yet too near the town, well provided with entrances and exits, easily accessible to all people who inquire after it, with not too much of the bustle of life by day, quiet by night, far from commotion and the crowds of men, a place of retirement, a good spot for solitary meditation." Here were beautiful groves of trees, pools in which the symbolic lotus grew, and every convenience for meetings; and such on a smaller scale were provided in many other places. Among the visitors were strangers from distant countries, and those who had accepted the teaching of his disciples and longed to see him; even kings and chiefs thronged to see him and to hear his teaching. In some cases the rulers of a town commanded every inhabitant to go forth and meet the Exalted One when arriving, under a heavy penalty.

Alternation of itinerancy with rest.

The Buddhist gardens.

One of the most remarkable records in the Buddhist books is that relating the conversion of a courtesan, and his preference of her invitation to that of the noblest people. This has been compared to a well-known incident in the life of Christ; but it must be confessed that the resemblance is but superficial. The following is abridged from the "Book of the Great Decease."

Buddha and the courtesan Ambapali.

"Now the courtesan Ambapali heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesâli and was staying at her mango grove. And ordering a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and proceeded with her train towards her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted, and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side, and when she was thus seated, the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened her with religious discourse.

"Then she, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened with his words—addressed the Blessed One and said:—

"'May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.'

"And the Blessed One gave by silence his consent. Then when Ambapali, the courtesan, saw that the Blessed One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him, and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, she departed thence.

"Now the Likhavis of Vesali (rich noble youths) heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesali, and was staying at Ambapali's grove, and proceeded to invite Buddha to dinner the next day; but he refused, saying he was already engaged to dine with Ambapali.

"And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning and took his bowl, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambapali's dwelling-house was; and when he had come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him, and Ambapali, the courtesan, set the sweet rice and cakes before the Order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused any more.

"And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, the courtesan had a low stool brought, and sat down at his side, and addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'Lord, I present this mansion to the order of mendicants, of which Buddha is the chief.' And the Blessed One accepted the gift; and after instructing, and rousing, and inciting, and gladdening her with religious discourse, he rose from his seat and departed thence."

Here it will be noted that there is absolutely no teaching special to the case. The regular formulas are supposed to have been uttered, and to have proved invincible, so that the hearer yielded absolutely. The great points are the condescending to take a meal with the courtesan (a woman of considerable property, nevertheless), and preferring her invitation to that of rich young nobles, whose forms were compared with those of the Vedic gods.

Among those who visited Buddha are distinguished Brahmans, who seek enlightenment on their differences from him, and are brought to see the unreality of their own religious views and the truth of the Buddhist belief,—as well as logical casuists, who lay traps for him, and seek to make him contradict himself. In fact all sorts and conditions of men, except apparently the poor, resort to Buddha to obtain the knowledge he had to impart; and they usually signalise their adhesion to his order by giving him and his companions a dinner, followed again by spiritual instruction. When he had no invitation, Buddha and his companions would traverse the town carrying bowls and seeking alms. As Dr. Oldenberg says: "In the days when his reputation stood at its highest point, and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that man before whom kings bowed themselves, walking about, alms-bowl in hand, through streets and alleys, from house to house, and without uttering any request, with downcast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown into his bowl."

Anxious inquirers.

But the great achievement of Buddha, apart from his doctrine, was his

formation of a new society, composed of the Bhikkhu or Bhiggu, which cannot be accurately rendered in its Buddhist sense. It has often been rendered "monks," but literally it signifies "beggar," "mendicant." Yet they did not, strictly speaking, beg at all; they had given up all worldly things, but were not secluded from society, and hence were not strictly monks; they took no vow of obedience, and could leave the order when they chose. They were not priests, as they had no rites to administer, and were not in any sense the vehicle of the worship of others. Perhaps the terms "brethren" or "members of the Order" would be least misleading; but the name of monk is most used. Their outward signs of membership were the tonsure and a yellow garment.

The new order of monks.

That Buddha should so readily have established a separated Order, shows that the idea of separation from the world to lead a religious life had already a wide influence in his time. It appears to have soon become a regular thing for convinced inquirers to profess their belief in the Blessed One, and to ask him to accept them as disciples and true believers; and he would receive them in some such form as this: "Come hither, O monk; well preached is the doctrine, walk in purity, to make an end of all suffering." Having given all his property to the Order, or at any rate having renounced it, having quitted family ties, and vowed to live a life of chastity, they in many cases set out on their travels to spread the principles taught by the Buddha. Personal ambition, personal exaltation, vanity, self-seeking, henceforth had no place among them. Caste was abolished, or rather ignored, by these men who had renounced the world. Buddha is said to have answered a king thus: "If a slave or servant of the king puts on the yellow garment, and lives as a monk without reproach in thought, word, and deed, wouldest thou then say, Well then, let this man still be my slave and servant, to stand in my presence, bow before me, take upon himself to perform my behests, live to minister to my enjoyments, speak deferentially, hang upon my word?" And the king answers, "No, sire; I should bow before him, stand before him, invite him to sit down, give him what he needed in the way of clothing, food, shelter, and of medicine when he is ill, and I should assure him of protection, watch and ward, as is becoming." And this treatment, it is inferred, is what Buddha approved.

Prof. Oldenberg strongly combats the idea that Buddha was specially a social reformer, who broke the chains of caste, and raised the poor and humble to his spiritual kingdom. There is no notion in his teaching of upsetting the established order of things and supplanting it by a new one. "Buddha's spirit was a stranger to that enthusiasm, without which no one can pose as the champion of the oppressed against the oppressor. Let the state and society remain what they are; the religious man who as a monk has renounced the world, has no part in its cares and occupations. Caste has no value for him, for everything earthly has ceased to affect his interests; but it never occurs to him to exercise his influence for its abolition or for the mitigation of the severity

Buddha not a socialist.

of its rules for those who have lagged behind in worldly surroundings." It is scarcely even true that Buddha practically presented an equal front to all classes of people. Those who were among his early chosen adherents were almost exclusively drawn from the upper classes, nobles, Brahmans, merchants, educated persons. We find in early Buddhist works such phrases as these: "Truly not undesired by the Exalted One is such an interview with such noble youths." "The good-will of such a respected and well-known person towards this doctrine and ordinance is of the highest importance." Scarcely can an isolated story be found of the reception of a person of very low grade, such as the sweeper-away of withered flowers from temples and palaces; and in his case the moral which specially follows is directed against the exclusiveness of the Brahmans. "By holy zeal and chaste living, by restraint and self-repression, thereby a man becomes a Brahman; that is the highest Brahmanhood." The weak and children are scarcely mentioned. "To the wise belongeth this law," it was said, "not to the foolish."

We need only briefly mention Buddha's principal adherents, as all resemble one another in purity, in the attainment of perfect peace, and in devotion to Buddha: Sariputta and Moggallana, early converts from Brahmanism, following him through life, but dying shortly before Buddha; his own cousin Ananda, and his brother Devadatta; Upali the court barber of the Sakyas. Ananda seems to have served as personal attendant to Buddha in his old age, and to have often accompanied him alone; to him many of his last discourses were specially addressed. Devadatta is the traditional traitor, who sought to supplant his brother in chief influence, and is said to have attempted to kill him, a project which was frustrated by many recorded miracles. Devadatta is related to have attempted to enforce a more ascetic discipline on the monks, and to have failed miserably.

Buddha's principal adherents.

Besides the monks, Buddha recognised lay believers, those who honoured his teaching as the truth, but who remained in the world, and were permitted to give gifts and exercise charity to the brethren of the Order. In fact this was but a recognition of the necessities of the case. If there were no adherents outside the mendicant members, and if all other persons were opponents, there would be little possibility of supporting the members; of course their maintenance in such a country as India cost very little, but still it was needed and had to be provided. No special form of reception of lay adherents was provided, and they never had any share in the government of Buddhism. And as with regard to the brethren or monks, so with regard to the lay-adherents, much more prominence is given to the princes and nobles, Brahmans and merchants, who appear to have constituted by far the largest proportion of them, than to the poor. Thus Buddha and his monks gathered round them crowds of votaries who could receive and maintain them and convene assemblies to hear them speak, or who accompanied them in various vehicles or on foot.

Lay believers.

In relation to women Buddha was in some respects more liberal and

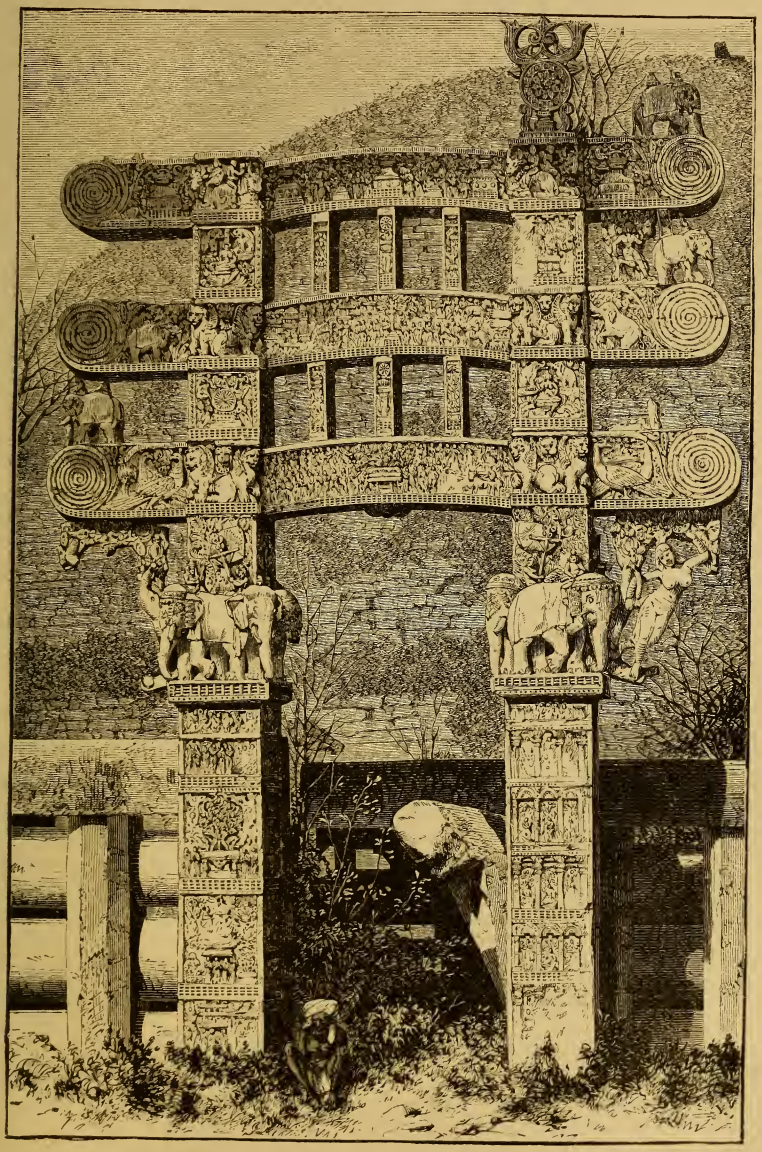
in some less so than the Brahmans. Brahmanism expected the Vedic student to become a householder, to marry, and to bring up a family to continue the sacrificial rites; yet women were kept strictly in a subordinate, practically in a servile position. Buddhist monks were to abjure marriage and intimate relations with women, as utterly inconsistent with their profession; but women were admissible as sisters of the Order, analogous to nuns, under severe restraints as to intimacy with men. Women were recognised as lay adherents, and indeed the maintenance of the Order would have been very much more difficult without their ministrations. But the toleration and even welcome of women came rather late in the day. At an early period, when Buddha was asked by Ananda how the brethren should behave to women, he answers, "Don't look at them"; and when further pressed, "If we should see them, what are we to do?" he replies, "Don't speak to them"; and again, "If they should speak to us, what are we to do?" "Keep wide awake," is the master's advice, or as another translation has it, "Keep watch over yourselves," and that this view continued in considerable force may be gathered from the moral of one of the later Buddhist narratives,—"Unfathomably deep, like a fish's course in the water, is the character of women, robbers with many artifices, with whom truth is hard to find, to whom a lie is like the truth and the truth like a lie."

Women and Buddhism.

But wider experience somewhat modified Buddha's attitude towards women, though not without much hesitation. His foster-mother and his disciple Ananda at last persuaded him, on the ground that women were capable of realising the four-fold path. He, however, imposed upon them eight rules, such as that a nun, of however long standing, was always to serve and to rise in the presence of a monk, even if only just initiated; and in several respects nuns were placed in subordination to the monks; they must be initiated by monks as well as nuns, and receive admonition from monks. But Buddha is very mournful, and is represented as saying that the good law will not now last more than five hundred years. As when mildew or blight visits a crop, it does not last long, so "under whatever discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion does not last long. And just as a man would in anticipation build an embankment to a great reservoir, so have I laid down these eight chief rules for the sisters, not to be overpassed through their life." The female disciples were to adopt the same rules as the men, so far as applicable; and the general rule was applied, that whatever doctrines conduced to peace and not to passion, to veneration and not to pride, to wishing for little and not to wishing for much, to seclusion and not to love of society, to the exercise of zeal and not to sloth, to content and not to querulousness, these doctrines were the teaching of the Master.

Reception of sisters or nuns.

*** On the opposite page is represented one of the elaborate gateways of a solid stupa or tope, as old as Asoka's time; the sculptures on the gateways (about 35 feet high) represent scenes from the life of Buddha, and other Buddhist legends. They date probably from the first century A.D.



EAST GATE OF THE GREAT TOPE, SANCHI, NEAR BHILSA, BHOPAL.

A great many disabilities and restrictions as to wearing apparel, decoration of the body and face, habits and occupations, etc., were imposed. Never-

theless, Buddha and his followers frequently received large hospitality from women, who, however, were to regard themselves as benefited by being allowed to give anything to the saints. Visakha, a rich and noble woman of Savatthi, voluntarily offered clothing, food, and medicine for both incoming and outgoing monks, asking this as a boon. Buddha's response was: "Whatsoever woman, upright in life, a disciple of the Happy One, gives, glad at heart and overcoming avarice, both food and drink—a gift heavenly, destructive of sorrow, productive of bliss—a heavenly life does she attain, entering upon the path that is free from corruption and impurity; aiming at good, happy does she become, and free from sickness, and long does she rejoice in a heavenly body."

Opposition.

It is striking how little we hear of active opposition to Buddha in the Buddhist literature. This of course may proceed from concealment; but seeing the undoubted great prosperity of Buddhism, serious opponents would have been mentioned, if only to show how they had been overthrown. But Buddhism arose in the eastern land where Brahmanism had not taken such strong root as in the north-west. Numerous bodies of ascetics and religious freethinkers had arisen; and we must bear in mind the predominant religiousness of the Hindus, which would lead them naturally to revere a seeker after religious truth, especially one who renounced worldly possessions, and who did not in any way disturb the general peace and order. In fact the asceticism sanctioned or encouraged by the Brahman literature and practice had numerous points of resemblance to that of Buddha. Yet it could only be in a country where high Brahman pretensions were already questioned, or denied, that Buddha could have so severely criticised their system. Sacrifices, Vedic teaching, caste, were to him as nothing. In a kind of Socratic method, when questioned by Brahmans as to the right path, Buddha makes them acknowledge that the paths announced in the Vedas have not enabled any of the Brahmans to see Brahma face to face, or to know him, or where and whence he is; and he declares that the boasted knowledge of the Brahmans is foolishness: "As when a string of blind men are clinging one to the other, neither can the foremost see, nor can the middle one see, nor can the hindmost see." This is followed by an elaborate series of images demonstrating the same thing. The Brahmans, he says, are hindered from knowing the truth by five obstacles,—lustful desire, malice, sloth and idleness, pride and self-righteousness, and doubt. All these things are absent from Brahma, and consequently the Brahmans could never become united with him. In answer to the appeal that he would show the Brahmans the way to a state of union with Brahma, Buddha says that from time to time an unsurpassed teacher is born into the world as a guide to erring mortals, a fully enlightened one, a blessed Buddha. He thoroughly understands the universe, gods and men, and makes his knowledge known to others. "The truth doth he proclaim both in its letter and in its spirit, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation; the higher life doth he make known, in all its purity and in all its perfectness." A householder

Brahmans confuted.

hears the truth and believes in the Buddha and then considers, "Full of hindrances is household life, a path defiled by passion; free as the air is the life of him who has renounced all worldly things. How difficult is it for the man who dwells at home to live the higher life in all its fulness, in all its purity, in all its bright perfection! Let me then cut off my hair and beard, let me clothe myself in the orange-coloured robes, and let me go forth from a household life into the homeless state!"

"Then, before long, forsaking his portion of wealth, be it great or be it small; forsaking his circle of relatives, be they many or be they few, he cuts off his hair and beard, he clothes himself in the orange-coloured robes, and he goes forth from the household life into the homeless state.

"When he has thus become a recluse, he passes a life self-restrained according to the rules of the Pattimokka; uprightness is his delight, and he sees danger in the least of these things he should avoid; he adopts and trains himself in the precepts; he encompasses himself with holiness in word and deed; he sustains his life by means that are quite pure; good is his conduct, guarded the door of his senses; mindful and self-possessed, he is altogether happy." (S.E.)

Buddha is equally prepared to expound to Brahmans the essentials of a proper sacrifice. A great king of former days, he says, after great exploits, and establishing peace and prosperity in his land, and remedying evils, made a great sacrifice at which no animals were slain and no trees were cut down; simply libations of milk, oil, and honey were offered. But Buddha proclaims that a better and easier sacrifice than that, is to make gifts to pious monks, and build dwelling-places for him and his Order. A higher offering was to accept Buddha's doctrine; higher still to become a monk; while the highest offering was to obtain deliverance, and the knowledge, "I shall not again return to this world." **The best sacrifice.**

How far the rival ascetic bodies and their leaders openly disputed the progress of Buddha we cannot tell. Later we find some traces of interchange of civilities between them, and also some attempts to deprive each other of the aid of influential people. Buddha's greatest distinction from the various brotherhoods was his disparagment of self-mortification. He had discovered that this last was gloomy, unworthy, unreal. The life of pleasure and sensual enjoyment was base and ignoble. The perfect life was the middle way, the eight-fold path. Thus he exemplified with remarkable force the strength which lies in a middle course; it certainly powerfully helped to make his the religious community with the largest following in the world.

The general method of Buddha's teaching was oral and conversational. Such a thing as *writing* a book was not then dreamt of, although book-learning was highly developed. But learning by heart seemed then the only possible or stable form of it; and no doubt it was once thought a great innovation, and probably an unreasonable thing, for any one to attempt to write out a book in full, when it was so easy and so common to commit the contents to memory. We, with our comparatively **Method of teaching.**

feeble recollections of the contents of any given book, do not realise a state of society when people who were learned knew their few books by heart more perfectly than most of us know anything. But personal teaching was then as influential as it ever has been, perhaps more so. The accounts given of Buddha's interviews with disciples, even if not precisely accurate, must represent a kind of interview which was the common type of such teaching, and which at that very early age was accepted as the type of his teaching. Unlike the Vedic books, which are in the pure high Sanskrit, the books of Buddhism are in the popular dialect; and in the sayings attributed to Buddha there is no trace of Sanskrit being used. Indeed, he is reported to have given directions that every believer should learn the words of Buddha in his own tongue.

Long-drawn dissertations.

Everything in the Buddhist narratives bears the stamp of an age which had become accustomed to solemn, long-drawn dissertations, and in which people of leisure, or who had abandoned the world, gave themselves up to continual speculation on the causes of various phenomena, or of troubles and difficulties. There is no trace of a life like our hurried modern one, in which only the smallest possible time is given to any one thing. With these old Hindus there was always plenty of time if a discussion was on foot, and it must be conducted in an orderly, sober fashion, with due ceremony and full elaboration. The great heat caused a tendency to indolent gravity and long-drawn-out expression. Compression and selection were scarcely attempted. The Upanishads, even if not composed before the Buddhist books, were in existence about the same time, and testify to the widespread spirit of abstraction and philosophising. So that the form of Buddhist teaching was due to the spirit of the more educated among the Hindus, as it had been developed by the Vedic and post-Vedic literature. Although there is considerable variety in the matter and often much beauty in the illustrations used in the discourses attributed to Buddha, the following gives an idea of a method frequently followed by him.

He is expressing the thought that all the senses and the outer things which they perceive are eaten away by the sorrows and the fleeting nature of mortal affairs. He thus addresses the thousand disciples or monks who were with him. "Then said the Blessed One to the disciples: 'Everything, O disciples, is in flames. And what Everything, O disciples, is in flames? The eye, O disciples, is in flames; the visible is in flames; the knowledge of the visible is in flames; the contact with the visible is in flames, the feeling which arises from contact with the visible, be it pleasure, be it pain, be it neither pleasure nor pain, this also is in flames. By what fire is it kindled? By the fire of desire, by the fire of hate, by the fire of fascination, it is kindled; by birth, old age, death, pain, lamentation, sorrow, grief, despair, it is kindled: thus I say. The ear is in flames,'" and so on through a similar repetition of every detail; and the same with the senses of smell, taste, touch, and with the mind, forming a long discourse, very monotonous to us, but probably delighting the hearers. It then goes on, "Considering

this, O disciples, a wise hearer, walking in the noble path, becomes weary of the eye, weary of visible things," and so on through the whole detail once more. Then, "becoming weary of all that, he becomes free from desire; free from desire he becomes delivered; in the delivered arises the knowledge, I am delivered; re-birth is at an end, perfected is holiness, duty done; there is no more returning to this world; he knows this." When this discourse had been delivered, the minds of these thousand disciples became free from attachment to the world. (O.)

A noble youth's conversion.

The mode of converting a noble youth who was already mentally prepared is thus represented (Mahavagga I. 7, S.E.). "At that time there was in Benares a noble youth, Yasa by name, the son of a treasurer, and delicately nurtured. He had three palaces, one for winter, one for summer, and one for the rainy season. In the palace for the rainy season he lived during the four months of that season, surrounded with female musicians among whom no man was, and he did not descend from that palace all that time. Now one day Yasa, the noble youth, who was endowed with and possessed of the five pleasures of sense, while he was attended by those female musicians, fell asleep sooner than usual: and after him his attendants also fell asleep. Now an oil lamp was burning through the whole night.

"And Yasa, the noble youth, awoke sooner than usual; and he saw his attendants sleeping; one had her lute leaning against her armpit, one had her tabor leaning against her neck, one had her drum leaning against her armpit, and one had dishevelled hair, one had saliva flowing from her mouth, and they were muttering in their sleep. One would think it was a cemetery one had fallen into. When he saw that, the evils of the life he led manifested themselves to him; his mind became weary of worldly pleasures. And Yasa, the noble youth, gave utterance to this solemn exclamation: 'Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!' So he went on into the night and sought Buddha, who was walking up and down at dawn. To him he expressed his distress. Buddha replied to him, 'Here is no distress, Yasa; here is no danger. Come here, Yasa, sit down; I will teach you the truth' (Dhamma). And Yasa, the noble youth, when he heard that there was no distress, and that there was no danger, became glad and joyful; and he put off his gilt slippers, and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Then the Blessed One preached to him in due course: that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by almsgiving, about the duties of morality, about heaven, about the evils, the vanity, and the sinfulness of desires, and about the blessings of the abandonment of desire.

"When the Blessed One saw that the mind of Yasa, the noble youth, was prepared, impressible, free from obstacles, elated, and believing, then he preached what is the principal doctrine of the Buddhas, namely, Suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering, the Path." So Yasa became a convert and subsequently a monk; and his father also received the truth,

which fact is thus elaborately expressed: "The treasurer, the householder, having seen the truth, having mastered the truth, having penetrated the truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, said to the Blessed One: 'Glorious Lord! Glorious Lord! just as if one should set up, Lord, what had been overturned, or should reveal what had been hidden, or should point out the way to one who had lost his way, or should bring a lamp into the darkness, thus has the Blessed One preached the doctrine in many ways. I take my refuge in the Blessed One, and in the Truth, and in the Order of the monks; may the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts, as a disciple who has taken his refuge in him." These are typical stories; whether it is that there was not much necessity for adaptation to the individual cases, or that such individual touches have been lost by the narration, we find little but general teaching. There is one simple consistent teaching, one refuge for all who would attain full knowledge,—to join the Order of monks.

Something like the Socratic method is not infrequently made use of when an argument is held with a learned person. Thus, in arguing with Brahmans, Buddha says: "Is Brahma in possession of wives and wealth, or is he not?"—"He is not." "Is his mind full of anger, or free from anger?"—"Free from anger." "Is his mind full of malice, or free from malice?"—"Free from malice." "Is his mind depraved, or pure?"—"It is pure." "Has he self-mastery, or has he not?"—"He has." "Now, what think you, are Brahmans versed in the Vedas in the possession of wives and wealth, or are they not?"—"They are." And so on through all the questions; leading to the triumphant reply: "Can there then be agreement and likeness between the Brahmans with their wives and property, and Brahma who has none of these things?"

Socratic method.

It is noteworthy how frequently parables and similes are made use of in the higher Buddhist teaching. Here is an instance.

"Just as when a hen has eight or ten or twelve eggs, and the hen has properly brooded over them, properly sat upon them, properly sat herself round them, however much such a wish may arise in her heart as this, "Oh, would that my little chickens should break open the egg-shell with the points of their claws, or with their beaks, and come forth into the light in safety!" yet all the while those little chickens are sure to break the egg-shell with the points of their claws, or with their beaks, and to come forth into the light in safety. Just even so, a brother thus endowed with fifteenfold determination is sure to come forth into the light, sure to reach up to the higher wisdom, sure to attain to the supreme security." The lesson is, that the result is quite certain, however much doubt the hen or the believer may have about it. (S.E. xi.)

Parables.

In one place Buddha says: "I shall show you a parable; by a parable many a wise man perceives the meaning of what is being said." His own preaching is compared to the physician's work, drawing poisoned arrows from wounds, and overcoming the venom by remedies. Like the lotus flower,

raising its head in the lake, unaffected by the water, so the Buddhas are unaffected by the world's impurity. One of the most elaborate parables is the following, part of which we quote. "As when, O disciples, in the forest, on a mountain slope, there lies a great tract of lowland and water, where a great herd of deer lives, and there comes a man who desires hurt, distress, and danger for the deer; who covers over and shuts up the path which is safe, good, and pleasant to take, and opens up a fresh path, a swampy path, a marshy track: thenceforward the great herd of deer incurs hurt and danger, and diminishes. But now, O disciples, if a man comes, who desires prosperity, welfare, and safety for this great herd of deer: who clears and opens up the path which is safe, good, and pleasant to take, and does away with the false path, and abolishes the swampy path, the marshy track, thenceforth will the great herd of deer thrive, grow, and increase. I have spoken to you, O disciples, in a parable, to make known my meaning. But the meaning is this. The great lowland and the water, O disciples, are pleasures. The great herds of deer are living men. The man who devises hurt, distress, and ruin, is Mara, the evil one. The false path is the eightfold false path, false faith, false resolve, false speech, false action, false living, false effort, false thought, false self-concentration. The swampy way is pleasure and desire. The swampy track is ignorance. The man who devises prosperity, welfare, salvation, is the Perfect One, the holy supreme Buddha. The safe good way in which it is well to walk, is the eightfold path," etc. "Everything that a master who seeks the salvation of his disciples, who pities them, must do out of pity for them, that have I done for you." (O.) Fables, too, were not infrequently introduced into Buddha's discourses.

THE BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.

We now come to the record of Buddha's death and the events immediately preceding it, contained in the "Book of the Great Decease," which has been compared to a gospel. This book comes to us apparently from the latter end of the fourth or beginning of the third century B.C., about a hundred years after Buddha's death. The author is unknown. The date of Buddha's death cannot be determined from it, but he appears to have been about eighty years of age, and to have exercised his public mission for about forty-four years. He is represented as journeying from Rajagaha, the capital of Magadha, to Pataliputta (Patna), the new capital, whose future greatness he prophesies. The narrative throughout contains summaries of discourses and directions which Buddha had probably given on previous dates. Journeying on, he was attacked by a severe illness, which he subdued temporarily by great resolution, having a strong desire to give a farewell address to the Order. He asserts to Ananda that he has kept back nothing, and he no longer wished to lead the brotherhood or thought that the Order was dependent upon him. "I too, O Ananda, am now grown old and full of years, my journey is drawing

Buddha prepares for his final discourse.

to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ananda, can only with much additional care be made to move along, so, methinks, the body of the Enlightened One can only be kept going with much additional care." He advised his people to be a refuge to themselves, and not look for any other, and above all, be

COLOSSAL FIGURE OF BUDDHA, CEYLON.

anxious to learn. The tempter Mara came to him, suggesting that he should voluntarily die at once, as all his objects were accomplished; he however still elected to live three months. And the narrative goes on: "Thus the Blessed One deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his allotted sum of life, and on his rejecting it there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible, and the thunders of heaven

His last temptation.

burst forth, and when the Blessed One beheld this, he broke out into this hymn of exultation :—

> 'His sum of life the sage renounced,
> The course of life immeasurable or small;
> With inward joy and calm, he broke,
> Like coat of mail, his life's own cause.' "

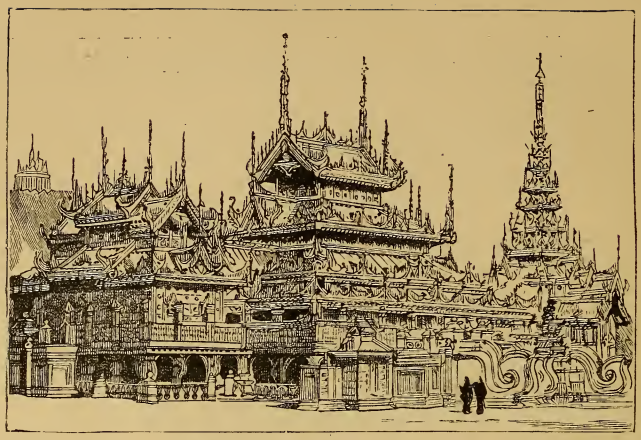
He then gave a summary of his most essential teachings to the assembled disciples, and concluded thus :—

> "My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close:
> I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone!
> Be earnest then, O brethren! holy, full of thought!
> Be steadfast in resolve! Keep watch o'er your own hearts!
> Who wearies not, but holds fast to this truth and law,
> Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of grief."

After still a few days' journeying, Buddha was seized with dysentery attended with sharp pain, which he bore without complaint. At last he arrived at Kusinara where he died, even in his last hours converting new disciples. His last words were, "Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, Decay is inherent in all component things. Work out your salvation with diligence." His death was followed by earthquakes and thunders, and Brahma, the Supreme Deity or First Cause, is represented as uttering some of the most characteristic Buddhist doctrines, while his venerable disciple Anuruddha spoke thus :— **His death.**

> "When he who from all craving want was free,
> Who to Nirvana's tranquil state had reached,
> When the great sage finished his span of life,
> No gasping struggle vexed that steadfast heart.
>
> All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
> He calmly triumphed o'er the pain of death.
> E'en as a bright flame dies away, so was
> His last deliverance from the bonds of life!"

His funeral was celebrated by the nobles of Kusinara with the honours due to a king of kings, wrapping his body in five hundred alternate layers of cotton wool and new cloth, enclosing it in two iron vessels, and finally cremating it on a funeral pile made of perfumes. Finally, the legend says that neither soot nor ash was left, but only the bones. Then the relics were divided into eight portions, over each of which a mound was erected by the respective groups who had claimed and obtained them.



THE ROYAL MONASTERY AT MANDALAY.

CHAPTER VI.

The Buddhist Doctrines, the Order and Sacred Books.

Reaction from Brahmanism—Suffering and ignorance—The Eternal Immutable—Vanity of earthly things—The causal nexus—Human responsibility—Punishment of evil—Being and causality—The soul—Nirvana—Moral precepts—Negative morality—Benevolence—Beneficence—Self-discipline—Temptation—Mara—The struggle and victory of the soul—States of abstraction—The four grades of attainment—The person of Buddha—The Buddhist Scriptures—The Dhammapada—The Buddhist order—The Mahavagga—Fortnightly meetings—Confession and penance—Strict regulations—Profession of faith—Not a body corporate—No head after Buddha—Assemblies or Councils—Limitations on admission—Form of reception—The four resources—The four prohibitions—Quitting the order—Its advantages—No silver or gold—Seemly outward appearance—Companionship—Tutelage—Recitations and discussions—Retirement and love of nature—Few ceremonies—Reverence and Buddha—Regard for holy places—The confessional—The Kullavagga—Offences and penances—The Pavarana or invitation—The nuns or sisters—The laity.

THE BUDDHIST DOCTRINES.

IT is one of the strangest phenomena, that the system holding itself forth so prominently as the bringer of happiness and extinguisher of suffering should be fitly called a philosophy of pessimism, of negation, of agnosticism. Yet it was a natural reaction from the Brahman assumption of knowing everything, and that everything would be right if its management were committed to Brahmans. In only one direction did the Buddhists claim to attain knowledge, that was the path by which to attain deliverance from suffering, and ultimate Nirvana. The kernel of this doctrine we have already given (p. 258). The suffering which Buddha bewails is not merely active pain and misery, but also the want of control which our self has over the body and consciousness. Everything, too, is non-permanent, and that is a sorrow; consequently a man is not sure of himself, and cannot say, "That is mine, that is I, that is myself." The root cause of this is

Reaction from Brahmanism.

Suffering and ignorance.

ignorance; but while we might agree with the Buddhists that ignorance lies at the root of much if not of all evil, the Buddhists have their own interpretation of what ignorance constitutes this great evil; it is the ignorance of their four sacred truths, and these truths contain no allusion to any notion of nihilism, to the Nothing and nothingness as the supreme attainment, which is sometimes represented as the essential of Buddhist pessimism. Far from being of this nature, Buddhism has a positive if limited philosophy, and elevates its gaze to the highest and most permanent existence, regarding the Eternal Immutable, supremely free and happy. There is the only refuge of man from suffering, where birth and death, change and decay have no dominion. Man must seek deliverance from the mutable, and return to the Immutable: whether that may lead to eternal existence or not, is left undetermined. Buddha never pretended to know; rather he left it to be inferred that he did not know. His object was gained, as well as the happiness of his followers in this world, when they had attained "deliverance," release from desire, union with the Immutable.

The Eternal Immutable.

Never has the vanity of earthly things, so succinctly expressed by the Old Testament Preacher, been so elaborately set forth as in the Buddhist books. Listen to its sad strain. "The pilgrimage of beings, O disciples, has its beginning in eternity. No opening can be discovered, from which proceeding, creatures, mazed in ignorance, fettered by a thirst for being, stray and wander. What think ye, O disciples, whether is more, the water which is in the four great oceans, or the tears which have flowed from you and been shed by you, while ye strayed and wandered on this long pilgrimage, and sorrowed and wept, because that was your portion that ye abhorred, and that which ye loved was not your portion? A mother's death, a father's death, a brother's death, a sister's death, a son's death, a daughter's death, the loss of relations, the loss of property, all this have ye experienced through long ages; and while ye experienced this through long ages more tears have flowed from you and have been shed by you, while ye strayed and wandered on this long pilgrimage, and sorrowed and wept, because that was your portion which ye abhorred and that which ye loved was not your portion, than all the water which is in the four great oceans." (O.) And so on through the whole range of mortal affairs.

Vanity of earthly things.

The Dhammapada, that notable collection of Buddhist apophthegms proverbs, and similes, which existed before the second council (377 B.C.), contains some of the most pithy sayings of melancholy. "Man gathers flowers; his heart is set on pleasure. Death comes upon him, like the floods of water on a village, and sweeps him away." "How can ye be gay? How can ye indulge desire? Evermore the flames burn. Darkness surrounds you: will ye not seek the light?" "Look upon the world as a bubble; look upon it as a mirage." "There is no satisfying lusts, even by a shower of gold pieces." "Let no man love anything; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing, and hate nothing, have no fetters."

"From love comes grief; from love comes fear." Yet in association with these sad views throughout we have the joyful standard raised aloft. He who has learnt the sacred truths of Buddhism has overcome these evils and entered into joy. "The virtuous man is happy in this world, and he is happy in the next; he is happy in both. He is happy when he thinks of the good he has done; he is still more happy when going on the good path." "Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer, leaving behind the track." "Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, it will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a waterpot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gather it little by little." "Let us live happily, free from greed among the greedy." "His good works receive him who has done good, and has gone from this world to the other; as kinsmen receive a friend on his return."

The causal nexus.

We cannot fully expound what is known as the causal nexus in Buddhism, but this in itself has never been taught to the masses, and was only for the more intellectual; while to western minds it is confused and inconclusive and more or less self-contradictory. We find that Buddhism, like most other human systems, has failed to express, though it has verged near to the core of, philosophical questions. What is certain is, that the early Buddhists regarded the consciousness as the sole continuing thing, while at death the body, sensations and perceptions vanish; and this consciousness was connected with a sort of spirit-stuff or element, undemonstrable, everlasting, all-illuminating; it passes over at death to become associated with the germ of a new material being to be born again. The succession of re-births must continue until the being attains "deliverance," as made known by Buddhism.

Human responsibility.

Although expressed in a widely different form from our own, we see throughout Buddhism an assertion of human responsibility which tends in the highest degree to morality. However much we may be conditioned by our previous state as by our environment, we are always affected by our own actions. As explicitly as in the Christian Bible, we find stated that "not in the heavens, not in the midst of the sea, not if thou hidest thyself away in the clefts of the mountains, wilt thou find a place on earth where thou canst escape the fruit of thy evil actions" (Dhammapada v. 127).

Punishment of evil.

Even when the way of deliverance has been attained, a man will still suffer punishment for evil-doing not yet expiated. Thus, a robber and murderer who became a Buddhist was violently attacked when he went to collect alms; and Buddha tells him he was now receiving the penalty for evil deeds for which otherwise he would have had to suffer thousands of years in hell. A judgment scene is depicted, in which the wicked man is brought up from hell before King Yama, who inquires of him whether he did not see on earth the five visions of human weakness and suffering,—the child, the old man, the sick man, the criminal under punishment, and the dead man. He is further asked whether he did not consider that he was not exempt

from old age and death, and ought to do good in thought, word, and deed. Confessing that he had neglected it, he is told that he alone is responsible, and must gather the fruit. The warders of hell take him away and subject him to the severest physical torments, ending in death only when his guilt is fully expiated.

One aspect of the Buddhist doctrine of causality is well illustrated by the following. "Whoever perceives in truth and wisdom how things originate in the world, in his eyes there is no 'it is not' in this world. Whoever perceives in truth and wisdom how things pass away in this world, in his eyes there is no 'it is' in this world. . . . Sorrow alone arises where anything arises; sorrow passes away where anything passes away. 'Everything is'; this is the one extreme: 'everything is not,' this is the other extreme. The Perfect One, remaining far from both these extremes, proclaims the truth in the middle. 'From ignorance come conformations (sankharas),'" forms of being determining their own successions and successive forms. There is no thought of an independent matter apart from an existence or being. Every perception, every condition, bodily or spiritual, is one of these sankharas, and all are transitory, all under the control of causality. Beyond this Buddhism does not attempt to go; it does not know the Eternal, or how the world was created, or whether it is everlasting or finite.

Being and causality.

Buddhism even does not allow that there is a soul distinct from the body. Practically it only recognises the combined being that is seen or is conscious of itself, and that suffers; and it has no explanation beyond. Reduced to its lowest term, Buddhism recognises simply that suffering is going on, or keeps coming and going; without defining any permanent soul that suffers. All on this earth is under the dominion of causality.

The soul.

The state of Nirvana, Buddha held, may be entered upon before the death of the body, and therefore it is not identical with annihilation, as has often been represented. Although its meaning is extinction, it is the extinction of desire, of suffering, of error, of ignorance; and it is termed the eternal state. What that eternal state is, early Buddhism in no way determines. Hence the Nirvana may perhaps best be regarded as the perfection which the Buddhist attains in this life. "What is to be extinguished has been extinguished, the fire of lust, hatred, bewilderment." In this state the devout disciple says, "I long not for death, I long not for life; I wait till mine hour come, like a servant who awaiteth his reward." Yet the Buddhist may truly be said to anticipate extinction of the consciousness on dying. Yet even that is consistent in his eyes with an imagined completion of his being, which no terms applicable to earthly things can possibly describe. And those who wished to cherish a hope of continual existence and perfect happiness were permitted to do so.

Nirvana.

The moral system taught by Buddha as obligatory upon his followers can be separated from the system and rules of his monastic order. It is not a little curious to find moral precepts at that early time not based upon

obedience to a Supreme Ruler of the world, or a Creator, and consequently not based upon any duty of human beings to obey a Supreme Ruler. In fact this moral law is entirely utilitarian, taking its stand solely upon benefits obtainable by the doer, or punishments to be incurred by him. Further than this, that we hear of no one being repelled by Buddha who sought to learn the truth, it does not appear that Buddhism concerned itself with the mass of mankind even so far as to give precepts available for them all, or to preach deliverance to them all. It is evident that this has not hindered the very wide spread of the society; and the declaration that they had a message only for those who recognised their evil state and desired deliverance no doubt acted as a stimulus to the outer masses so far as they were in an intellectual state capable of aspiring after something better. But Buddhism did not lay itself out to tell all people that they ought to do or to be so-and-so every day, always, everywhere. Only when they sought discipleship, lay or mendicant, did Buddhism furnish them with a code of observance, which included moral duties, undertaken for the purpose of elevating their own state. Thus "He who speaks or acts with impure thoughts, him sorrow follows, as the wheel follows the foot of the draught horse. He who speaks or acts with pure thought, him joy follows, like his shadow, which does not leave him."

Moral precepts.

The third to the sixth portions of the noble eightfold path more specially concern morals. The first and second, correct views, free from superstition or delusion, and right aims or correct thoughts, worthy of an intelligent man, are specially intellectual. The third, right speech, perfectly truthful, as well as kindly; the fourth, right conduct, pure, honest, peaceable; the fifth, a right mode of gaining a livelihood, doing harm to no living thing; and the sixth, right effort, self-control, self-training, embrace the sum of Buddhist morals. The seventh and eighth, mindfulness and contemplation, are again purely inward. The whole moral code may thus be expressed as uprightness in word, deed, and thought; but the great importance of wisdom as the crown of uprightness is fully expressed.

A great portion of the Buddhist morality, however, was negative, made up of prohibitions. Five special hindrances, veils, or entanglements are specified, which must be mastered, namely, lustful desire, malice, sloth, self-righteousness or pride, and doubt. Five main commands are often repeated. The Buddhist must (1) kill no living thing, (2) not steal, (3) live chastely, (4) speak no untruth, (5) not drink intoxicating drinks. But in the rules for the monks, we find such positive additions as the following:—"The cudgel and the sword he lays aside; and full of modesty and pity, he is compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life. What he hears here, he repeats not elsewhere to raise a quarrel. . . . He lives as a binder-together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peacemaker, a lover of peace. . . . Whatever word is humane, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasing to the people, such are the words he speaks. . . . Putting away foolish talk, he abstains from vain conversation. In season he speaks;

Negative morality.

he speaks that which is; he speaks fact . . . that which redounds to profit, is well defined, and is full of wisdom. He refrains from injuring any herb or any creature. He takes but one meal a day. He abstains from dancing, singing, music and theatrical shows" (S. E. xi.).

It cannot be said that the Christian virtue of love is taught by Buddhism. There is sometimes some approach to it, but it is not clear. The virtue enjoined by Buddhism is rather the extinction of hating than positive love. Thus, "He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver. . . . Let a man overcome anger by not becoming angry; let a man overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth." "Enmity never comes to an end through enmity here below; it comes to an end by non-enmity; this has been the rule from all eternity." A notable story is found in the Mahavagga, which illustrates this last doctrine. But the benevolence which an early Buddhist felt was far removed from Christian benevolence. His body, which might be hurt by others, was not really himself; so he felt no bitter resentment at anything done to it. "Those who cause me pain and those who cause me joy, to all I am alike, and affection and hatred I know not. In joy or sorrow I remain unmoved; in honour and dishonour throughout I am alike." This benevolence was not a spontaneous sympathy rising in the good man's heart, but a result of meditation and intentional mental exercise; and this benevolence, radiating from him, is said to exert a kind of magical influence, bringing about harmonious relations between Buddhists and all people and even animals. **Benevolence.**

But what of beneficence, so highly esteemed in Christianity? To outward appearance, it was just as highly esteemed in early Buddhism; but the forms of its exercise were different. From all that we can gather, poor people, in the sense of those wanting daily food or means to get it, were by no means abundant at that time in India; and the higher modes of Christian beneficence were not yet dreamt of. Joining the Buddhist order itself gave rise to the very practical step of renunciation; but in the case of those who were already married and had families it released the adherents from their family responsibilities and cares. This renunciation can scarcely be called beneficence, for it was not done in order that other persons might be benefited. Practically the chief beneficence exercised by Buddhists was by the lay adherents, who were expected to show liberality to all individual monks and to the Order generally. This beneficence was for the sake of their religious profession, however, and can hardly be called pure beneficence. And all through early Buddhism the special virtue of beneficence is overshadowed by the broader and deeper necessity for renouncing every worldly possession; even lay adherents were not to count things their own, by which they might confer on the Order needed benefits. In some of the narratives a little later than the earliest, the giving away of wife and children is represented as of no moment compared with winning the Buddhahood. We see clearly that it was not by means of beneficence that the character advocated by Buddhism was to be acquired. **Beneficence.**

That discipline was essentially internal. "Rouse thyself by thyself, examine thyself by thyself, . . . curb thyself as the merchant curbs a good horse. . . . Cut off the five senses, leave the five, rise above the five. . . . In the body restraint is good, good is restraint in speech, in thought restraint is good, good is restraint in all things" (S.E. x., Dhammapada). Everything is to be done with a self-conscious effort, and watchfulness. Self-examination is to be practised after every contact with the world, after every begging excursion; and all emotions or desires, which are stigmatised as evil and treacherous, are to be suppressed. In no religion is it more sternly insisted on that the character is the inner self. "All that we are is the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts," says the first verse of the Dhammapada.

Self-discipline.

Temptation to evil is associated with a personal spirit or essence called Mara, not believed to be the originator of evil and sorrow—for on that point Buddhism had no belief—but the chief tempter to evil in thought, word, and deed. He, like Yama in the Brahman system, is Death or the King of Death, and so is king of all the pleasures of this world. The foundation of the Buddhist Order is a deadly blow at this kingdom, and consequently the Buddhists are objects of his continual attack. He offers Buddha himself the rule over the whole earth, if he will renounce his spiritual mission. He is tempted by Mara's daughters, Desire, Unrest, and Pleasure, and resists their temptations. In all the narratives addressed to the people generally, Mara appears as a real personage, not everlasting, but capable of attacking every one. The higher Buddhist philosophy sees Mara in everything which is subject to change. "Wherever there is an eye and form, wherever there is an ear and sound, wherever there is thinking and thought, there is Mara, there is sorrow." (O.) But in the details relating to the tempter, as given by the Buddhist books, we find nothing grand, nothing great even in evil. The attacks made upon Buddha and his followers are comparatively simple, and are easily foiled. Buddha was, it is related, tempted with a kingdom in order that he might do what he asserted to be possible, "rule as a king in righteousness, without killing or causing to be killed, without practising oppression or permitting oppression to be practised, without suffering pain or inflicting pain on another," and he is told that he could turn the Himalayas into gold if he chose. Buddha answers: "What would it profit a wise man if he possessed even a mountain of silver or of gold? He who has comprehended sorrow, whence it springs, how can he bend himself to desire? He who knows that earthly existence is a fetter in this world, let him practise that which sets him free therefrom." Then Mara, the Evil one, said, "The Exalted One knows me, the Perfect One knows me," and disconcerted and disheartened he rose and went away. Other narratives represent Mara as constantly watching the avenues of the senses that he may gain access to the mind; and this continual siege is only to be met by continual watchfulness, which will at last make Mara give up the hopeless task.

Temptation, Mara.

Dr. Oldenberg graphically describes the struggle between the individual

soul and the sorrow-producing chain of suffering, and the tempter Mara, as pictured by the early Buddhists. "The struggle is neither slight nor brief. From that moment forward, when first the conviction dawns upon a soul, that this battle must be fought, that there is a deliverance which can be gained—from that first beginning of the struggle up to the final victory, countless ages of the world pass away. Earth worlds and heavenly worlds, and worlds of hells also, pass away as they have arisen and passed away from all eternity. Gods and men, all animated beings, come and go, die and are born again, and amid this endless tide of all things, the beings who are seeking deliverance, now advancing and victorious, and anon driven back, press on to their goal. The path reaches beyond the

The struggle and victory of the soul.

CASKET CONTAINING BUDDHA'S TOOTH, IN THE TEMPLE OF DALADA MALIGAWA, KANDY, CEYLON.

range of the eye, but it has an end. After countless wanderings through worlds and ages the goal at last appears before the wanderer's gaze. And in his sense of victory there is mingled a feeling of pride for the victory won by his own power. The Buddhist has no god to thank, as he had previously no god to invoke during his struggle. The gods bow before him, not he before the gods."

The place of prayer in other religions is in Buddhism taken by abstraction, meditation, withdrawal as far as possible from the world of sense. How far this may proceed by an artificial system we may see later. Some portions of the Buddhist scriptures describe methods of producing self-concentration; and frequently they approach pathological or morbid conditions. It is no wonder that hallucinations of

States of abstraction.

the senses should arise in men who have torn themselves from every home tie, and devoted themselves to homelessness and abstraction. But heavenly visions, heavenly sounds, forms of supernatural beings are only rarely seen; rather the condition commonly attained was that known as clairvoyant, in which the spirit was believed to be peculiarly refined, pure, pliant, and firm. Then the monks imagined they saw the past clearly, even their own past existences, saw into the thoughts of others, acquired miraculous powers, became invisible and again appeared on earth. Many of these may be paralleled by various accounts in the Bible; but there are no parallel results flowing from them.

Among the monks no gradation was at first recognised except the higher order of those who had attained deliverance; but later four grades were acknowledged: (1) the lowest, those who had attained the path, and were not liable to re-birth in the lower worlds (hells, world of animals, spirit worlds); (2) those who return once only to this world—these have destroyed desire, hatred, and frivolity; (3) the non-returning, who only enter the higher worlds of the gods, and these attain Nirvana; (4) the Saints (Arhats). But these grades did not give those who had attained them any special place in the Order.

The four grades of attainment.

A special grade was occupied by those who gained participation in the Buddhahood by their own inherent force, having won the knowledge bringing deliverance by their own exertions. They were believed to have lived chiefly in the ages previous to Buddha himself; but they were not equal to the "universal Buddhas" of whom Gautama was one.

The position claimed by and assigned to Buddha is peculiar in that he had no special commission from a supreme Being, and did not put himself forward as the representative of the invisible powers. He was simply, in the present order of things, the first who had obtained universal Buddhahood. He taught to others the truths that he had himself discovered. He was their helper, but it was by their own effort and meditation that it could really be received by them. And yet the claims attributed to Buddha are nothing less than omniscience and perfection. He says: "I have overcome all foes; I am all-wise; I am free from stains in every way; I have left everything; and have obtained emancipation by the destruction of desire. Having myself gained knowledge, whom should I call my master? I have no teacher; no one is equal to me; in the world of men and of gods no being is like me. I am the Holy One in this world, I am the highest teacher, I alone am the perfect Buddha; I have gained coolness by the extinction of all passion, and have obtained Nirvana." (Mahavagga, S.E. xiii.) "He appears in the world for salvation to many people, for joy to many people, out of compassion for the world, for the blessing, the salvation, the joy of gods and men." But Buddha is by no means represented as the sole person who has attained Buddahood. Many Buddhas had been before him and would come after him; but they were supposed all to be born in Eastern India, and to be all of the Brahman or soldier (Kshatriya) castes; and their teaching prevailed

The person of Buddha.

for longer or shorter periods, after which faith vanished for a time in the earth. Thus we see that Buddha was the starter of the new religious life, and essential to it; but by no means a god, or a heaven-sent messenger.

THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.

Those which are pre-eminently worthy of this designation, as being the oldest and purest, are the Pali books preserved by the Ceylonese Buddhists. They are arranged in three collections or "Baskets" (pitakas). The first, or Vinaya-pitaka, includes books containing regulations for the external life of the order of monks. The second, or Sutta-pitaka, contains a number of miscellaneous works, each composed of suttas or short pithy sentences, some relating sayings of Buddha, others legends and stories of the preceding Buddhas. The third contains various disquisitions, an enumeration of the conditions of life, etc.

The most interesting of all these, and the most deserving of attention for its literary excellence, is the Dhammapada, or Path of Virtue (or Foot-step of the Law), from which we have already quoted. The word subsequently came to mean generally "a religious sentence." Its date, like that of the rest of the scriptures, is stated by the Buddhists to be fixed by the first Council of the Church immediately after the death of Buddha; what appears to be certain is that this book existed before Asoka's council, about B.C. 242, after which date it was introduced into Ceylon by Mahinda, Asoka's son. And we may take the Dhammapada as having been believed to have been personally uttered by Buddha. Even if he did not compose it (which there is nothing to prove positively), it was composed soon after his death, by some one or more persons whose genius rose as high as his. A point of great importance in judging of this whole canon is that it contains no mention of Asoka's council, but does mention the first and second councils (of Rajagaha and Vesali), and describes them at the end of the Kullavagga. The Dhammapada.

We will now give some further extracts from the Dhammapada, to illustrate its literary character, apart from the special points we have already drawn attention to. Sometimes we find in it dogmatic teaching quite straightforwardly put, thus: "He who wishes to put on the yellow dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards also temperance and truth, is unworthy of the yellow dress." "By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers; by oneself evil is left undone, by oneself one is purified. Purity and impurity belong to oneself, no one can purify another." "That deed is not well done of which a man must repent, and the reward of which he receives gladly and cheerfully." "Do not speak harshly to anybody; those who are spoken to will answer thee in the same way." Here we have the Eastern representative of the Proverbs of Solomon.

How much wisdom is to be found in the following: "Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are very difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list." "The fool who knows his foolishness is wise, at least so far. But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool

indeed." "One's own self conquered is better than all other people." Here is a condensed censure of asceticism: "Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting, or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires."

The following is a varied selection of these gems. "Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves, are easy to do; what is beneficial and good, that is very difficult to do." "This world is dark, few only can see here; a few only go to heaven, like birds escaped from the net." "Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches; trust is the best of relationships, Nirvana the highest happiness." "If any thing is to be done, let a man do it, let him attack it vigorously. A careless pilgrim only scatters the dust of his passions more widely." Similes of great aptness or beauty abound. "As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its colour or scent, so let a sage dwell in his village." "Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly." "There is no fire like passion, there is no shark like hatred, there is no snare like folly, there is no torrent like greed." "The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler." "If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup."

It is natural to find in these pithy sayings the pervading truth of the universality of suffering and the vanity of life. "Before long, alas! this body will lie on the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log." "As a cowherd with his staff drives his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death drive the life of men." Old age is thus depicted: "Look at this dressed-up lump, covered with wounds, joined together, sickly, full of many thoughts, which has no strength, no hold. This body is wasted, full of sickness and frail; this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, life indeed ends in death." We are told to "look upon this world as a bubble, as a mirage." But watchfulness and the true knowledge preserves a man in safety. One of the later sentences gives a fine picture of a stoic. "Him I call indeed a Brahman who, though he has committed no offence, endures reproach, bonds, and stripes, who has endurance for his force, and strength for his army." Indeed the whole section on the true Brahman is fine: he is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with faultfinders, free from passion among the passionate, is thoughtful, guileless, free from doubts, free from attachment, and content.

THE BUDDHIST ORDER.

Some attention must now be given to the great Order of mendicants or monks which perpetuated Buddha's influence and extended his teaching. Very early in Buddha's career they became an organised Brotherhood; and a formal system of admission and rules of conduct were framed as need arose. At first candidates who professed belief in this doctrine were

simply admitted by the great teacher, but it is a natural development that this should be delegated to others as the Order grew. The Mahavagga, one of the oldest Pali books, contains the records of these events, and of the regulations imposed on the Order, preceded by a narrative embodying many of the early events in Buddha's preaching, including not a few marvels and miracles. Soon it became customary to hold meetings of the Order twice a month, at the periods of full and new moon, already sacred periods in India, observed by Brahmans with ceremonies of long standing. The special purpose of these Buddhist meetings was the confession of faults one to another and the acceptance of the due penance. A list of common or possible offences was drawn up, and read out at each meeting, every member present being called upon to answer three times as to his innocence of each offence. Among these offences are some which show how strictly from the first Buddhist monks were regulated. Even in building a hut it must be of prescribed measurement; no extra robes must be kept; no rug or mat with silk in it must be used by a monk, and a rug must last six years; spare bowls must not be possessed; no monk must encroach on the hospitality already given to another; no monk might take more than one meal at a public rest-house.

The Mahavagga.

Fortnightly meetings.

Confession and penance.

Strict regulations.

The members of the Order had to go into the neighbourhood of houses completely clad, clean, with downcast eye, making but little noise, not swaying the limbs about with excited gestures. Their heads must be uncovered. Various observances are connected with taking the food given to them. They were not to preach the Buddhist doctrine to persons in unseemly attitudes, nor to any one sitting.

After Buddha's death a different system of receiving monks of course arose. The following is the profession of faith which early became prevalent:

"To Buddha will I look in faith; he, the Exalted, is the holy, supreme Buddha, the knowing, the instructed, the blessed, who knows the worlds, the Supreme One, who yoketh men like an ox, the Teacher of gods and men, the exalted Buddha.

Profession of faith.

"To the doctrine will I look in faith; well preached is the doctrine by the Exalted One. It has become apparent; it needs no time; it says 'Come and see'; it leads to welfare; it is realised by the wise in their own hearts.

"To the Order will I look in faith; in right behaviour lives the Order of disciples of the Exalted One; in proper, honest, just behaviour lives the Order of the disciples of the Exalted One, the four couples, the eight classes of believers; that is the Order of the disciples of the Exalted One, worthy to have men lift their hands before them in reverence, the highest place in the world, in which man may do good.

"In the precepts of rectitude will I walk, which the holy love, which are uninfringed, unviolated, unmixed, uncoloured, free, praised by the wise and not counterfeit, which lead on to concentration."

Although we have spoken of the Buddhist Order, somewhat as if it

were a body corporate, it never became strictly so. No central authority or representative council was ever constituted; no person was deputed by the founder of the religion to represent him after his death. And indeed mankind had not then arrived at the conception of a Pope, or a general authority exercising sway through widely different and separate regions. The only device that then occurred to the monks was to attribute every new regulation which they wished to enforce, to Buddha himself. He was the one person to whom authority was conceded; and in so far as his authority was acknowledged, his supposed behests were likely to be obeyed. The only other way of imposing new regulations was by means of assemblies or councils of monks, but though sometimes spoken of as general councils as of a Church, they were only assemblies of monks at a particular centre at one time, not called from all Buddhist centres, and not representative. Probably the first of these, said to have been held at Rajagaha immediately after Buddha's death, included the most prominent and revered of his followers; but there was no way of imposing its decisions on those who were not present, except by a purely intangible influence. The same was the case with the later councils. No doubt they were assembled because evils had arisen, or questions required decision. But the more Buddhism spread, the more independent spirits entered its ranks, the more difficult was it to heal divisions or to prevent divergences of doctrine and practice from arising. And this went on, antagonised only by the cohesion produced by the sacred books, the devotion and reverence for Buddha, the greater or less consciousness of a common interest to advance and a common battle to fight. Hence it was that, as its founder predicted, Buddhism was destined to die in India, and to maintain itself in other countries in widely different forms from those in which it had originated.

Not a body corporate.

No head after Buddha.

Assemblies or councils.

At first no limitations were imposed as to admission to the Order; any applicant was received. But it was soon necessary to lay down certain rules of exclusion. Criminals, those afflicted with serious deformities, soldiers and servants of kings, debtors and slaves, and sons whose parents refused their consent, were thus excluded. No youth might enter the first stage till twelve years old, or might be fully received as a monk till twenty. Two stages were marked, the preliminary reception or outgoing from lay life or from another sect of ascetics, and the complete entry (Upasampada) into the Order. The latter was conferred at a general meeting (Samgha) of monks in any place, a resolution asking for it being proposed, and any one who objected being required to declare his objection. The petitioner was asked if he had certain diseases, if he was a freeman, if he had no debts, if he had a proper alms-bowl and robes, if his parents consented, if he was in the royal service, etc. He had further to offer some experienced monk as his sponsor or teacher. He was then proposed for formal reception; and if no monk objected, he was declared to be received. He was next formally told what were the four resources of the Order, (1) morsels of food

Limitations to admission.

Form of reception.

The four resources.

given in alms, (2) a robe made of rags taken from a dust heap, (3) dwelling at the foot of a tree, (4) the filthiest liquid for medicine. All other food, drink, shelter, and clothing were to be regarded as extra allowances. After this, four great prohibitions were communicated: (1) the command to live a chaste life, (2) not to take even a blade of grass that had not been given to him, (3) not to take the life of even the minutest creature, (4) not to boast that he possessed any superhuman perfection. Thus the whole reception was confined to declarations on the part of both the candidate and the assembly. Nothing like prayer, special initiation, or conferment of power was included.

The four prohibitions.

It followed that it was equally easy to leave the Order. This was a direct consequence of Buddha's teaching, which was only open to those who voluntarily received it. Perhaps no Order ever held its members so lightly; and in this lay one of the secrets of its strength. The monks were bound to lead a very temperate life, but their subsistence was sure so long as the Order had any repute; the thoughts to which they were exhorted chimed in with their own natural prepossessions, and an undoubted position of respect and influence was occupied by every monk. Then again, while not coercing any one to stay (a monk might leave on simply declaring that he wished to return to relatives, or home, or a worldly life), the Order had a considerable hold on him by reason of the censure and the exclusion which it might pronounce. The breaking of any of the great prohibitions caused exclusion, provided any monk took notice of it and brought the case before an assembly. So the double mode—forcible exclusion, and voluntary retirement—were in easy operation, and thus the Order, retaining only voluntary and well-behaved members, was strong.

Quitting the Order.

Its advantages.

In one thing Buddhist monks differed from many other Orders: they were strictly forbidden to accept or possess silver or gold, or even to treasure them for the Order. Thus they were kept far from "the root of all evil." If a monk nevertheless accepted such a gift, he was compelled to hand it over to some lay adherent in the neighbourhood, who was to purchase with it butter, oil, or honey, for the use of the monks, the guilty receiver excepted. Or again the gold or silver might be cast away. Such a severe restriction was steadfastly maintained for centuries.

No silver or gold.

Another distinction of the Buddhist monks from other Orders, in India and elsewhere, was in the seemliness of their outward appearance. Far from cultivating dirt or unseemliness in any form, they were scrupulously careful about bathing, the care of the body, ventilation, and other things conducive to health. Their garments, though they might be very poor, were to be seemly and decent, and it was not forbidden to accept a sufficiency of food and clothing from any lay adherent. The whole picture of the Buddhist monks of early times is a remarkable one in its preservation of the medium between asceticism and excess, a resolute choice which has no doubt preserved it from the extremes of Hindu asceticism, though it has not always kept it equally free

Seemly outward appearance.

from excesses of other kinds. Shelter was always obtainable and allowable, and even comfortable quarters were not disdained. Everything was, as far as known, conducted on sanitary principles, in many points reminding us of the domestic legislation of the Jews. The seniors and teachers were especially revered and well attended to, their pupils and the novices who were their *protégés* being expected to travel ahead of them and prepare quarters for them when on their journeys, and to do every kindly office for them. Solitude in fact was discouraged. We everywhere hear of groups of monks residing together, helping one another in difficulties, sickness, or temptation, and looking after one another's spiritual welfare. For five years after his admission to the Order each monk had to be under the tutelage of two monks of ten years' standing whom he was to accompany and attend upon, and from whom he was to receive instruction. Where many monks resided together, offices became somewhat subdivided, but only in relation to domestic matters; thus different individuals were charged with the distribution of fruit, of rice, the care of the sleeping and assembly rooms, etc.

Companionship.

Tutelage.

It is noteworthy how little importance the Buddhist monks attached to labour apart from absolute necessities. Like the strict Brahmans, to whom the recitation of the Vedas was all-important, the monks regarded the repetition of Buddha's sayings and discourses and the rules of the Order as essential. But this was varied with discussions on points of difficulty or the fuller exposition of the leading doctrines: "He who abides in the Order talks not of many topics and talks not of vulgar things. He expounds the word himself, or stirs up another to its exposition, or he esteems even sacred silence not lightly." (O.) On the whole we have a picture of an Order living in the world, yet not of the world, almost daily contemplating the turmoil and distractions of a suffering, changeful life, yet never taking part in its affairs; a standing witness to self-seeking quarrelling people that something existed far better than their life, that passions could be quelled, that there was a life which gave relief from sorrows and produced a philosophic calm. Perhaps in this life too there was more pure love of nature than was always acknowledged; and the rule as to sparing life was certainly in accord with this. Some of their poets have beautifully expressed this love of nature. "The broad heart-cheering expanses, crowned by *kareri* forests, those lovely regions, where elephants raise their voices, the rocks, make me glad. Where the rain rushes, those lovely abodes, the mountains where sages walk, where the peacock's cry resounds, the rocks, make me glad. There is it good for me to be, the friend of abstraction, who is struggling for salvation. There is it good for me to be, the monk, who pursues the true good, who is struggling for salvation." (O.)

Recitations and discussions.

Retirement and love of nature.

The fortnightly meetings already referred to (p. 285) were almost the only regular assemblies of Buddhists, and confession and questioning of one another was almost the only religious form. We must constantly keep in mind the burdensome and expensive nature of

Few ceremonies.

the Brahman observances, and likewise the authority which the Brahmans claimed over all kinds of concerns of other people. Thus the contrast to the latter was very evident in Buddhism: little ceremony, retired life, modest demeanour, pure living, no profession of supernatural power, no assumption of authority. Herein was a great part of its strength. It is surely one of the most remarkable phenomena in the world that a religion —if it can be truly called a religion,—which professes no knowledge and inculcates no worship of a god, and which is not bound in reverence to a supernatural Person, should have obtained sway over one-third of the population of the globe. Buddha, it is true, is ever held in

Reverence to Buddha.

WORSHIPPERS BEFORE THE ENTRANCE TO THE SHRINE OF THE TOOTH, CEYLON.

reverence, but he is not believed in as existing; he is in Nirvana, but whether Nirvana is a state of present existence or not is doubtful, and thus there is no prayer to Buddha, no answer to prayer by Buddha; yet his memory is fresh, his name is sanctified, his teaching is influential as ever.

The only thing in early Buddhism approaching the pilgrimages and acts of worship in other religions, is the holding in reverence of the four notable places in Buddha's life: his birthplace, the spot where he attained knowledge and perfect insight, the place where he started the kingdom of righteousness, and the place of his death. Those who died while journeying to these places were promised that their re-birth

Regard for holy places.

should be in heaven. The care of Buddha's relics, the building of monuments to contain them, and the holding of festivals in their honour were entirely left to lay members.

Perhaps the institution most nearly parallel with the Buddhist assemblies is the class-meeting among the Methodists as instituted by John Wesley. The "leader" of the meeting was the monk of longest standing in the district, and every member of the Order was to be present, even if ill, unless he were able to send by another monk his assurance of freedom from the faults which the sacred form (Pattimokkha, the words of disburdenment) inquired into. No woman, no lay member, no novice, might take part in or be present at this solemnity. Three times every question must be put, and silence was an assertion of purity. In later times it was held necessary that every monk should have previously confessed his fault and done the appropriate penance (unless it were one for which exclusion was the punishment); and it was the duty of any brother who knew of an offence committed by another to demand his confession and performance of penance.

The confessional.

A full procedure (contained in the Kullavagga) gradually grew up to meet all cases of transgression. Buddhist monks, like other human beings, proved themselves liable to err, and we find recitals such as this at the beginning of various sections of the Kullavagga: "Now at that time the venerable Seyyasaka was stupid, and indiscreet, and full of faults, and devoid of merit, and was living in lay society in unlawful association with the world, so much so that the monks were worn out with placing him on probation and with throwing him back to the beginning of his probationary term," etc. (S. E. xvii.) The various narrations show that some monks at times were guilty of almost every kind of offence or frivolity, and so regulations for warning, punishing, or excluding them were devised. If an individual, even a lay person, had been offended or put down, his pardon had to be asked. Suspension was the punishment for not acknowledging and not atoning for an offence. How severe this "cutting" could be, is shown by the following recital: "And the monks did no reverence to him, rose not from their seats to welcome him, rendered him not service, offered him not salutation, paid not respect to him, offered him not hospitality, nor esteemed him, nor honoured him, nor supported him." The various penances and forms connected with them are too numerous for us to attempt a further account of them.

The Kullavagga.

Offences and penances.

One other simple annual ceremony there was, known as the Pavarana or invitation. At the end of the rainy season, before commencing the season of itinerancy, the monks met in assembly, each sitting down on the ground, raising his clasped hands, and inviting his brethren to charge him with any offence he might be suspected of, promising, if he had been guilty, to make atonement. If any monk happened to be isolated, he could hold this service by himself.

The Pavarana or invitation.

Thus utterly devoid of show, of stately formality, of imposing accompaniments, was Buddhism; priestless, templeless, agnostic as to the supreme

Being, its undeniable power and influence drew to it multitudes of adherents; and they were not all sound or docile fish that came to the net. Hence we early hear of dissensions in the Order, and whole chapters in the sacred books are devoted to their consideration. There are procedures for settling disputes, for dealing with charges against the innocent, the insane, etc.; and when peaceable reconciliation proved impossible, matters were to be decided by a vote of the majority, unless the subject was too trivial, or a vote would lead to an open schism.

The "nuns," or "sisters," of Buddhism were regarded as constituting a separate Order, with their own fortnightly assemblies, yet in complete subordination to the monks, so that none of the higher ceremonies were complete without the co-operation of monks. Every sister had to bow reverently, rise, and raise her clasped hands before every monk, however newly admitted. Both the confession meetings and the preaching of the true Buddhist doctrine had to be conducted for them by the monks; and the nuns, after having held their own annual meeting, had to send to the corresponding meeting of monks asking them if they had any fault to reprehend in them. They were forbidden to revile or scold monks, or to accuse them. Ordination of the sisters, penances for transgressions, settlement of disputes, all had to be performed or arranged by the monks. Every fortnight the sisterhood had to obtain audience of a monk who had been appointed by his assembly to instruct and admonish them; but he was strictly forbidden to enter their abode, or to journey or have any intimate companionship with them. No sister might live alone, or in a forest; they lived within the walls of towns and villages, and never seem to have been at all comparable in numbers or influence to the monks. Indeed, it would have been against the spirit of the Buddhist system that they should be so; for it could only exist by the keeping up of family life, the provision of food and dwelling-places, which could not be continued if women made a practice of living in nun-like separation.

The nuns, or sisters.

The relations between the Order and the laity were unlike those of almost every other church. Lay believers must have been very numerous, to admit of the support of such large numbers of monks, and the extensive dedication of parks and buildings to their use; but the monks never thought it necessary to institute a formal method of admitting lay adherents, nor to keep a roll of them. Practically in each district the followers of Buddha were well known, and it was not desirable to exclude any one from the class of givers without some potent reason. It was usual however for a declaration to be made to a monk by believers, that they took refuge in Buddha, in the Doctrine, and in the Order; but a monk might recognise a beneficent person as a lay believer before such profession. Instruction in the doctrines of Buddha would be readily given to any person who offered hospitality to the monks, and as readily withdrawn from any one who maligned or insulted them. A serious offence was visited by withdrawal of the alms-bowl, and refusal of hospitality; but such mild excommunication would probably be quite in accordance with the desire

The laity.

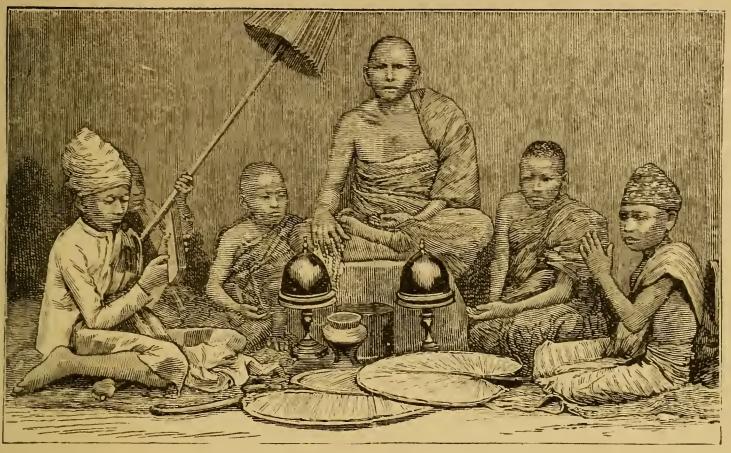
of any one who could speak ill of the Order. The monks showed considerable readiness to re-admit any one who apologised for his fault and became reconciled to them. Beyond this they did not greatly concern themselves with the private life of the laity. Their true church consisted of the Order; the rest of mankind was scarcely within measurable distance of bliss. And their moral state was but faintly cared for. It is true that an eightfold abstinence was enjoined on them, including abstinence from killing animals, stealing, lying, drinking intoxicating liquors, unchastity, eating after mid-day, and from perfumes and garlands; and they must sleep on hard beds on the ground. General meetings of believers do not seem to have been held, nor were they admitted to meetings of the monks. But praises and promises of bliss were freely bestowed after this fashion: "To give houses to the Order, wherein in safety and in peace to meditate and think at ease, the Buddha calls the best of gifts. Therefore let a wise man, who understands what is best for himself, build beautiful houses, and receive into them knowers of the doctrine. Let him with cheerful mind give food to them, and drink, raiment and dwelling-places, to the upright in heart. Then shall they preach to him the doctrine which drives away all suffering; if he apprehends that doctrine here below, he goes sinless into Nirvana." Naturally there was sometimes a tendency for monks to exact too much, and the sacred books exhibit a stern repression of such practices, together with considerable sensitiveness as to the opinion of the lay-believers.

We may here briefly refer to the modern doctrine termed "Esoteric Buddhism," which finds favour with some persons in our own land. In the Book of the Great Decease, Buddha expressly disclaims any secret doctrine of this kind. Modern Esoteric Buddhism should rather be called a form of Theosophy, which takes hold of some points in Buddhism, especially that of transmigration or reincarnation, and expresses the belief that souls become reincarnated in successive bodies, without remembering what took place in a previous state of existence; the successive lives being separated from one another by "intervals of spiritual consciousness on a plane of nature wholly imperceptible to ordinary senses." During this stage, the lower passions of earth are forgotten and the higher alone enjoyed; and the vividness of this joy will depend on the impulse and intensity of previous upward aspirations. Reincarnation, when this impulse is exhausted, provides an appropriate punishment for ordinary evil doing.

Esoteric Buddhism.

The word "karma," or "doing," is very important in Esoteric Buddhism: it is explained as the law of cause and effect in the moral world. It determines, according to fixed consequences, the state and condition in which reincarnations take place; on earth good karma may be laid up, and bad karma worked out by suffering. Finally, the individual returns no more to earth-life; and the spiritual state becomes permanent and exalted. A further doctrine is, that, concurrent with the physical existence, the human ego is capable of existence and of consciousness in a non-physical state. But all these ideas are quite unprovable by ordinary methods of proof. (See A. P. Sinnett, "Esoteric Buddhism.")

Karma.



BURMESE BUDDHIST PRIEST AND PUPILS.

CHAPTER VII.

Modern Buddhism. I.

Missionary religions—Buddhism many-sided—The first Buddhist councils—King Asoka—The third council—Asoka's edicts—Divergence of branches—The fourth (Kanishka's) council—Fa-hien—Siladitya's council—His good deeds—Huen-Siang—Decline of Indian Buddhism—Its causes—The Greater and the Lesser Vehicles—Wide range of Buddhism—Number of Buddhists—Singhalese Buddhism—Gradual modification—Images of Buddha—Viharas in Ceylon—Cave temples—Worship of the laity—Worship of the Bo-tree—Dagobas—Relics of Buddha—Impressions of Buddha's foot—Vassa and public readings—The Pirit ceremony—Buddhist monks in Ceylon—Schools—Services of monks in illness—Burmese Buddhism—Burmese monastery schools—Novices—A Burmese monastery—The Phon-gyees—Life of a monk—Monastery buildings—Burmese pagodas—The great Rangoon temple—Pagahn—Burmese worship—Images of Buddha—Pagoda feasts—Nat worship—Animism—Funerals of laity—Funerals of monks—Siamese Buddhism—Siamese temples—Newborn children—Reformed sects in Siam.

AS a missionary religion, Buddhism[1] is only comparable with Mahometanism and Christianity. No other religions have set themselves to conquer many races outside their original home; no others have achieved so much peacefully. Hinduism professedly restricts itself to the Hindus, though it has displayed great powers of absorbing aboriginal races into itself. Buddhism, Mahometanism, and Christianity are for all people who will receive them; and their followers have proved their faith by their missionary efforts. **Missionary religions.**

Sir Monier-Williams, in his recent work on Buddhism, well expresses the great variety of aspects under which it is necessary to study Buddhism. In various countries and periods, "its teaching has become both negative and positive, agnostic and gnostic. It passes from apparent atheism and materialism to theism, polytheism, and spiritualism. **Buddhism many-sided.**

[1] See Spence Hardy's "Eastern Monachism" and "Manual of Buddhism"; Sir Monier-Williams's "Buddhism"; "The Burman," by Shway Yoe (Mr. Scott), (B.); Alabaster's "Wheel of the Law."

It is, under one aspect, mere pessimism; under another, pure philanthropy; under another, monastic communism; under another, high morality; under another, a variety of materialistic philosophy; under another, simple demonology; under another, a mere farrago of superstitions, including necromancy, witchcraft, idolatry, and fetishism. In some form or other it may be held with almost any religion, and embraces something from almost every creed."

At the first Buddhist Council, held at Rajagriha, after the death of Gautama, the teachings of the Enlightened One were sung in three divisions, namely, the Sutras, or Suttas, or words of Buddha to his disciples; the Vinaya, or discipline of the Order, and the Dharma, or doctrine; forming together the Tripitakas, or three baskets or collections.

The first Buddhist councils.

A hundred years later, a second council, held at Vesali, condemned the system of indulgences which had arisen, and led to the splitting of Buddhism into two parties, who afterwards gave rise to as many as eighteen sects. But these controversies did not hinder the spread of Buddhism in Northern India. About the middle of the third century B.C., Asoka, the king of Magadha, or Behar, grandson of Chandragupta (Greek Sandrokottos), founder of the kingdom, and noted for his connexion with Alexander the Great and Seleucus, became a sort of second founder of Buddhism. He founded so many monasteries that his kingdom received the name of Land of the Monasteries (Vihara or Behar).

King Asoka.

He made it the religion of the State, and held at Patna the third Buddhist council in 244 B.C., which rectified the doctrines and canon of Buddhism. Asoka subsequently did much to spread the Order by sending out missionaries; and he inculcated its principles by having them cut upon rocks and pillars, and in caves, through a wide extent of India. A number of these still exist. The form which the Buddhist scriptures took under his influence, in the dialect of his time and country, has been the basis of the manuscripts preserved in Ceylon, in what is now known as the Pali language. In every way Asoka showed himself to be one of the most enlightened of religious monarchs; and he in no way sought to make his views triumph by force. His missionaries were directed to mingle equally with all ranks of unbelievers, and to "teach better things."

The third council.

Asoka's edicts.

His edicts include the prohibition of the slaughter of animals for food or sacrifice, the statement of the happiness to be found in virtue and the contrast of the transitory glory of this world with the reward beyond it, the inculcation of the doctrine that the teaching of Buddhist doctrine and virtue to others constitutes the greatest of charitable gifts, an order for the provision of medical aid for men and animals, the appointment of guardians of morality, etc.

From the time of Asoka we may date the divergence of Buddhism into its varied national forms; henceforth it is only possible to treat the subject either by the comparative method or by referring in turn to the development of each main branch. Space will only permit us to treat each very briefly. The fourth great Buddhist council, held under

Divergence of branches.

Kanishka, who reigned from Kashmir widely over north-western India, in the first century A.D., drew up three commentaries on Buddhism, which were the basis for the Tibetan scriptures. This council indicates that Buddhism was firmly and widely established in India, and up to at least A.D. 800 it continued widely prevalent there, though Brahmanism was never suppressed, and in fact it was gradually absorbing many Buddhist ideas, and preparing, when that operation was completed, to take its place entirely. In the beginning of the fifth century A.D., Fa-hien, a Chinese Buddhist, visiting India, found Buddhist monks and Brahman priests equally honoured, and Buddhist religious houses side by side with Hindu temples. In the seventh century the Buddhists were being outnumbered by the Hindus, although there were still powerful Buddhist monarchs and states in India. At this period Siladitya appears as a great patron-king, who in 634 held another great council at Kanauj on the Ganges; but the progress of Brahmanism was manifest in the discussions which took place at this council between Buddhists and Brahmans, and by the worship of the sun god and of Siva on days succeeding the inauguration of a statue of Buddha. The divergences among followers of Buddha were seen in the disputes which took place between the advocates of the Northern and the Southern Canons, or the greater and lesser "Vehicles" of the law. Siladitya was further notable for his public distribution of his treasures and jewels every five years, after which he put on a beggar's rags; thus he celebrated Buddha's Great Renunciation. Near Gaya he supported the vast monastery of Nalunda, where it is said that ten thousand Buddhist monks and novices pursued their studies and devotions; but Gaya was already a great centre of Hinduism. Huen-Siang, who travelled from China through India in the seventh century, found Brahmanism gaining ground, though Buddhism still flourished in Southern India. Some of the Hindu reformers persecuted it, as already related. It was still comparatively strong in Orissa and Kashmir in the 11th century, and Magadha continued Buddhist until the Mohammedan conquest at the end of the twelfth century. After that, Buddhism was practically extinct in India.

The fourth (Kanishka's) Council.

Fa-hien.

Siladitya's council.

His good deeds.

Huen Siang.

Decline of Indian Buddhism.

Why was this? Partly because, as we have already pointed out, Hinduism seized upon the more valuable doctrines of Buddhism, and combined them with the stronger and more popular elements of its own faith and ritual. Buddhism, too, did not set itself to extinguish Brahmanism; that would have been contrary to its principles; and its composure and extinction of desires was not calculated to put down any active opposition. Moreover, the Buddhists' celibacy contradicted one of the great instincts of humanity; and we must allow for the full effect of their ignoring the existence of God, of their denial of revelation, and of the efficacy of prayer and priesthood. Again, and perhaps chiefly, Buddhism left too little for the lay adherent to do. Those only were true Buddhists who became monks; the Church outside was not defined; almost

Its courses.

its only privilege was to wait on and feed the monks; consequently, Vishnuism and Sivaism, in which the people had a most important part to play, most special ends to gain, and a most vital interest, conquered the affections and devotion of the masses of India.

It is in Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam that the nearest resemblance to primitive Buddhism is to be found at the present day. These countries adhere to the canon of scriptures, as given in preceding chapters, called by the Northern Buddhists the "Lesser Vehicle," in depreciation. Mahinda, the son of king Asoka, was the great apostle of Buddhism in Ceylon; and now it has a history of over two thousand years. The canon was first translated into Singhalese and then translated back into Pali by Buddaghosa in the fifth century, since which the texts have remained practically unchanged in Pali, not very different from the language of Asoka's day and kingdom. They have been translated into modern Singhalese, and commented upon at great length.

The Greater and the Lesser Vehicles.

The council held by Kanishka was the starting-point of the Northern Canon, often called the "Greater Vehicle" (Mahayana), written in Sanskrit. There are nine principal books of these scriptures, of which the best known are the "Lotus of the true Law," and the "Legendary Life of Buddha." All of them were translated into Tibetan; and a large number of commentaries upon them were written. It is upon this "Greater Vehicle" that the Buddhism of Nepaul, Tibet, China, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Japan is founded; but these all differ considerably from one another. Extending over so wide and so populous an area of the earth's surface, Buddhism has been described as being the religion professed by more persons than any other, and has sometimes been credited with five hundred millions of adherents. The mistake that is made in such a calculation is evident when we remember that in China, where the greatest number of nominal Buddhists exists, a vast proportion of the population profess Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism equally or indifferently; and the study of our chapters on the former will have shown how deep a hold Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the varied forms of Taoism, have upon the Chinese. If they were called upon to exclude one of their religions, it is almost certain that Buddhism would be excluded. It is very doubtful if it is proper to reckon so many as a hundred millions of Chinese as Buddhists. Again, we have seen that Shintoism prevails in Japan, where, nevertheless, many people generally show some adhesion to Buddhism. Buddhism, essentially, has no lay standard of adherence, since the true Buddhists are the monks only. Sir Monier-Williams reckons the number of Buddhists at one hundred millions; Dr. Happer, an experienced American missionary in China, estimates that there are only twenty millions of real Buddhist believers in China, and a total of seventy-two and a half millions in Asia. But it is a very doubtful thing to attempt to reckon the numbers of adherents of a religion, and especially such a religion as Buddhism. It is certainly one of the four most prevalent religions in the world.

Wide range of Buddhism.

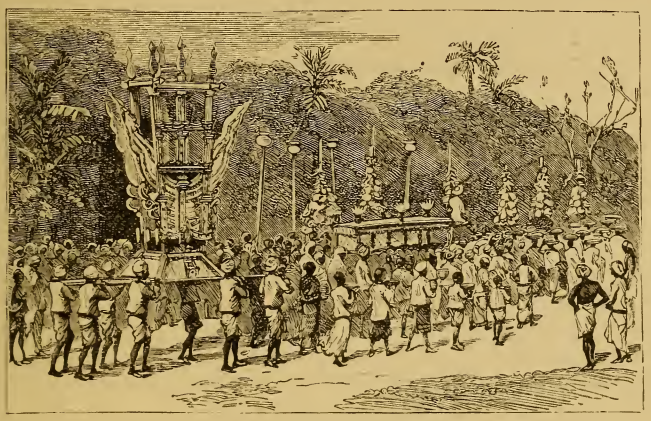
Number of Buddhists.

SINGHALESE BUDDHISM.

Great indeed is the contrast between modern Buddhism, with its elaborate organisation, its wealthy monasteries, its considerable ritual, its image worship and deifications, and the simplicity of its early state as we have sketched it. No doubt this has come to pass by a gradual process of adaptation to those instincts and desires of the masses of the people which have compelled recognition in all quarters of the globe and in almost all religions, together with the regard which grew around Gautama as a perfect man; and from the first, great importance seems to have been attached to his relics. Yet it was long before images of him came into general use. In Ceylon these are called "Pilamas," meaning counterpart or likeness. They had become numerous in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries A.D., some being over twenty feet high and resplendent

Gradual modification.

Images of Buddha.



A BURMESE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

with jewels. "The viharas in which the images are deposited," says Spence Hardy, "are generally, in Ceylon, permanent erections, the walls being plastered and the roof covered with tiles, even when the dwellings of the priests are mean and temporary. Near the entrance are frequently seen four figures *in rilievo*, representing the guardians and champions of the temple. Surrounding the sanctum there is usually a narrow room, in which are images and paintings; but in many instances it is dark. Opposite the door of entrance there is another door, protected by a screen, and when this is withdrawn an image of Buddha is seen, occupying nearly the whole of the apartment, with a table or altar before it, upon which flowers are placed. Like the temples of the Greeks, the walls are covered with paintings; the style at present adopted in Ceylon greatly resembling, in its general appearance, that which is presented in the tombs and temples of Egypt. The story most commonly illustrates some passages

Viharas in Ceylon.

in the life of Buddha, or in the births he received as Bodhi-sat. The viharas are not unfrequently built upon rocks or in other romantic situations. The court around is planted with the trees that bear the flowers most usually offered. Some of the most celebrated viharas are caves, in part natural, with excavations carried further into the rock. The images of Buddha are sometimes recumbent, at other times upright, or in a sitting posture, either in the act of contemplation, or with the hand uplifted in the act of giving instruction. At Cotta, near Colombo, there is a recumbent image forty-two feet in length. Upon the altar, in addition to the flowers, there are frequently smaller images either of marble or metal. In the shape of the images, each nation appears to have adopted its own style of beauty, those of Ceylon resembling a well-proportioned native of the island, whilst those of China present an appearance of obesity that would be regarded as anything but divine by a Hindu. The images made in Siam are of a more attenuated figure, and comport better with our idea of the ascetic."

Cave Temples.

The cave temple at Damballa is one of the most perfect. One of its halls contains a gigantic recumbent figure of Buddha in the solid rock forty-seven feet long; at its feet stands an attendant, and opposite to the face is a statue of Vishnu, who is supposed to have assisted at the building; another has more than fifty figures of Buddha, and statues of several Brahmanic devas, Vishnu, Natha, etc. There is a handsome dagoba in this vihara, the spire nearly touching the roof. The whole interior—rock, wall, and statues—is painted in brilliant colours, yellow predominating. These, and other cave temples in Ceylon show that they were constructed through the same impulse and in the same art epoch with those at Ajunta and Ellora. No recent vihara of importance has been erected in Ceylon.

Worship of the laity.

The laity, on entering a vihara, bend the body or prostrate themselves before the image of Buddha with palms touching each other and thumbs touching the forehead. They next repeat the threefold formula of taking refuge, or they take upon themselves a certain number of the ten obligations. Some flowers and a little rice are then placed upon the altar, and a few coppers are cast into a vessel. No form of prayer is used, and to all appearance there is no feeling concerned in the worship, which is a matter of course and convention, with a desire of gaining some boon. Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Order, appear in Ceylon to be almost co-equally invoked for protection. The protection of Buddha is to be obtained by listening to the scriptures or keeping the precepts, and thus the evil consequences of demerit are overcome. The protection of the Order is gained by a small gift. The protection of the three takes away the fear of successive existences, mental fear, bodily pain, and the misery of the four hells. Buddha will not protect one who refrains from worship when near a dagoba or other sacred place, or covers himself with his garment, an umbrella, etc., when in sight of an image of Buddha. The Doctrine will not protect one who refuses to listen to the reading of the scriptures when called upon, or who listens irreverently or does not keep the precepts. The

Order will not protect one who sits near a priest without permission, who reads the precepts without being appointed, or argues against a priest, or has his shoulders covered or holds an umbrella up when near a priest, or who remains seated when riding in any vehicle near a priest. Many notable legends attest the importance of these statements.

The worship of the Bo-tree (Pipul, or sacred fig) under which Gautama was accustomed to sit is no doubt very ancient, and in the court-yard of most viharas in Ceylon there is one, said to be derived from the original one brought to the island in the fourth century B.C. Usually one was planted on the mound under which the ashes of Kandyan chiefs and priests were placed. **Worship of the Bo-tree.**

The dagoba next claims attention, but this word appears in another guise, as "pagoda"; it is derived from "da," an osseous relic, and "geba," the womb, meaning the shrine of an osseous relic. The word "tope," otherwise "stupa," a relic, is used for the same buildings. It is a circular building of stone, built on a natural or artificial elevation, and its summit is crowned with a hemispherical cupola, formerly terminated by spires. One of the great dagobas in Ceylon, at Anuradhapura, was originally 405 feet high, but is now not more than 230 feet; another, formerly 315 feet, is now not more than 269 feet. All are built of brick and covered with a preparation of lime, of a pure white, and capable of high polish, so that when perfect the building resembled a crystal dome. At various periods in modern times these dagobas have been opened. One, opened in 1820 in Ceylon, contained in the interior a small square compartment of brickwork, set exactly towards the cardinal points. In the centre, directly under the apex, was a hollow stone vase with a cover, containing a small piece of bone, with some thin pieces of plate-gold, a few rings, pearls, and beads, a few clay images of the sacred naga, or snake-god, and two lamps. Such relics are either supposed to have been those of Buddha himself or of some Buddhist saint, and many miracles are ascribed to their virtues. The most celebrated relic of Buddha now existing is in Ceylon, namely, the dalada, or left canine tooth, a piece of discoloured ivory two inches long (much too long for a human tooth). This is preserved in a small chamber in the vihara attached to the old palace of the Kandyan kings, enclosed in nine successive bell-shaped golden and jewelled cases, each locked, and the key kept by a separate official. On the walls of the corridor of entrance are coloured frescoes of the eight principal hells of Buddhism, in which evildoers are represented being torn asunder by red-hot tongs, or sawn in two, or crushed between rocks, or fixed on red-hot spikes. Thus does the spirit of gentle Buddhism find place for practical threats of horrible torture. **Dagobas.** **Relics of Buddha.**

Next to the relics in regard are impressions of Buddha's foot. The most celebrated is on Adam's Peak in Ceylon, annually visited by 100,000 pilgrims. It is a depression or excavation over five feet long, and three-quarters of a yard wide. Representations of it are divided into 108 compartments, each containing a design or figure, with a wheel in the centre. **Impressions of Buddha's foot.**

The Vassa, or residence in a fixed abode during the rainy season, celebrated by reading the Buddhist scriptures to the people, is well kept up in Ceylon. The reading takes place in a temporary building of pyramidal form, with successive platforms, built near a vihara. In the centre is an elevated platform for the monks, and the people sit around on mats. Lamps and lanterns of great variety and gay colour are held by the people in their hands or on their heads during the reading. Sometimes the scene is a very attractive one. "The females are arrayed in their gayest attire, their hair being combed back from the forehead and neatly done up in a knot, fastened with silver pins and small ornamental combs. The usual dress of the men is of white cotton. Flags and streamers, figured handkerchiefs and shawls, float from every convenient receptacle. At intervals, tom-toms are beaten; the rude trumpet sends forth its screams; and the din of the music, the murmur of the people's voices, the firing of musketry and jinjalls, and the glare of the lamps, produce an effect not much in consonance with an act of worship" (Hardy). Usually only the Pali text is read, so that the people do not understand a word, and many fall asleep or chew betel. Whenever the name of Buddha is repeated by the reader, the people call out simultaneously "Sadhu," an exclamation of joy. In many ways these readings are observed as festival occasions; they take place at each change of the moon, or four times in the lunar month. Great merit is said to accrue to all hearers who keep the eight precepts upon these service days. It is not proper to trade or to make trade calculations on them, still less to injure any one.

Vassa and public readings.

Another of the ceremonies in which the laity have a share is the "Pirit," or reading certain portions of the scriptures as an exorcism against demons, *i.e.*, really malignant spirits who were formerly men. Certain portions of the scriptures are supposed to avail specially in this work, and these are collectively termed the Pirit. One of these contains the following: "All spirits here assembled, those of earth and those of air, let all such be joyful; let them listen attentively to my words. Therefore hear me, O ye spirits; be friendly to the race of men; for day and night they bring you their offerings; therefore keep diligent watch over them. Ye spirits here assembled, those of earth and those of air, let us bow before Buddha, let us bow before the Law, let us bow before the Order." The recitation of the Pirit on a great occasion continues without interruption through seven days and nights, relays of priests being engaged, with many attendant circumstances of festivity.

The Pirit ceremony.

We now pass to the Buddhist order of monks in Ceylon, "priests" as they call themselves now-a-days. "In nearly all the villages and towns of Ceylon," says Hardy, "that are inhabited by the Singhalese or Kandyans, the priests of Buddha are frequently seen, as they have to receive their food by taking the alms-bowl from house to house. They usually walk along the road at a measured pace, without taking much notice of what passes around. They have no covering for the head, and are generally barefooted. In the right hand they carry a fan, in

Buddhist monks in Ceylon.

shape not much unlike a hand-screen, which they hold up before the face when in the presence of women, that the entrance of evil thoughts into the mind may be prevented. The bowl is slung from the neck, and is covered by the robe, except at the time when alms are received." There are several

ON THE SACRED PLATFORM OF THE RANGOON PAGODA.

thousands of these living as celibates in simple leaf-huts or in viharas; they follow substantially the rules given in the last chapter. Their countenances are usually less intelligent-looking than those of the common people, with an appearance of great vacancy approaching imbecility; a few rise above this

state, but it is only the natural physical result of the kind of meditation and rote-worship in which they engage. Yet the populace regard them as a kind of inferior Buddhas, and pay them great deference. In their dress they repeat that attributed to Buddha; it is assimilated to a yellow garment of rags, by the pieces being torn and sewn together again. The left shoulder is usually covered, the right bare. There is generally a school attached to the vihara, in which boys are taught to read, recite, and write, this last being first effected on sand with the finger. A large proportion of the books read relate to Buddhism. Latterly the Ceylon Buddhists have established a college at Colombo for the study of Sanskrit, Pali, and Singhalese. Each vihara has a head, and frequently possesses considerable landed property, but there is no organised hierarchy. One of the most important services rendered by the Buddhists has been in their maintenance of schools; the pupils in general become qualified to enter upon the Buddhistic novitiate at once, and the ceremony of initiation is a very simple one.

Schools.

Notwithstanding the limited sacerdotal functions assigned to the monks, they are to a certain extent recognised in birth and marriage ceremonies, especially in fixing auspicious days for weddings. In case of illness, a monk is sent for, an offering of flowers, oil, and food being at the same time forwarded. A temporary audience-place is fitted up close to the house, and here the monk reads from the scripture for six hours to the relatives and friends, and, if possible, the sick man also. Offerings are again given to the priest, who finally says, "By reverence do the wise secure health, by almsgiving do they lay up treasures for themselves." If he appears about to die, the monk recites the formula of profession of Buddhism, the five prohibitions (p. 278), and the four earnest reflections. As a rule, in Ceylon, the dead are buried; but the bodies of monks are burnt under decorated canopies, which are left to moulder away.

Services of monks in illness.

BURMESE BUDDHISM.

A very vivid picture of Buddhism in Burmah has been given by Mr. Scott in his fascinating book, "The Burman," published under the pseudonym of "Shway Yoe." Every boy goes to the monastery school from the age of eight, and is taught to read and write, the chief part of the teaching consisting of Buddhistic formulas and precepts; and, until the English took possession of the country, every boy took the yellow robe at the close of his schooling, although he might retain it but for a short time; and as yet comparatively few have thrown off the conventional mode of education in favour of the Government schools. On entering the Order as a novice, at the age of twelve or more, there is an elaborate ceremony, corresponding to baptism, at which the youth receives a new name, showing that it is now possible for him to escape from suffering; but this is again lost when or if he returns to the world, though having borne it enables him to add to his merits by

Burmese monastery schools.

Novices.

good works. The ceremony includes the putting off of fine clothes, the shaving of the head, reciting a Pali prayer to be admitted to the Order as a novice, that he may walk steadily in the path to perfection, and finally attain to the blessed state of "Neh'ban," as Nirvana comes to be rendered in Burmese, and the reception of the yellow robes and the begging-pot from the chief or abbot of the monastery. Finally, there is a feast at the parent's house. The stay of the novice in the monastery is not usually long, sometimes even only one day, but usually at least through one rainy season, or Wah (Vassa, sometimes called Lent by Europeans). Those who resolve to adopt the religious life enter upon advanced studies of Buddhist writings; but many things hinder the novice, especially the duty of attending on the monks, begging, carrying umbrellas or books for his seniors. In Lower Burmah the parents sometimes send food regularly for their son, but this would not be allowed in Upper Burmah.

In a Burmese monastery the whole community is roused a little before daylight, awakened by a big bell, and after washing, each brother recites a few formulas, one of which is "How great a favour has the Lord Buddha bestowed upon me in manifesting to me his law, through the observance of which I may escape hell and secure my salvation." The entire brotherhood assemble round the image of Buddha, recite the morning service, and then perform various domestic duties, the elder only meditating. A slight meal and an hour's study are followed by the procession of all the monks through the town, to receive food in the alms-bowl. On their return a portion is offered to Buddha's image, and then breakfast is taken. Strictly it ought to consist of the morning's gift, not specially dressed; but usually this is now given to the scholars or any chance wanderers, while a tasty meal is prepared for the monks. Visits of courtesy or honour fill up part of the day, at which great ceremony is observed, the conversation, according to Shway Yoe, coming round to the merit of almsgiving. After a light meal at noon, all return to work, some teaching, others studying the Buddhist books, overseeing the writers who copy manuscripts; but the work of many is merely meditation, repeating the formulas of the Order, "while, throughout all, sounds the din of the schoolroom, where the pupils are shouting out their tasks at the top of their voices. The novices and monks may take a stroll in the evening, but at sunset all are summoned back, and the scholars recite the whole or part of their day's work to the abbot. So the evening passes till 8.30 or 9, when all assemble for devotion, before the image of Buddha. Then a novice loudly proclaims the hour, day,

A Burmese monastery.

BURMESE IMAGE OF GAUTAMA.

and year; all bow before Buddha thrice, and similarly before the abbot, and then retire. The testimony of Shway Yoe is, that "the effect of such a school, presided over by an abbot of intelligence and earnestness, must infallibly work for the good of all connected with it, and especially so in the case of an impulsive impressionable people like the Burmese. As long as all the men of the country pass through the monasteries, the teachings of western missionaries can have but little power to shake the hold of Buddhism on the people."

The Phon-gyees.

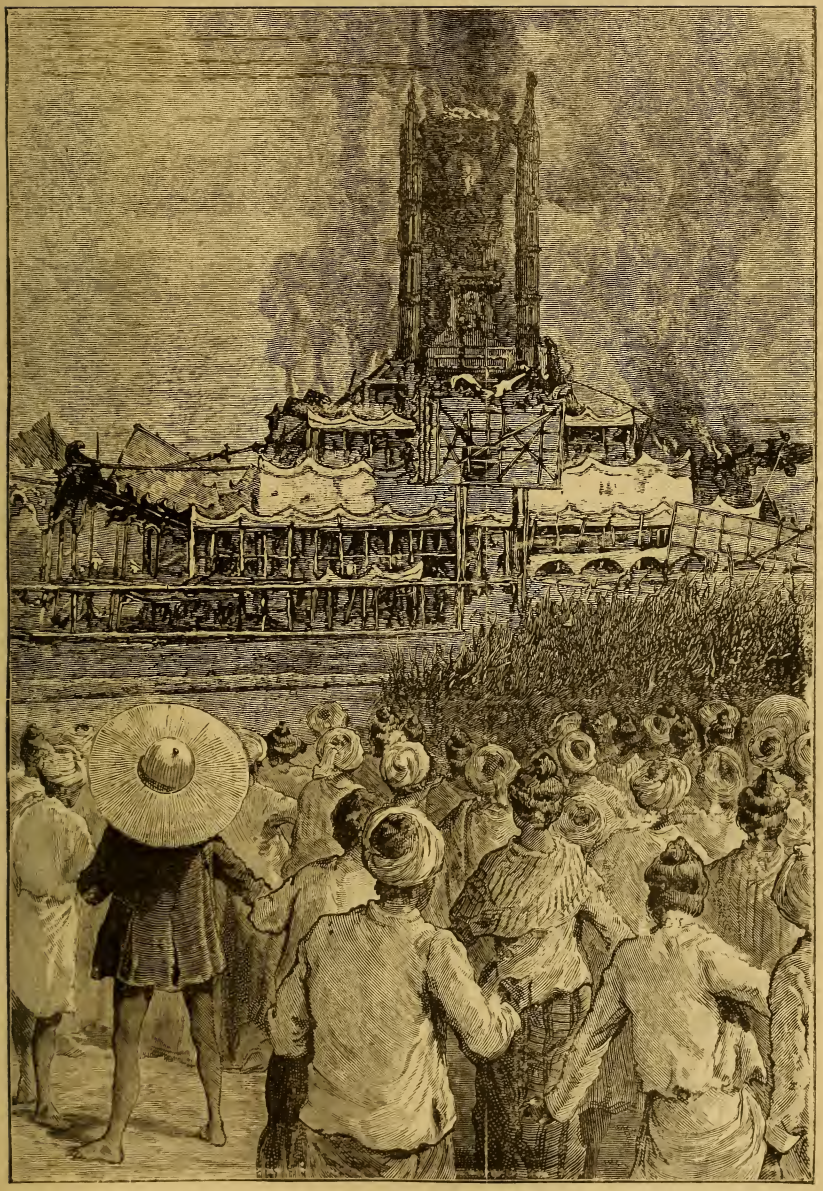
Among those who are fully recognised as monks, the Phon-gyee of "great glory" is distinguished, having been at least ten years a monk, and having proved himself steadfast and self-denying. From this class the Sayah (head or abbot) is chosen. Beyond these is recognised the Provincial, overseeing a number of monasteries in a district and the Sadaw, or royal teacher, of whom there are eight, forming a sort of supreme Burmese religious board. It is always possible to leave the monastery, in which point Buddhist monasteries differ from most others.

Life of a monk.

The life of a monk is an ideal one in many respects; food is supplied to him; he has no sermons to prepare; he has few outside religious rites to attend; and if he observes the cardinal precepts of Buddhism, he is continually accumulating merit. There is nothing in the admission or routine of the full monkhood which is not in essence contained in our chapters. Discipline is strictly maintained, the breaking of the prime commands being severely punished; unfrocking, expulsion, possibly stoning, are penalties sufficiently heavy. The condition of an expelled monk is pitiable: "no one may speak to him; no monk will take alms from him; he can neither buy nor sell; he is not allowed even to draw water from a well." If there is evil living or neglect of religious duty in a neighbourhood, the brethren invert their alms-bowls and cease to go out begging. This is felt to be so grave a censure that it does not fail to influence the most hardened in a very short time, yet laxities are not unknown. Some monks will receive money or gold, or will adopt circuitous methods of getting what they desire. So far has this proceeded that an active sect has arisen in lower Burmah to restore and maintain the true austerities and ordinances of Buddhism, and it has gained many adherents among laity as well as monks. On the whole, the monks are greatly reverenced by the people, who make obeisance when they pass, the women kneeling down by the roadside in Upper Burmah. The oldest layman terms himself the disciple of the youngest monk, whose commonest actions are spoken of in magniloquent language.

Monastery buildings.

The monastery is an essential accompaniment of the Burmese village, away from bustle, surrounded by fine trees. Usually it is built of teak, sometimes of brick. All are oblong, and one storey high, the living rooms being raised eight or ten feet on pillars. The woodwork is ornamented with varied carving of figures and scroll-work; the roofs appear as if constituting successive storeys—three five, or, seven. The main hall is divided into two portions—one for the scholars and a higher one for



FUNERAL PYRE OF A BURMESE PHON-GYEE.

the reception of visitors. At the back of this, against the wall, are images of Buddha on a sort of altar, with candles, flowers, praying flags, etc. Near this are various treasures, books, manuscripts, chests, models of monasteries and pagodas, etc. This hall is also used as the sleeping place of the monks. Sometimes a number of these buildings are contained within one enclosure.

The most gorgeous group of monastic buildings in the world probably is the Royal Monastery outside Mandalay. "Every building in it is magnificent; every inch carved with the ingenuity of a Chinese toy, the whole ablaze with gold leaf and a mosaic of fragments of looking-glass. . . . The interior is no less elaborate. The wood-carving is particularly fine." But this is only one among many. The whole space between Mandalay Hill and the city is full of monasteries, some with excellent libraries of palm-leaf books; while in Lower Burmah many do not possess even a complete copy of the three chief books of the "Lesser Vehicle." It being the special privilege of the lay believers to build and support monasteries, plenty of scope for such philanthropy is always allowed; but many monasteries have a good deal of cash laid away. The Burmese are taxed most seriously by Buddhism, for abundant almsgiving must be supplemented by regular worship at the pagodas.

The pagodas of Burmah are still more numerous than the monasteries, old crumbling ones beside new glittering buildings, as in India, with very many imaginary relics of Buddha or other saints. All these buildings the Burmese call Zaydee, the offering place, or place of prayer; while the more notable pagodas are termed Payahs. A relic or sacred object is buried or enclosed in each; without it no "htee," or umbrella, could crown its spire. Often these include golden images of Buddha with the hooded snake. They are based on the primitive mound plan, combined with the lotus, extended in many cases into an inverted bell with a spire. They are all made of sun-dried brick, very liable to decay, and only a few are renewed or made substantial enough for permanence. Some of the pagodas are surrounded at the base by a circle of smaller pagodas, each enshrining an image of Buddha.

Burmese pagodas.

The most magnificent Buddhist temple is that at Rangoon, the Shway Dagohn Payah, containing, it is said, eight hairs of Gautama Buddha, beside relics of the three Buddhas who preceded him. It stands upon a huge mound of two terraces, the upper 166 feet above the ground outside, and in extent 900 feet by 685. The long flights of steps by which the ascent is made are covered by long ranges of handsome teak roofs, with frescoes showing scenes in Buddha's disciples' lives, and horrible scenes of the torments of the wicked in hell. From the centre of the upper terrace rises the solid octagonal brick payah, 370 feet high, abundantly gilt. At the top is the htee, or gilt umbrella of iron work of many rings, each with many jewelled bells of gold and silver, tinkling with every movement of the air. Four chapels at the foot of the pagoda have colossal sitting figures of Buddha, with hundreds of smaller ones in every style and posture, surrounding or even fixed upon them. The decorations and carvings upon

The great Rangoon temple.

and around these are elaborate beyond description; the multitudes of bells of all sizes, from the great one of 42 tons downwards, deserve special mention. The great bell was carried off by the English after the second Burmese war, but by accident it capsized and lay at the bottom of the Rangoon river, and the English failed to raise it. The Burmese begged to be allowed to try, and with primitive appliances and great perseverance succeeded in raising it, and so got it back again, to the great triumph of Buddhists; and indeed the carrying off of religious emblems or property of any kind from a conquered people is a feat no Englishman has reason to be proud of. The original temple, 27 feet high, has been again and again encased with bricks rendering it larger and taller, and has thus attained its present height, and it is periodically regilt; also the faithful are never tired of climbing as high as they can, and fixing squares of gold leaf upon it. "Lepers and cripples and nuns in their white robes line the steps and cry out in piteous tones for alms. Round the platform itself are sellers of candles and coloured tapers, Chinese incense sticks, and prayer flags, along with abundance of gold leaf. Numbers of young girls sit about with flowers, especially of the lotus, and meats of different kinds for offerings. The platform is never deserted. Even long after midnight the voice of the worshipper may be heard in the night air, chanting in solemn monotone his pious aspirations, while on a duty day, and especially on a feast day, the laughing, joyous crowd of men and maidens, in their gay national dress, makes the platform of the Shway Dagohn one of the finest sights in the world." (B.)

The Shway Maw-Daw, the lotus-shrine of Pegu; the depository of the sacred hair at Prome, and the great temple at Mandalay, are among the more remarkable temples in Burmah. But we must not omit to mention the great collection of pagodas at Pagahn, the deserted capital on the Irrawaddy, extending for eight miles along the bank and for two miles inland. Colonel Yule, in his "Mission to Ava," has described them in detail. Some are cruciform vaulted temples, with great galleries and transepts, and remind visitors of old-world cathedrals; others have minarets, pyramids of fretwork; some are like huge bulbous mushrooms. It is said that there are nearly ten thousand more or less complete, but ruin is on many, and jungle-bushes have overgrown them. Very many contain colossal figures of Buddha and sculptured groups. Again, Shway Goo, an island between Mandalay and Bhamo, is a great centre of temples, having nine hundred and ninety-nine. **Pagahn.**

Thus we may gather some faint idea how deeply the belief in securing merit by building a pagoda has entered into the nature of the Burmese; but, says Shway Yoe, they are not idolaters; they worship neither relics nor images. The pagoda and the figure only furnish a fitting place to praise the great Buddha and to resolve to imitate his charity and sinless life. No actual prayers are offered to them; simple praises learnt at the monastery school, or special forms made by the worshipper are repeated, and their character is similar to those we have already given samples of. They are not merely addressed to the image, but also to the **Burmese worship.**

entire building, and may be repeated anywhere, at a distance from it. Pilgrims to the Rangoon temple prostrate themselves now and again, from the time they catch sight of the spire, repeating simple formulæ or Pali sentences of which they may or may not know the meaning. Many of them have little paper prayer flags in various fanciful shapes, having written in the centre some pious sentence in Pali or Burmese. These are laid on the shrine, and add to the merit of the worshipper, as do the candles, lamps, flowers, incense-sticks, etc., which are offered. "The worshippers, if they are men, squat down, resting the body on their heels. The body is bent a little forward, and the hands are joined together and raised to the forehead. The women kneel down altogether, and take especial care to cover up their feet. All are of course barefooted. Before commencing the repetition of the formulæ, three prostrations are made with the forehead to the ground. It is usual to hold some offering between the hands during worship, and this is afterwards reverently deposited on the altar.

Strange to say, the Burmese have but little idea of perpetuating their images of Buddha; few are of marble or brass; most are of short-lived brick, mortar, and wood. The utmost period for which they could endure would be as nothing in comparison with the countless future ages. Their variety too is not great; they are either standing in the preaching attitude, sitting cross-legged, or recumbent and representing the approach of death. The erect figures are usually very large; these are common in Upper Burmah, some forty feet high; many have been and are frequently gilt. In Lower Burmah the whole of the receptacles near the shrines are crammed full of little images of all kinds. Only a few great images are carved or placed in the open.

Images of Buddha.

The ignorant in some cases ascribe miracles to particular images or relics, but all enlightened Buddhists strongly repudiate those beliefs, and only unprincipled monks can now and then be got to propagate them. There is one noteworthy marble Buddha at the foot of Mandalay Hill, twenty-five feet high, carved out of one block, scores of tons in weight. Another on the top of the hill has gold leaf only on the eyeballs, and its constant renewal by the faithful causes the pupils to protrude frightfully. Other notable images are formed of bricks laid against rock surfaces. Many are deserted, marks of past populations, still reverenced by the chance visitor, but regarded more with curiosity than adoration.

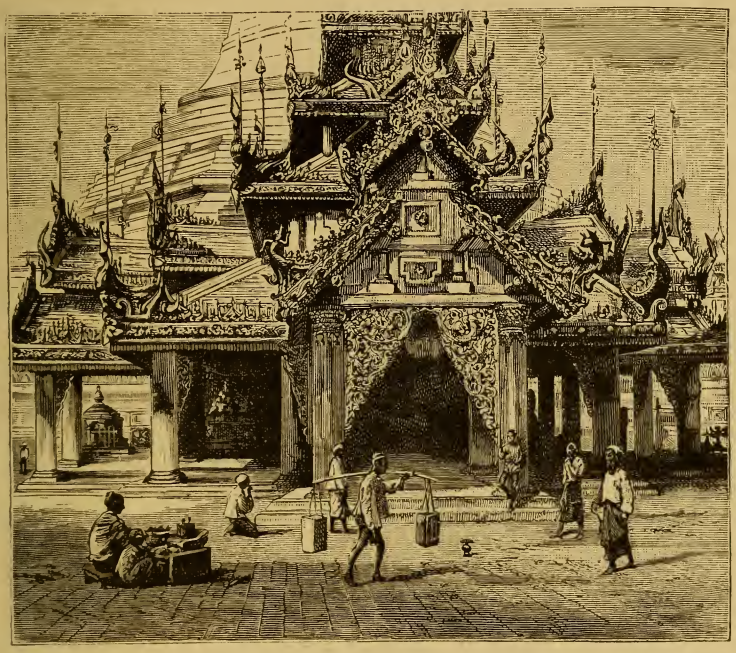
The pagoda feasts are the great holidays of the Burmese, each shrine having its own day, and they considerably resemble the great fairs of medieval Europe, a few minutes spent at the shrine, reciting sentences in praise of Buddha, sufficing for the devotions of most of the visitors, while a few listen to the reading and expounding of the sacred books by the head of the monastery. The four feast days every month are also well observed, and have in general been made to coincide with Sunday in Lower Burmah since the British occupation; but there is much variation in the strictness with which the day is kept. The three months of Wah (corresponding to Vassa) are kept as a sort of Lent, without fasting,

Pagoda feasts.

but with special observance of religious duties, and absence of feasts and marriages. Often the richer people get monks to expound the law in their houses, and invite their friends to hear them. The end of this season is celebrated by a carnival, including in Rangoon much feasting and even plays in the monasteries and grand illuminations.

Notwithstanding the firm hold which Buddhism has upon the Burmese, they still propitiate the nature-spirits or nats, as if Buddhism were unknown. The word "nat" in Burmese has two distinct meanings, one kind of nats being the inhabitants of the six inferior heavens, the devas,

Nat worship.



ENTRANCE TO THE SHWAY DAGOHN, RANGOON.

transferred from the Vedic mythology, and the other the spirits of the air, water, and forest. The last are most diligently propitiated, for fear of the harm they may do, at a little shrine at the end of each village. Sometimes, it is a mere bamboo cage with a gaudy image or images of a fetish-like ugliness, to which offerings are made by the villagers. In fact, the whole category of local spirits, disease spirits, demons, omens, and magic-workers is to be found in considerable force in Burmah, though greatly frowned upon by the Buddhist priests. Lucky and unlucky days, days proper for special things or improper for others, have also very great influence in Burmese life, and in them the astrologers find great profit. So that concurrently with

the more advanced notions of Buddhism, there may be found in Burmah practically the whole round of primitive notions about the spirit world. The butterfly spirit is the Burmese idea of the essential spirit of human life, which may wander in dreams, be charmed or afflicted by demons and wizards, be preserved by witch-doctors, and which finally departs at death.

Animism.

Marriage in Burmah is not a religious ceremony, being contrary to the celibate ideas of the monks; but in burials the latter are largely concerned. They are summoned to stay in the house of death as a protection from evil spirits; they deliver addresses on the vanity of human desires and the uncertainty and wretchedness of life; they receive large alms, determining the extent of their services, and at the grave they recite the five commandments and the ten good works, and various sentences in Pali. When they are leaving with their alms, the chief mourner pours water on to the ground and says, "May the deceased and all present share the merit of the offerings made and the ceremonies now proceeding," that the earth may remember it when men forget. For a week after, feasting and mourning go on in most cases, the monks receiving offerings, reciting Pali sentences, driving off evil spirits, and purifying the house. Many people in Burmah are still cremated.

Funerals of laity.

The funeral of a monk is very different. When he dies, he simply returns to one of the various heavens, and his funeral is called "Phongyee byan," the return of the great glory. A notable monk has a funeral that is attended by people from all around. After elaborate preparations, the body is enclosed in a gorgeous sarcophagus, painted with religious subjects and variously decked. It lies in state for months under an open teak building called a "monastery for the dead," hung with gift-paintings of all kinds of subjects and various other gifts, and is visited by streams of pilgrims, who say their religious sentences, make offerings of flowers and fruit, and give contributions towards the final ceremony. This is the erection and burning of the funeral pyre: an elaborately decorated seven-roofed building, with a spire rising to seventy feet, is erected in a space cleared of jungle; the funeral car, previous to the coffin being placed upon it, is the subject of a prolonged "tug of war," the victory of those who are privileged to drag the car bringing abundant merit to them and being highly prized. The coffin is at last dragged to the pyre and lifted to its platform, beneath which an abundant supply of combustibles is heaped. Finally the whole is lighted by rockets fired from a distance. The bones of the deceased are gathered up and buried near the pagoda. Unlike other Buddhist countries, a shrine or pagoda is not erected over the dead in Burmah.

Funerals of monks.

SIAMESE BUDDHISM.

After this account of Burmese Buddhism it will not be necessary to say much of its Siamese form, which is very similar. The Siamese monks, though their monasteries are sometimes elaborate buildings, only remain in

them during the rainy season. The sacred footprint of Buddha, five feet long by two broad, known as the Phra Bat, is greatly venerated, and has a shrine erected over it, at which valuable gifts are offered. There is no real likeness to a foot, and the cavity has scarcely any markings on it; but it is venerated as a genuine relic. There are plenty of markings on the supposed genuine copies of it, divided into 108 compartments, with figures having an elaborate symbolic relationship to Buddhism. On the whole, it may be said that Buddhism is more strictly observed in Siam than in Burmah.

Siamese temples.

The great temple, "Wat Poh," in Bangkok, contains an enormous gilt figure of the dying Buddha, about 160 feet long, constructed of bricks, lacquered and heavily gilt. The huge foot-soles are inlaid with mother-of-pearl figures illustrating stories of Buddha's life. The floor is of tesselated marble. Another great temple,—the "Wat Chang," or Elephant Temple,—has a lofty spire with external decoration in remarkable patterns which at a distance look like mosaics of precious stones, but are in truth nothing but a mixture of broken glass, crockery, and shells. A representation of the three-headed elephant is prominently placed on each of the four façades of this temple.

Cremation.

Cremation is the usual mode of disposing of the dead. Priests pray day and night in the house until the body is removed to the temple-grounds. The interval between death and burial varies according to the rank and wealth of the family; it may even be protracted for months, during which the prayers go on continuously, the coffin being covered with flowers. But the devouring of bodies by vultures and dogs is not at all uncommon.

Newborn children.

The Laos believe that children are the offspring of the spirits; and when newly born, they are placed on the top of the ladder leading to the house, and the spirits are called to take away the child at once or not to molest it afterwards. Various offerings to the spirits are made; and on the second day the child is considered out of their power, and is nominally sold to some relative for a trifle, it being supposed that the spirits would not take what has been thus sold.

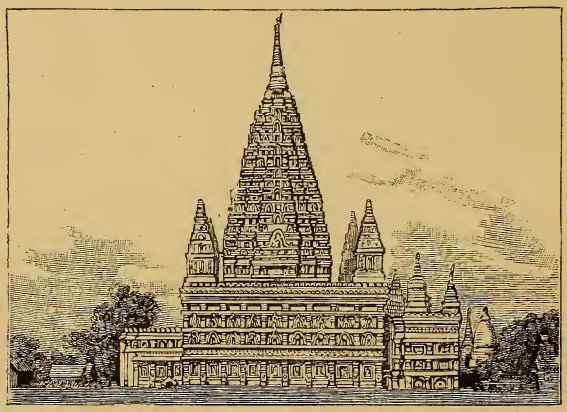
The Siamese as a rule have but one wife. The Buddhist priests are called in to the marriage ceremony, read an extract from their scriptures, and pray for a blessing on the pair, who are then sprinkled with holy water. After further prayers and feasting the marriage is complete.

Reformed sects in Siam.

It is significant of possibilities of Buddhist revival, that in Siam in recent years free Buddhist churches have arisen, rejecting the miraculous and mythical elements, and recurring to the pure moral teachings of the founder. The late king gave a powerful support to these churches and their efforts. His foreign minister, Chao Phya Phraklang, wrote "a book explaining many things," showing that much of the popular mythology was not essential to Buddhism, although he retained the belief in Buddha having visited the heavens and taught the angels. He may be called a Buddhist rationalist, teaching a universal morality. Having studied

Christianity very carefully, he rejected it, terming it "a foolish religion." His book, as translated by Mr. Alabaster, is worth reading as a specimen of the keen criticism Christian missionaries encounter from educated Buddhists. A brief quotation from a passage relating to the future state will be found of interest. "We observe that some die young, others live to old age; some are born great, others not; some rich, others poor; some beautiful, others ugly; some never suffer illness, others are continually ill, or blind, or deaf, or deformed, or mad. If we say that God made these, we must regard Him as unjust, partial, and ever changing; making those suffer who have never done anything to deserve suffering, and not giving to men in general that average of good and bad fortune which attends even the speculations of the gambler. But if we believe in the interchange and succession of life throughout all beings (*i.e.*, the transmigration of souls), and that good and evil arise from ourselves, and are the effects of merit and demerit, we have some grounds for belief.

"Those who believe that after death the soul passes to hell or heaven for ever, have no proof that there is no return thence. Certainly it would be a most excellent thing to go direct to heaven after death, without further change, but I am afraid that it is not the case. For the believers in it, who have not perfectly purified their hearts, and prepared themselves for that most excellent place, where there is no being born, growing old, and dying, will still have their souls contaminated with uneradicated evil. . . . How is it possible that those who have not cleared away the evil disposition from their soul should attain the most excellent heaven, and live eternally with God the Creator? And of those who are to remain in hell for ever, many have made merit and done much good. Shall that be altogether lost?"



PAGODA AT PAGAHN.

THE THREE PRECIOUS ONES (CHINESE BUDDHISM).

CHAPTER VIII.

Modern Buddhism. II.

Tibetan Buddhism—Tibetan Scriptures—Worship of the Triad—The Bodhi-satvas—Maitreya—The Dhyani-Buddhas—Buddhist heavens—The Lamas—The Grand Lama—History of Tibetan Buddhism—The Mongol emperors—The Dalai and Panchen Lamas—Succession of Grand Lamas—Great monasteries—The Vatican of Buddhism—Interview with Grand Lama—Tashi Lunpo—Praying by machinery—Prayer cylinders—Prayer walls and flags—Daily worship of monks—Festivals—Fasts—The Papal domain of Buddhism—Chinese Buddhism—Introduction of Buddhism to China—Chinese life of Buddha—Mythical details—Buddhist patriarchs—The Buddhist books translated—Opposition of Confucianists—Bodhidharma—The Mongol emperors—Modern discouragement—Present state—Temples—Images in the halls—Realism of images—Kwan-yin—Anntabha—Halls of 500 saints—Tien-tai—Schools of Chinese Buddhism—The Lin-tsi—Monasteries and monks—Ascetics—Nunneries—Popular aspect—Buddhist calendar—Influence of Buddhism on China—The Do-Nothing Sect—Japanese Buddhism—The Shin-Shin.

TIBETAN BUDDHISM.

THE Buddhism of Tibet may be said to pervade and dominate the national life. The Buddhist leaders practically rule and possess the entire land, paying little more than nominal allegiance to China.[1] Their hierarchy, monasteries, ceremonies, and images are repeatedly instanced as the most elaborate parallel which can be found to the Roman Catholic system; and it is certain that Buddhism in Tibet presents an almost complete contrast to the simplicity of Gautama's Order. It did not reach Tibet till the seventh century A.D., when it had already a history of more than a thousand years behind it, and had gained predominance in Kashmir and Nepal. The Tibetans, like other Mongoloid peoples, had a Shamanistic nature worship, with much magic and sorcery and dread of spirits; and it is little doubtful that their previous beliefs largely influenced the modification which Buddhism underwent.

[1] See Sir Monier-Williams's "Buddhism"—Edkins's "Chinese Buddhism" and "Religion in China"—Beal's "Chinese Buddhism."

We will first give some notion of the developments which the central doctrines of Buddhism underwent in the Tibetan Scriptures. The Triad, Buddha, the Law or Doctrine, and the Order had already become venerated, and we find that Fa-hien on his travels committed himself to the Order as a sort of personality, invoking it by its "dread and supernatural power." Images of Buddha became common, and at a later period the Law and the Order began to be symbolised among the northern peoples. The Law is now often represented as a man (a woman in Sikkim) with four arms, two hands folded in worship, or raised, a third holding a book or a lotus, the fourth a rosary or a garland; but the Law is in some cases only represented by a book. The Order is depicted as a man with one hand holding a lotus, and the other lying on his knees. Strangely enough, the order of arrangement of these three representative figures is not uniform.

Tibetan Scriptures.

Worship of the Triad.

The next further development of Buddhism was connected with Gautama's Bodhi-satva state. Before he was born on earth, he was believed to have last existed in a state of self-enlightened knowledge as a Bodhi-satva, and to have voluntarily chosen to become a saviour of the world before attaining the Nirvana to which he was entitled. He led his followers to look for the advent of another Buddha, now a Bodhi-satva, known as Maitreya, "the compassionate one," after 5,000 years, when Gautama should have been forgotten and the Law no longer obeyed. At present he is believed to preside in the heaven of contented beings, and to watch over all Buddhists and their interests. Inasmuch as he lives and is the future Buddha, not merely one who has passed away, he has become an object of worship and prayer. Huen-Siang reported that it was said, "No words can describe the personal beauty of Maitreya. He declares a law not different from ours. His exquisite voice is soft and pure." And his worshippers look forward to attaining his heaven and listening to his voice.

The Bodhi-satvas.

Maitreya.

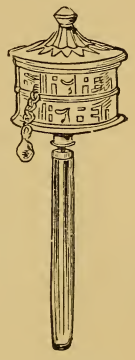
Beyond this, the memory of the leading disciples of Buddha and those who became prominent later for their holy life, ability, or zeal in propagating the faith, was in process of time exalted into what could only be properly compared with canonisation or almost deification. Also an idea grew up that there were self-dependent solitary Buddhas and many Bodhi-satvas. The Great Vehicle or Maha-yana teaches that there will be numberless supreme Buddhas, Bodhi-satvas and solitary Buddhas, who will attain their position by their virtues and wisdom; and these Bodhi-satvas are represented as enjoying heaven indefinitely without aiming at Nirvana. In fact, the Tibetan idea is, that these Buddhas and saints only descend in their corporeal emanations upon earth, much like the avatars of the Hindu gods, being incorporate in a succession of saints. Naturally they are much reverenced, as they are believed to raise their worshippers to the blissful heaven where they abide. Thus did Buddhism give promise of heavens which were attainable, and throw into the background the far-distant Nirvana.

Solitary Buddhas.

In the third century three Bodhi-satvas were worshipped in Northern India besides Maitreya. At first protectors of Buddha, they were gradually credited with the function of watching over all Buddhists. The first, Avalokitesvara, the lord that looks down (with pity), is in Tibet regarded as a sort of supreme spirit, who, while remaining ever in heaven, becomes incarnated in successive Grand Lamas. He presides over the temporal well-being of all human beings, ghosts, and animal spirits. He is termed "God of mercy," "Lord of the world," etc., and is prayed to very frequently in bodily danger or disease, as well as for relief from future re-birth. He is generally depicted with several faces and arms, the former pyramidally placed in three tiers, two hands folded in adoration of Buddha, and two others holding the lotus and the wheel. Often he greatly resembles Vishnu. Vajra-pani (the thunderbolt-handed) is a sort of Buddhist Siva, controlling and destroying evil spirits; while Manju-sri (he of glorious beauty), is possibly a deification of the Brahman who introduced Buddhism into Nepal.

Later still a new mystical worship arose, worshipping the Dhyani-Buddhas, or Buddhas existing in the higher worlds of abstract meditation, corresponding to the earthly Buddhas and representing them. Each of these was supposed to give off a Dhyani Bodhi-satva, to preside over and protect Buddhism between the death of one Buddha and the coming of the next; and before long, the Dhyani-Buddha corresponding to Gautama, namely Amitabha (diffuser of infinite light), was worshipped as a personal god. Some of the Nepalese Buddhists developed a still more advanced theory of a primordial or Adi-Buddha, the source of all things, out of whom the Dhyani-Buddhas proceeded, and corresponding to the Hindu supreme Brahma. But neither Adi-Buddha nor Amitabha were regarded as creators of the world out of nothing.

The Dhyani-Buddhas.



TIBETAN PRAYER WHEEL.

The elaborate descriptions of the twenty-six successive Buddhist heavens, in which many of the Hindu gods were fabled to dwell and reign, we cannot reproduce. Six are inhabited by beings still liable to sensuous desires; sixteen by those in successive stages of abstract meditation, called the worlds of the Brahma gods, and Brahma rules there, but yet is greatly inferior to Buddha. All these gods have to pass into a new form of existence after vast periods of time. Finally, there are four heavens of formless beings. All their mythology, though departing enormously from primitive Buddhism, does not violate the view that Buddhist Arhats (saints) and Buddhas are ranked above all the popular divinities. We need not enlarge upon other additions to Buddhism from Hinduism, and also from popular beliefs in demons, spirits of animals, nature spirits, sorcery, and magic. These additions are abundant, and rise but little, if at all, above the corresponding ideas and practices among savage races.

Buddhist heavens.

We shall not detail the inferior gradations of the Tibetan monkhood, but pass on at once to the superior monks, who are rightfully termed Lamas, or superior teachers, and are, like European abbots, heads of monasteries. Some of these are believed to be incarnations of deceased saints and Bodhi-satvas; they are consequently termed Avatara Lamas. The lowest grade of these represents a saint or the founder of a great monastery; the second grade is a living emanation of a Bodhi-satva; while the highest or Grand Lama is an incarnation of a supreme Buddha or his Bodhi-satva; to them a wide range of authority is assigned. There is also a female hierachy in the convents, with its female avatars.

The Lamas.

The Grand Lamas.

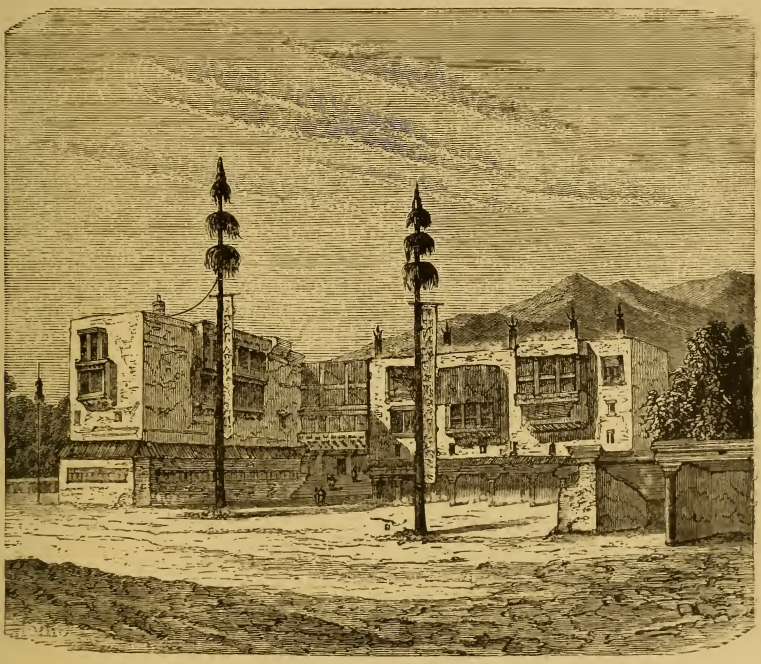
To understand the Tibetan system, we must sketch in brief its history. The first monasteries were founded at Lhassa in honour of two princesses, wives of the Tibetan king who introduced Buddhism. In the eighth century the translation of the enlarged (Maha-yana) canon of Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan was begun. It extended to 108 volumes (forming the Kanjur), and was followed by 225 volumes of commentaries and general literature, known as the Tanjur. After several fluctuations, in the latter part of the eleventh century Buddhism again revived, under the influence of Atisha from Kashmir and Brom Ton, a Tibetan. Many monasteries were founded in that and the next centuries, those at Sakya and Raseng being the most important. Raseng, founded by Brom Ton in 1058, was devoted to the strict rules of Buddhism (the yellow sect); Sakya was more lax, and became the headquarters of the Red sect, many of whom were married before becoming monks. In the thirteenth century the power of the Mongols spread over Tibet. Kublai Khan adopted Buddhism and greatly favoured the Tibet monks. Already great authority had gathered round the chiefs of the Sakya and the Raseng monasteries, and Kublai exerted his authority to appoint the nephew of the ruler of the Sakya monastery to succeed his uncle, and made him a tributary ruler over Tibet. In return for his authority, he and his successors were required to crown the Mongol emperors. This first Grand Avatara Lama, known as Phuspa Lama, devised the Mongol alphabet, started a revision of the Tibetan Buddhist texts, which prepared the way for their translation into Mongolian, and founded many monasteries. When the Ming dynasty supplanted the Mongols in China, they continued to favour the Tibetan Lamas, but raised three other chief Lamas to similar rank. At the end of the fourteenth century there arose a reformer, Tsong Khapa, who, after studying the originals of the Buddhist scriptures in Tibet, raised again the standard of orthodoxy, and gathered round him many thousand monks of the strict yellow sect; he built and became the first head of a great monastery at Galdan, and his followers built others. He wrote many books, restored celibacy, abolished many superstitious forms of worship, and renewed the practice of retirement for meditation at a fixed season, which had not been kept up in Tibet owing to its lack of a rainy season. After his death in 1419 (since celebrated at the Feast of Lamps, as his

History of Tibetan Buddhism.

The Mongol emperors.

ascension to heaven), he was reverenced as an incarnation of Amitabha, Manju-sri, or Vajra-pani, and his image is still seen in temples of the yellow sect, with those of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas on the right and left. Since his time (though it cannot be precisely traced) there has arisen the practice of discovering each new incarnation in an infant, probably to avoid discussions and competition. At any rate, at present there are two Grand Lamas: one the Dalai or Ocean Lama, at Lhassa, the other the Tashi or Panchen Lama at Tashi Lunpo, not far from the British Indian frontier. The former is believed to be an incarnation of the Dhyani-Bodhi-

The Dalai and Panchen Lamas.



BUDDHIST MONASTERY IN TIBET.

satva Avalokitesvara, the latter of his father or Dhyani-Buddha, Amitabha; but the Dalai Lama is by far the most powerful, or rather his representative, an elected chief Lama who attends to business, while the Dalai himself is supposed to be lost in divine meditation, and receives the reverence and worship due to his character and origin. There appear to have been various modes of keeping up the succession, viz., by the dying Lama stating in what family he would again become incarnate, or by consulting sacred books and soothsayers, or by the Panchen Lama interpreting the traditions and discovering the new Dalai Lama, and *vice versâ*. Nowadays the Chinese court has a predominant influence in choosing

Succession of Grand Lamas.

new Grand Lamas. Yet all the forms of divination, signs, choice by lot, etc., are gone through; and similar proceedings take place in the election of all Lamas in whom saints are supposed to be incarnated. The same is the case in various Mongolian monasteries. When the choice has been made, the child is brought before a great assembly of the monks, and is expected to recognise clothes, books, etc., belonging to the deceased Lama, and to answer questions as to his former life as Lama. Among the chief Lamas may be mentioned those of Galdan (where the body of Tsong Khapa is said to be still visible poised in the air, and uncorrupt), Kurun in Mongolia, Kuku in Tartary, the Dharma-rajah of Bhutan, and the Grand Lama of Peking. The Dharma-rajah of Bhutan, belonging to the Red sect, has for his titles: "Chief of the realm, Defender of the Faith, Equal to Sarasvati in learning, Chief of all the Buddhas, Head-expounder of the Shastras, Caster out of devils, Most learned in the holy laws, an Avatar of God, Absolver of sins, and Head of the best of all religions."

While in many parts of northern Buddhistic countries the monasteries are small buildings near or combined with a chapel or temple, in Tibet, Mongolia, and Ladak there are many immense monasteries or Lamasseries, often in retired and lofty situations, but also aggregated about great centres such as Lhassa and Tashi Lunpo. About 500,000 monks owe allegiance to these two capitals, and there are at least thirty large monasteries in and near Lhassa. Potala, on the north-west of Lhassa, has been the abode of all the Dalai Lamas since the fifth, Navang Lobsang (1617–1682), who rebuilt it. This great building, four stories high, on a commanding height, has in or connected with it ten thousand rooms for monks. Everywhere are statues of Buddha and other saints, and varied offerings of the pious, who throng to Lhassa to pay their worship to the Grand Lama, with gifts of gold, silver, and copper. The great building is surmounted by a cupola overlaid with gold.

Great monasteries.

The Vatican of Buddhism.

Thomas Manning is the only Englishman who has ever seen a Dalai Lama; this was on the 17th December, 1811. He described him as a cheerful, intelligent child of seven. Mr. Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., saw the present Dalai Lama in 1882. The interview was conducted with impressive silence and dignity by the high officials. Consecrated water coloured yellow with saffron was sprinkled on the company; incense, great lamps, and a yellow hat with five points (denoting the five Dhyani-Buddhas) are important elements in the ceremonial; which is not complete without all sharing tea with the Lama from a golden teapot, preceded by a grace in proper Buddhist form, and concluding thus, "Never even for a moment losing sight of the three Holies (Buddha, the Law, and the Order); always offer reverence to the Tri-ratnas (or three jewels); let the blessings of the three be upon us." Consecrated rice, touched by the Grand Lama, was distributed to the faithful. The sacred youth sat all through the ceremony cross-legged on a throne-like altar with wooden lions on either side.

Interview with Grand Lama.

It is said that Lhassa almost vies with Benares and Mecca as a place of

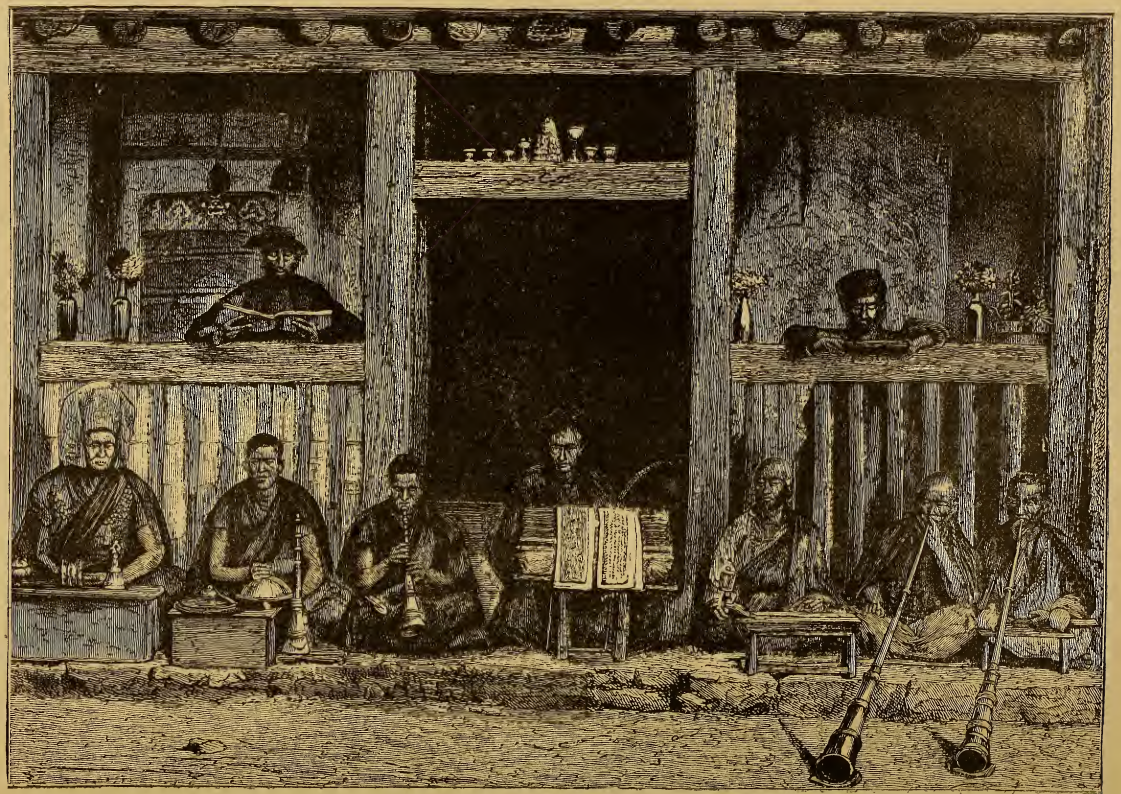
pilgrimage, Potala, the Vatican of Buddhism, being the great resort; and the rice, the pills of blessing, the scraps of silk, and the prayer-papers or flags which the Grand Lama has consecrated, are treasured for life.

Tashi Lunpo, with its great monastery of the Panchen Lama, has been much more frequently visited by Europeans. This monastery is much more varied, consisting of several hundred distinct houses, surrounded by pinnacled gilded temples and topes. It is, however, in connection with the oldest monastery—La-brang in Lhassa—that the greatest temple of Buddhism in Tibet is to be found. It is three storeys high, with a portico and colonnade of huge wooden pillars. Opposite the entrance are the usual great statues of the four great kings; beyond is a long oblong hall, like a basilica, with rows of columns dividing it into three longitudinal divisions, with two transepts. The walls contain no windows, but across the central division or nave is stretched transparent oil-cloth, which is the only mode of admission of daylight to the building. A row of small chapels flanks each side of the long building. In the transepts are seats for the monks, and beyond the second is a sanctuary with an altar for offerings; at the extreme west end, in a special recess, is a grand altar with many steps, and on the summit is the revered gilt image of Gautama Buddha, respecting the origin of which various stories are told. On the upper steps of the altar are many images of deified saints; and the temple contains very many images and pictures of Buddha, saints and deities, as well as relics. In front of this altar are lofty thrones for the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, flanked by smaller ones for the other Avatar Lamas; seats of less dignity are provided for the heads of monasteries and higher orders of monks in the western transept. Five thousand oil lamps give light, and the muttering of the chief Buddhist formula goes on continually. Tibetan temples are usually much smaller than this; the chief features are altars with images of Buddha and the Bodhi-satvas, bowls for offerings, bells, etc.

Tashi Lunpo.

The Tibetan Buddhists have outdone every other race in one respect; that is, in praying by machinery. Impressed with the importance of accumulating religious merit as a means of shortening their stay in lower forms of life, and accelerating their entrance to heaven, they not only orally repeat multitudes of times the "jewel" formula, which has acquired such vogue among them, but they get it repeated by turning machines or extending flags to the wind, in or on which the sacred formula is written. This formula consists merely of the sentence, "Om mani padme Hum." The first syllable is the Hindu sacred syllable (p.192); the next two words mean, "the Jewel in the Lotus," an allusion, it is said, to Avalokitesvara as the patron of Tibet appearing from or seated on a Lotus. The last syllable is regarded by some as an Amen. The whole formula is thought by Sir Monier-Williams to have some relation to Hindu Siva-worship, and, he says, "no other prayer used by human beings in any quarter of the globe is repeated so often. Every Tibetan believes it to be a panacea for all evil, a compendium of all knowledge, a treasury of all wisdom, a summary of all religion." Each of its syllables is believed to influence one of the six

Praying by machinery.



BUDDHIST PRIESTS, DARJEELING, SIKKIM.

courses or stages of transmigration through which all must pass, diminishing his stay in them, or in time abolishing it altogether.

The favourite prayer cylinders are of metal, having the mystic invocation engraved on the outside, while the cavity is filled with paper in rolls, on which it is written as many times as possible. This cylinder can be made to revolve on a handle, and is whirled in the hand, or rotated by a chain or string. "All day long," says Capt. Gill in "The River of Golden Sand," "not only the Lamas, but the people may be seen muttering the universal prayer, and twisting their cylinders, invariably in the same direction with the hands of a clock. One or more great cylinders, inscribed with this sentence, stand at the entrance to every house in Tibet; and a member of the household or a guest who passes is always expected to give the cylinder a twist for the welfare of the establishment. At almost every rivulet the eye is arrested by a little building that is at first mistaken for a water mill, but which on close inspection is found to contain a cylinder, turning by the force of the stream, and ceaselessly sending up pious ejaculations to heaven; for every turn of a cylinder on which the prayer is written is supposed to convey an invocation to the deity. Sometimes enormous barns are filled with these cylinders, gorgeously painted, and with the prayer repeated on them many times; and at every turn and every step in Tibet this sentence is forced upon the traveller's notice in some form or another."

Prayer cylinders.

Another variety of praying ingenuity is the erection of long walls inscribed with any number of this and other invocations, by which travellers who walk in the proper direction gain the credit of so many repetitions. Praying-flags, with prayers and symbols, extended by every wind, praying drums which frighten away evil spirits, bells which have the same function, or which call the attention of the deities or saints, armlets with sacred sentences or relics inside, and various other objects, are among the "properties" greatly used in Tibetan Buddhism, while the rosary for counting the number of repetitions of prayer is a more familiar object in Tibet than even in Roman Catholic countries.

Prayer walls and flags.

The monks of the Tibetan monasteries meet in their temple or chapel three times a day for worship: at sunrise, midday, and sunset. They are summoned by a loud conch-shell trumpet, and enter in procession. A bell gives the signal to commence repeating or chanting prayer formulas, passages of the Law, litanies, etc., often with noisy musical accompaniments. The ritual is varied by each monk repeating a sentence in turn, the recital of the praises and titles of honour of Buddha or

Daily worship of monks.

*** The illustration on page 320 depicts a group of Buddhist priests or Lamas at Darjeeling, British Sikkim, at the entrance to their Temple. The head Lama is seated below at the left, wearing the sacred hat, a garment of cloth of gold, and a set of holy beads. In front of him are a small tom-tom, a brass sanctifying instrument, and a bell. Next to him is the second Lama, with cymbals and a short horn. In the centre is a student under instruction for the office of Lama, having before him sheets of the sacred writings. Over the doorway is a small image of Buddha, flanked by small brass cups containing rice and oil. Standing in the verandah are two travelling Lamas from Lhassa.

one of the Bodhi-satvas. When one of the Grand Lamas is present, the service is very elaborate. Incense and perfumes are burnt, and at times holy water and grain are distributed. In some ceremonies tea-drinking is a conspicuous element. Laymen play but a very subordinate part in these services. They are allowed to be present, repeating prayers and invocations and making offerings; they may also acquire merit by walking round monasteries, temples, etc., without stopping. Sometimes they carry loads of books containing prayers, and frequently prostrate themselves at full length on the ground; at the end of their journey they are held to have gained the same merit as if they had recited all the prayers in the books they carried.

Festivals.

The Tibetans have a number of special festivals which we can only briefly mention. The new year's celebration, lasting a fortnight, is a sort of carnival; at the water-festival in August or September, rivers and lakes are blessed, and the people bathe to wash away their sins. Buddha's birthday and the anniversary of his death are very important days; on the latter, every monastery and temple, and every house in Lhassa is darkened with the burning of incense. The festival of lamps, the ascent of Tsong Khapa to heaven; and days of spirit-hunting and performances of religious dramas, are among the diversified holidays of Tibet.

Fasts.

Periods of fasting, especially before the great festivals, are observed by the devout. Of course these are more observed by the monks of the yellow sect. One of these periods of fasting lasts four days, during which the monks confess their faults and meditate on the evils of demerit. On the third day no food whatever is taken, and not even the saliva must be swallowed; not a word is spoken, and each monk is engaged without intermission in silent prayer and confession. Many monks keep the four holy days of each month as fast days.

The Papal domain of Buddhism.

Tibet, then, is the Papal domain of Buddhism. Some lamasseries are enormously rich. They own half the country, constantly receive legacies, and even grow rich by usury. No taxes are paid by them, and their own lands are attended to by large numbers of slaves. Many of the monks do not keep their vows of celibacy, and the common people are said in their hearts to detest the Lamas for their oppression. Whether this is generally true or not, every rational mind will agree that Tibetan Buddhism is by no means an unmixed good.

CHINESE BUDDHISM.

The influence of Buddhism in China is still great, though not as extensive as formerly, owing to the loss of the patronage of the emperors; but it exists in a considerably modified form. "The worship of Pu-sah," says Dr. Beal, "in the houses of the rich and poor, is hardly recognised as Buddhist in its origin; and, indeed, the very term Pu-sah, which is the Chinese form of Bodhi-satva, is explained as of native origin, and signifying "universal benevolence," whilst the objects of Buddhist worship, such as the Goddess of Mercy and the Queen of Heaven, have been placed among the number of

their genii." Also the images of Pu-sah are to be found in the houses of many officials and others who would deny that they were Buddhists.

Chinese Buddhism dates from A.D. 61, when the Emperor Ming-ti is

THE CALL TO WORSHIP IN A BUDDHIST MONASTERY.

said to have had a dream in which he saw a golden figure of a god hovering over his palace. He inquired of one of his ministers what this could mean, and was told that a divine person named Buddha had been born in the West, and that his dream was probably

Introduction of Buddhism to China.

connected with him. The emperor in consequence sent a mission to India to obtain books and news concerning this person. They returned in A.D. 67, with two Buddhist monks, together with various books, pictures, and relics. The emperor listened to them readily, and had a temple built for them in his capital Loyang (now Honan-fu). The narrative of these events includes various miracles worked by the Buddhists in proof of their religion.

The short life of Buddha which these priests introduced and translated into Chinese is of special interest, for, as we have seen, no separate life of Buddha exists in the southern canon. In the Chinese life he is generally termed Sakyamuni, the Sakya sage, and his proper name, Gautama, is scarcely mentioned. This title, Sakyamuni, seems to have been more acceptable to the northern Buddhists, because of the belief that the name Sakya was like that of a prominent Central Asian people, the Sacæ or Scythians; and this name has been adopted as the title of the Chinese Buddhists (Shih-kian or Shih-tsen).

Chinese life of Buddha.

It would be most interesting, if we had space, to give an account of the life of Buddha as depicted in Chinese books. Previous Buddhas, appearing through enormously long ages, are named; and the Buddha of the present age (Sakyamuni) is said to have gone through a number of stages of elevation in previous ages. At last, in the age immediately before the present one, Sakya became a Bodhi-satva, was born in the Tushita heaven, and finally descended to earth on a white elephant with six tusks. The narratives which follow, while explicable as consistent with the life we have already given, are overlaid with much exaggeration and myth. The life is arranged so as to explain the origin and scenes of the very numerous books of the northern canon. Thus at one time Sakya is instructing the Bodhi-satvas; at another he is in the heavens of the Hindu gods, teaching Indra, Yama, etc. All this serves as a scene for the development of the Bodhi-satva mythology. After long abstinence and meditation, and severe temptation by the king of the Maras, Sakyamuni became a perfect Buddha (*i.e.*, in Chinese phrase, from being Pu-sa became Fo). In order to convey the truth to men simply, and as they could receive it, he assumed the guise of an ascetic, preached the four primary truths, established the order of monks, and sent them out to propagate his doctrine. He is afterwards said to have subdued a fierce snake and to have made him take the vows of the order; to have resisted the fiercest temptations of the king of the Maras, and to have gone to the Tushita heaven to instruct his mother Maya. Then followed the reception of his son Rahula and other boys as novices, the admission of women, the establishment of discipline, etc. Sakya is said to have gone to Ceylon himself, to have visited the middle heavens, to have secured the gods (devas) as protectors of his doctrine, to have sent Visvakarma and fifteen daughters of devas to be the patrons of China. He instituted the daily service and ordained honour for his books. In his last days he gave forth his most perfect works, "The Lotus of the Good Law" and "Nirvana," intended to make his disciples long for higher attainments.

Mythical details.

This was his meaning, say the Chinese Buddhist authors, when he said, "I am not to be destroyed, but shall be constantly on the mountain of instruction." Buddha, entering Nirvana, is not dead, but lives in his teaching. Before his death he is said to have had presented to him images of himself of gold and sandal-wood, which he consecrated, giving his disciples in charge to them. At this time also he forbade the eating of animal food. His death and cremation were attended by marvels too numerous to mention.

In the Chinese records we are introduced to a long series of Buddhist patriarchs, the successive chiefs and defenders of Buddhist law and discipline, each selected by the last patriarch, the first being Maha Kashiapa, appointed by Buddha. A patriarch, says Dr. Edkins, is represented as "one who does not look at evil and dislike it; nor does he, when he sees that which is good, make a strong effort to attain it. He does not put wisdom aside and approach folly; nor does he fling away delusion and aim at comprehending truth. Yet he has an acquaintance with great truths which is beyond being measured, and he penetrates into Buddha's mind to a depth that cannot be fathomed." Such an one had magical powers, could fly through the air, go into trances, and penetrate men's thoughts. Nevertheless he lived poorly, and was meanly clad. Thirty-three of these are named, including five Chinese patriarchs, and their biography is given. **Buddhist patriarchs.**

From the foundation of Chinese Buddhism a succession of western Buddhist monks and learned men came to China and undertook great labours of translation and preaching to propagate their doctrines. In the fourth century the Chinese were entering the Order by permission of a Chow prince, many pagodas were erected in Loyang, and considerable monasteries were built in North China. Many of the Buddhist teachers professed to work miracles, and certainly dealt in magic. Chinese Buddhist pilgrims visited India and other Buddhist countries, and brought back accounts of marvels they had seen (as, for instance, Fa-hien and Huen-siang). Early in the fifth century Kumarajiva, an Indian Buddhist, assisted by eight hundred priests, produced a new translation of the Buddhist books into Chinese, extending to three hundred volumes. **The Buddhist books translated.**

After this time the rulers of China became for a time hostile to Buddhism; but this was soon reversed, and there was much intercourse between Buddhist princes in India and China. Monasteries and temples multiplied, and magic and wonders, as fostered by the books of the Greater Vehicle, overlaid the original faith. At various times Chinese emperors, followed by their people, combined more or less of Confucianism and Taoism with Buddhism, and seldom prohibited any of them. At various periods the Confucianists sought to put down the Buddhists, to make the monks and nuns marry, etc., and decrees were promulgated against them; and sometimes their property was confiscated and they were compelled to return to secular life. Side by side with religious changes, Hindu Buddhists introduced many improvements in Chinese orthography, science, and literature. **Opposition of Confucianists.**

The twenty-eighth Indian Buddhist patriarch, Bodhidharma, visited China in the sixth century, and died there. He exalted meditation at the expense of reading and book knowledge, allowing no merit either to these or to the building of temples. In his view true merit consisted in "purity and enlightenment, depth and completeness, and in being wrapped in thought while surrounded by vacancy and stillness." His influence in China, where he died, was powerful enough to make his followers a distinct sect of contemplatists, as contrasted with the ascetics and the ordinary temple-monks. His sect gradually became the most influential; and it appears to have distinctly weakened the looking for a future life and retribution, by exalting self-reform as to be brought about solely by inward contemplation. Not long after his death a monk of Tien-tai, named Chi-kai, invented a system which combined contemplation with image-worship, and it gradually gained great popularity, his books being after some centuries reckoned among the classics of Chinese Buddhism.

Bodhidharma.

The history of Chinese Buddhism in the middle ages presents a continual series of assaults by Confucianists, alternate persecutions and support by emperors, and frequent interference. Certain temples were destroyed and others exalted; certain monasteries and temples were transferred from one kind of worship to another, from one sect of Buddhists to another; and all the time the emperors did not ostensibly become Buddhists. The Mongol emperors, however, especially Kublai Khan, became decided Buddhists, and used the Chinese imperial temples for Buddhist worship. Towards the end of the thirteenth century a census stated that there were over 42,000 Buddhist temples and 213,000 monks in China, which implies a very great number of lay adherents. After the fall of the Mongols some restrictions were gradually imposed on the Buddhists; and the Sacred Edict, issued in 1662, and still read periodically in public, blames them for fixing their attention on their individual minds alone, and for inventing baseless tales about future happiness and misery. Thus Buddhism is officially discountenanced, although in Mongolia and Tibet the Chinese encourage and pay deference to it; and in China itself the worship and festivals continue to be very largely attended, although the building of new temples has to a large extent fallen off.

The Mongol emperors.

Modern discouragements.

Chinese Buddhism at the present day is so extensive and varied that it is only possible to glance at its leading features. In many ways it occupies much the same standpoint as in Tibet; and the Chinese monk takes refuge in Buddha, the Law, and the Order, like his Singhalese brother. The worship of Buddha still remains, in a considerably materialised form; but image-worship is by no means held to be essential by instructed Buddhists, though it is allowed by them for the ignorant and weak. But added to this worship is that of a great number of associated and inferior beings, making Chinese Buddhism at present practically a complex polytheism. Its public attitude may be gathered from an account of the temples and services.

Present state.

Looking south, like so many Chinese buildings, the temples of the Chinese Buddhists consist of a series of halls, the vestibule being guarded by the same four great kings mentioned at p. 319, carved in wood, and dressed and equipped with various symbols, such as a sword, an umbrella, a snake, or some other object with a well-defined significance to Orientals. They give all kinds of blessings to true Buddhists, and withdraw their favour from kings and nations which neglect the truth. Maitreya (Mi-li Fo) also appears in the same entrance-hall; sometimes even Confucius has an image here, as protector of the Buddhist religion. **Temples.**

The great hall opening from the entrance-hall contains the images of

TWO OF THE GUARDIANS OF BUDDHA. RUSSIAN MONASTERY, NEAR FOO-CHOW.

Buddha, the Six Bodhi-satvas, Ananda, and many saints, in various symbolical attitudes, Wen-shu and Pu-hien often being placed right and left of Buddha, while Kwan-yin is behind them looking northward. Sometimes Buddha is alone in front and the other three are in a row behind him. Kwan-yin appears in numerous forms in pictures and sculptures; in one he is represented by a female figure presenting an infant to mothers praying for children. Other halls may be added to the principal ones, containing statues, sculptured scenes, and pictures. The large central hall, according to Dr. Edkins, is intended to symbolise Buddha giving **Images in the halls.**

instruction to an assembly of disciples, while the leading idea of the entrance-hall is to show the powerful protection by celestial beings which Buddhists enjoy. All this is in agreement with the narratives in the "Greater Vehicle." There may be many subordinate chapels, dedicated to Bodhi-satvas and other beings of Buddhist, Hindu, and Chinese mythology. The images of the Pu-sa or Bodhi-satvas stand when in the presence of Buddha, but sit when in their own shrines. Even the Taoist images are admitted into the all-comprehending Buddhist temples, as well as those of celebrated Chinese Buddhists.

In North China, especially at Pekin, it is customary, whether the images are of brass, iron, wood, or clay, to make them with internal organs as complete as possible, according to Chinese notions, which are not very correct; but the heads are always empty. Surrounding the abdominal organs is a large piece of silk covered with prayers or charms, while within it are bags containing small pieces of gold, silver, and pearls, and the five chief kinds of grain; but many of these valuables have been stolen from the images.

Realism of images.

While the more intellectual Buddhists explain their temples and images as purely symbolical, and their offerings, bowings, etc., as expressing reverential reception of Buddha's teaching, the common people regard the images as deities, and pray to them for deliverance from sickness, sufferings, childlessness, poverty, etc. Kwan-yin is very exclusively worshipped, being commonly known as the goddess of mercy, who hears the cries of men. This worship is always associated with that of Amitabha (O-me-to), the father of Kwan-yin, and they are believed to dwell in the happy (western) land of Sukhavati. Those born in this paradise have only unmixed joys, of which gorgeous descriptions are given. This heaven has taken a strong hold of the imagination of Chinese Buddhists, and they will repeat the name "Amita Buddh" incessantly, while counting their beads. It is possible, and is strongly held by some, that some of the ideas of this worship, especially of the Litany of Kwan-yin, were derived from Persian, Arab, and Jewish sources. It is a wide-spread belief that Kwan-yin, moved by infinite compassion, has promised to become manifest in all the innumerable worlds, to save their inhabitants. He also visited all the hells for this purpose; and detailed accounts of his visits and their beneficial results are given. There are special elaborate services in which Kwan-yin is worshipped and invoked, while at the same time Buddha and the other Bodhi-satvas are duly honoured. One prayer runs thus: "May the all-seeing and all-powerful Kwan-yin, in virtue of her vow, come hither to us as we recite the sentences and remove from us the three obstacles (of impure thought, word, and deed). Professor Beal gives the following translation from the Chinese of the confession or "act of faith" in Kwan-yin:—

Kwan-yin.

> "All hail, good, compassionate Kwan-yin!
> Though I were thrown on the Mountain of Knives,
> They should not hurt me;
> Though cast into the lake of fire,

It should not burn me;
Though surrounded by famished ghosts,
They should not touch me;
Though exposed to the power of devils,
They should not reach me;
Though changed into a beast,
Yet should I rise to heaven.
All hail, compassionate Kwan-yin."

Incense is burnt, flowers and food are offered, and invocations are repeated again and again to Kwan-yin and Amitabha, with appropriate readings from the sacred books, some of them in Sanskrit and unintelligible alike to priests and people, but supposed to have a magic effect. The distinctive worship of Amitabha is practised by many, both in China and Japan; they are called the "pure land" sect, who rely on Amitabha to effect their entrance to the bright paradise. The mere repetition of the name with concentrated and undivided attention is believed to ensure paradise; he is also invoked by the form "Praise to Amita Buddha," and the most extravagant promises are made to those who rightly invoke him. This is the prevailing form of Buddhist worship in many parts of China, and it is very popular owing to its putting out of sight Nirvana and presenting a heaven of conscious happiness and joy to the believer.

Amitabha.

At the temple Pi-yun-si, west of Pekin, there is a hall of 500 departed saints, arrayed in six parallel galleries; the figures are of clay, full-sized, and seated. In another court are scenes from the imagined future state, all modelled in clay, showing the fate both of the good and the evil. These halls are in addition to the usual elaborate series of halls. Pagodas also form part of this great establishment. Similar halls are numerous in the Tien-tai district.

Halls of 500 saints.

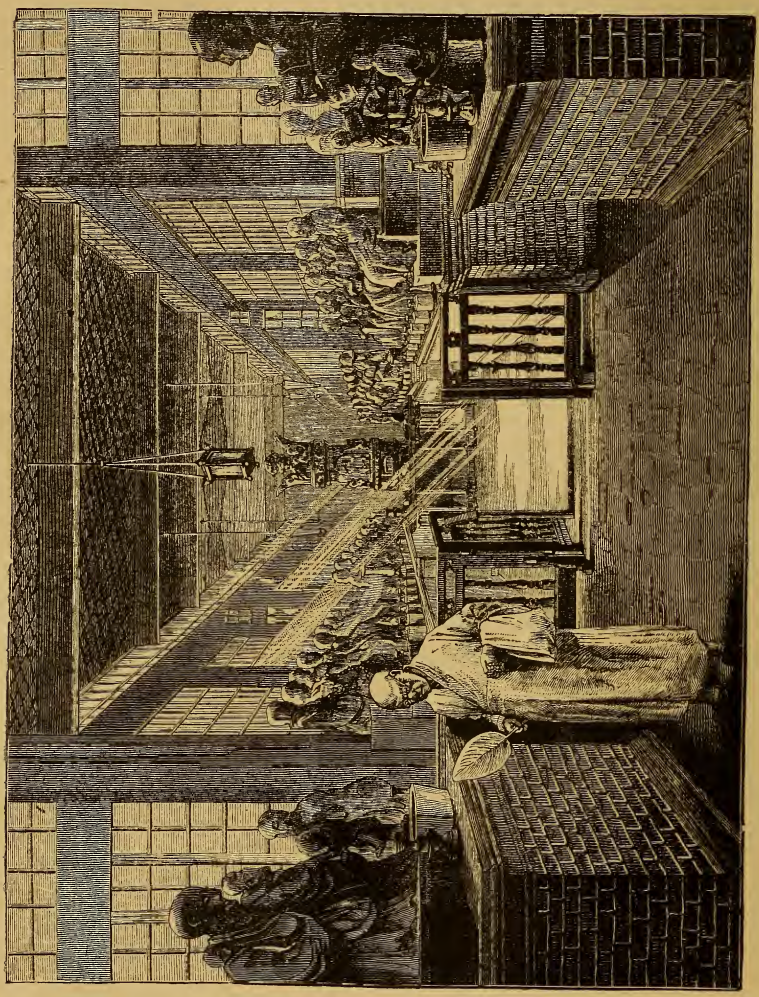
Music is much used in Chinese Buddhist worship, the instruments including drums, small and large bells, cymbals, and various metal forms struck by clappers which have no analogy in western music.

Dr. Edkins admits that while the populace believe in the extravagant details of mythology or magic, the priests in the services still read the old passages from the Buddhist books which teach the nothingness of everything; so that, if fully exposed, the most utter contrasts would be found in any of their services.

One of the most famous Buddhist regions of China is Tien-tai, a cluster of hills 180 miles south-east of Hang-cheu. It came into note through Chi-kai, who in the sixth century founded his school of contemplative Buddhism there, imagining its grand natural scenery to be the residence of the great saints of Buddhism, the Arhats or Lohans; indeed, he heard them sing near the remarkable rock bridge over a cataract, and now they are represented by five hundred small stone figures at the side of the bridge. Here Chi-kai developed an elaborate comment on and development of Buddhism, which he called "perfected observation." He explained everything as an embodiment of Buddha, subtly getting rid of

Tien-tai.

all the objects of popular belief. He taught his followers various forms of meditation, which his followers have maintained, while not entirely condemning popular belief, nor going to the extreme of Buddhist agnosticism.



TEMPLE OF FIVE HUNDRED GODS, CANTON.

At the present day monasteries are to be found five miles apart throughout the Tien-tai hill country.

Besides this there are numerous important "schools" of Chinese Buddhism, named from prominent teachers, from whom the present heads of

monasteries claim continuous succession. Their doctrines for the most part do not differ widely from one another, but great importance is attached to minutiæ. The Lin-tsi school was founded by a teacher who died in 868, and had a great reputation for magical powers; it is now very widely spread in China and in Japan. It teaches that Buddha is within the believer if he only be recognised. "What is Buddha? A mind pure and at rest. What is the law? A mind clear and enlightened. What is Tao? In every place absence of impediments and pure enlightenment. These three are one." Discipline is strictly maintained by means of three blows with the hand or with the cane, three successive reproofs, and the alternation of speech with silence. We cannot particularise the other varied schools of Chinese Buddhism, but they are as numerous as the principal dissenting bodies in England.

Schools of Chinese Buddhism.

The Lin-tsi.

The monasteries need not be particularly described, after what we have said of Buddhist monasteries in other countries. They all have a temple or worship-hall attached. Most of the larger establishments own land or other property, but not often sufficient for all expenses, which are met by mendicant expeditions, the offerings of worshippers, and voluntary presents sent to them. The procession of monks walks through the streets to receive alms beating a gong or cymbal at intervals, and often reciting Buddhist formulæ. The monks dress very differently from the Chinese people. In officiating they usually wear yellow garments of silk or cotton, with a wide turn-down collar and huge sleeves; at other times their clothes are mostly of an ashy grey. Their heads are closely shaven two or three times a month, and many have one or more places on the scalp burnt with red-hot coals. Their celibacy appears to be strict, and they do not own any relationships in the outside world, and show very little sociability in their intercourse with the people. They spend much of their time in chanting their sacred books, mostly in a form which represents the sound without the sense of the Hindu or Tibetan originals. Some monasteries keep their large bells constantly tolled day and night, so that the sound never ceases.

Monasteries and monks.

A large monastery has numerous rooms devoted to specific uses, including a library, study, reception-rooms for distinguished guests, and a place for keeping living animals, not for food, but as a work of merit. Sometimes there is a fish-pond full of fine fish which must not be caught or eaten. Special provision is made for cattle, swine, goats, fowls, etc., many being deposited by lay people in fulfilment of a vow, together with money or grain to support them until their death. The monks professedly refuse all animal food, but it is believed that some transgress. On the whole, the mass of the Chinese do not highly reverence the Buddhist monks, because they transgress the principles of filial obedience so deeply rooted among them; but they are nevertheless much employed to conduct private religious ceremonies, whether on behalf of recently deceased persons, those suffering in hells, or the sick and infirm. Frequently the succession of novices in the monasteries is kept up by the purchase of boys from their parents.

Within the monastery ranks there are frequently ascetics who for

years together have no intercourse with the outside world, but sit in constant silent meditation in their cells, receiving their food through a hole in the door. Usually the bodies of deceased monks are burned in a special cremation-building, the ashes and unconsumed bones being afterwards collected and deposited, in an earthen vessel, in a special room or building of the monastery.

Ascetics.

There are numerous Buddhist nunneries in China, under the especial patronage of Kwan-yin, and while many join them of their own accord, others are bought when young girls. The nuns shave the whole head like the men, do not compress their feet, and wear a very similar costume to the monks. Some learn to read the Buddhist books, and attend upon those who worship at the temples. They also visit the sick and afflicted, and pay special attention to those who place themselves under their spiritual care. Although they have taken a vow of celibacy, the nuns are generally accused of breaking it, as in Tibet; and in some districts the Chinese officials have closed all nunneries for this reason.

Nunneries.

BUDDHIST NUN, WITH CAP AND ROSARY.

While Buddhism is not ardently believed in by a large proportion of the Chinese, it is undoubtedly regarded with considerable respect; and its formulæ and practices, especially those which are magical, are largely resorted to as a matter of precaution. Words not understood by the people are continually repeated by them with some sort of belief in their efficacy in overcoming evil influences. The workman will burn his paper with the charm written on it before beginning his morning's work; while the man of learning, who professes to despise Buddhism, knows by heart the magical sentences of the Ling-yen-king, or Heart Sutra.

Popular aspect.

The Buddhist calendar includes a very complete set of festivals and processions, though they are not made the occasion for such display as in Burmah. The emperors' and empress's birthday, the anniversaries of emperor's deaths, and the four monthly feasts are, of course, kept. Then there are days for worshipping the devas of the older Hindu mythology, for eclipses of the sun and moon (addressed as Pu-sahs or Bodhi-satvas, the power of Buddha being invoked to deliver them), for sacrifice to the moon, and praying for fine weather or rain. The Deva Wei-to (really the Veda) is invoked as protector, and his birthday is kept, as also the birthdays of three other divine protectors, including the god of war, of Buddha, and each Bodhi-satva, the anniversaries of the death of the chief Chinese Buddhist saints, and of the founder of a monastery, etc. But this list might easily be lengthened.

Buddhist calendar.

Independent of its professors, Buddhism has exerted a great influence in tempering the character of Chinese religion. The discountenancing of sacrifices, the tenderness to animal life, the conception of a spiritual aim

TEMPLE OF THE HUNDRED PAGODAS, HONG-KONG.

in religion, and of self-discipline as of supreme importance, have not been without far-reaching effect on the Chinese. The example of Buddha as beneficently desirous of being born in the world to save it, his patience and self-sacrifice in his successive lives,

Influence of Buddhism in China.

his teaching of the noble path and the desirability of freedom from the fetters of this life have all tended to elevate the popular faiths. A more doubtful influence of Buddhism has been the popularisation of beliefs in material hells. A great variety of tortures and circumstances of punishment are described, and the demons are represented as delighting in human sufferings. On the one hand it is alleged that the beliefs on the whole have tended to discourage the crimes that are said to be visited with such punishments, on the other, that the popular mind is thereby familiarised with pictures and descriptions of horrible cruelties.

The tolerance inculcated by Buddhism, too, has had its effect in spreading a considerable indifference to religion in China, while on the other hand it has favoured its own existence. But the extent of mutual concession and accommodation to be found among the Chinese in religious as well as other matters is a very pleasing feature, when it does not signify lifelessness or mere indifference. The Buddhists too deserve credit, for their representations of Buddhas and Bodhi-satvas are pre-eminently merciful, although their objection to suffering as an evil loses sight of its medical and beneficial influence. Buddhism, too, has in China acquired more regard for filial duty than elsewhere.

We may also note how greatly Buddhism has contributed to the artistic and literary development of the Chinese. The pagoda form is theirs especially. It is derived from the Indian tope or dagoba; the base or platform signifies the earth, the semicircular building covering it the air, and the railing above, the heaven; the spire and umbrellas above have been expanded into successive storeys or platforms, representing the successive worlds above the heavens. In many cases, however, the Chinese pagodas have no religious significance, and only relate to the popular geomancy by which luck is determined. Those which contain Buddhist relics are always connected with monasteries. Some are of brick, others of porcelain, others of cast iron. Many are now falling to ruin, and few are now built. Flower cultivation is another artistic feature in China and Japan which has a connection with the Buddhist flower offerings; many beautiful flowers are grown in the temple and monastery gardens for use as offerings and in decorations.

We must not conclude this account of Chinese Buddhism without calling attention to an interesting sect of reformed Buddhists who have spread considerably since the beginning of the sixteenth century in the lower ranks of the Chinese, known as the Wu-wei-kian, or "Do-nothing sect." They oppose all image-worship, but believe in Buddha without worshipping him. They meet in plain buildings with no images, and containing only an ordinary Chinese tablet dedicated to heaven, earth, king, parents and teachers, as signifying the fit objects for reverence. They enjoin the cultivation of virtue by meditation alone, and inward reverence for the all-pervading Buddha, who is within man and in all nature. Their founder, Lo Hwei-neng took the title Lo-tsu (the patriarch Lo); on the anniversaries of his birth and death, the new year, and in the middle of the

The do-nothing sect.

eighth month, they meet to drink tea and eat bread together. They are strict vegetarians, believing strongly in metempsychosis and the consequent sin of taking animal life. They have no order of monks or of priests.

BUDDHIST CEREMONY, JAPAN.

Matter they regard as perishable, and believe that at the end of the world they will be taken to heaven by Kin-mu, the golden mother, whom they regard as the mother of the soul. She is indeed more an object of worship by

this sect than Buddha, being regarded as a protectress from calamities and sickness, and from the miseries of the unseen world. So far have the Taoist notions invaded even this pure form of Buddhism.

JAPANESE BUDDHISM.

Buddhism found its way to Japan in the sixth century A.D. both from China and from Corea, but gained no great influence until the ninth, when the priest Kukai, or Kobo Daishi, showed how to adapt Shintoism to Buddhism by asserting that the Shinto deities were transmigrations of the Buddhistic ones. Thus explained, Buddhism gained great ascendency. In the seventeenth century a philosophical awakening took place, under which every man was taught to long for perfection, to believe in successive transmigrations of souls, and to look forward to the perfect reward of absorption into Buddha. A very great number of Buddhist shrines and temples exist, vastly more ornate and wealthy than those of the Shinto, containing images of extraordinary variety for adoration, supporting till lately a numerous priesthood, who took care to attract the people in every possible way, by spectacles, games, lotteries, and even shooting galleries. The recent revolution, however, has been attended with a great spoliation of Buddhism, suppression of temples and monasteries, melting of bells for coinage, etc.; and the religion now only exists on sufferance, and has already put forth renewed efforts to gain spiritual influence over the people.

There are numerous sects, corresponding in the main to those of China, some being contemplative, others mystic, others taking charge of the popular ceremonies. The Shin-shin especially reverence Amitabha as being willing and able to save those who believe in him. No prayers for happiness in the present life are made by them, and they teach that morality is of equal importance with faith. They have many of the finest temples in Japan, and are remarkable for their active missionary work in China and Corea, and for the high standard of education they maintain. The priests are allowed to marry and to eat meat. The creed of the sect, as stated by one of its principal teachers, is as follows:

The Shin-shin.

"Rejecting all religious austerities and other action, giving up all idea of self-power, we rely upon Amita Buddha with the whole heart for our salvation in the future life, which is the most important thing, believing that at the moment of putting our faith in Amita Buddha our salvation is settled. From that moment invocation of his name is observed as an expression of gratitude and thankfulness for Buddha's mercy. Moreover, being thankful for the reception of this doctrine from the founder and succeeding chief priests whose teachings were so benevolent, and as welcome as light in a dark night, we must also keep the laws which are fixed for our duty during our whole life."

JAIN TEMPLE OF ADINATH, GWALIOR.

CHAPTER IX.

Jainism.

Jainism and Buddhism—Mahavira—Jain beliefs—Temples at Palitana—Mount Abu—Parasnath—The Yatis.

THE Jains are at the present day an important body of religionists in India, more for their wealth and influence than their numbers. It is said that half the mercantile transactions of India pass through their hands as merchants and bankers, largely in the north and west of India, and in smaller numbers throughout the southern peninsula. Till comparatively recently they were believed to be quite a modern sect of Hindus, at any rate not much more than a thousand years old. But the careful researches of several eminent scholars have led them to the belief that Jainism is coeval with, if not slightly older than, Buddhism, and took its rise in the same development of Brahman asceticism and reaction from Brahmanical tyranny. We cannot enter into the details of the discussion, but shall simply take this view as supported by the best authority, Prof. Jacobi.

Jainism and Buddhism.

There are some resemblances between Buddhism and Jainism which do not necessarily show that the one is derived from the other, but rather that they took their rise in the same age or during the same intellectual period. Buddhism proved the more adaptable and appealed to more widespread sympathies, and surpassed and overshadowed Jainism; but the latter, less corrupted, and more characterised by charitable actions, has survived in India, while the former is extinct. We find similar titles given to the saints or prophets in both, such as Tathagata, Buddha, Mahavira, Arhat, etc.; but one set of titles is more frequently used by the one, another by the other; and it is noteworthy that the word Tirthankara, describing a prophet of the Jains, is used in the Buddhist scriptures for the founder of an heretical sect. Both lay great stress on not killing living creatures; both worship their prophets and other saints, and have statues of them in their temples; both believe in enormous periods of time previous to the present age. The rejection of the divine authority of the Vedas and of the sway of the Brahmans is also common to the two. There is further almost an identity between the five vows of the Jain ascetics and those of the Buddhist monks: namely not to destroy life, not to lie, not to take that which is not given, to live a life of purity, and to renounce all worldly things (the last being much more comprehensive than the corresponding Buddhist vow); but it appears that the first four were equally the vows of the Brahman ascetics. There are other points in the life of the Jain monks which agree substantially with rules laid down for the Brahman ascetics.

Vardhamana, or Mahavira (his name as a Jain prophet), the great founder of Jainism, figures in their Kalpa Sutra as the twenty-fourth prophet, and appears to have been a younger son of Siddhartha, a Khsatriya noble or chief of Kundagramma, not far from Vesali, already mentioned in our account of Buddhism, and the wife of Siddhartha, was sister of the king of Vesali, and related to the king of Magadha. At the age of twenty-eight Mahavira became an ascetic, and spent twelve years in self-mortification. After that period he became recognised as a prophet and saint, or Tirthankara (meaning conqueror or leader of a school of thought), and spent the remaining thirty years of his life in teaching and in organising his order of ascetics, mostly within the kingdom of Magadha, but also travelling to Sravasti and the foot of the Himalayas. Mahavira is referred to in the Buddhist books under his well-known name Nataputta, as the head of the rival sect of Niganthas, or Jains, and several contemporaries are referred to in the books of both religions. We may put down Mahavira's date as about the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., but the earliest extant works of the Jains do not go beyond the third century, and were not reduced to writing till the fifth or sixth century A.D. It is very doubtful how far Mahavira is indebted to Parsva, his predecessor, according to the Kalpa Sutra, by about two centuries. The lives of the earlier Jains, like those of the predecessors of Gautama, are altogether mythical. Adinath is the earliest of them.

Mahavira.

The life of Mahavira, as related in the Kalpa Sutra, contains but few

details, and is very far from having the interest of that of his great contemporary. He is declared to have torn out his hair on entering the ascetic life, to have gone naked for eleven years, and to have abandoned all care of his body. All perfections of circumspect conduct and self-restraint are attributed to him. He at last reached the highest knowledge, unobstructed and full, so as to become omniscient. At his death he became a Buddha, a Mukta (a liberated soul), putting an end to all misery, finally liberated, freed from all pains.

"Mahavira," says Professor Jacobi, "was of the ordinary class of religious men in India. He may be allowed a talent for religious matters, but he possessed not the genius which Buddha undoubtedly had. The Buddha's philosophy forms a system based on a few fundamental ideas, whilst that of Mahavira scarcely forms a system, but is merely a sum of opinions on various subjects." The matter of the Jain works yet translated is so inferior to that of the Buddhist scriptures that we shall not make any extracts from them.

The Jains believe in a Nirvana, consisting in the delivery of the soul from the necessity for transmigration; and they do not look for an absorption of the soul into the universal Soul. In fact they do not teach anything about a supreme deity. Right perception, clear knowledge, followed by supernatural knowledge, leading to omniscience, were the stages of progress to Nirvana. The space occupied by each of the perfected ones who have attained Nirvana is stated to be boundless, increasing according to their desire. Their parts are said to be innumerable, and there is no returning again to a worldly state, and no interruption to that bliss. Their term of existence is infinite, and they exercise themselves in the highest philosophy. Believers must also practise liberality, gentleness, piety, and sorrow for faults, and kindness to animals and even to plants. This last the Jains exhibit in the present day by an extreme unwillingness to injure living creatures. They believe all animals and plants (and even the smallest particles of the elements) have souls, and they spend much money in maintaining hospitals for sick animals. They will not eat in the open air during rain or after dark, for fear of swallowing a fly or insect; they strain water three times before drinking it, and will not walk against the wind for fear that it should blow insects into the mouth. The strict devotees carry a brush to sweep insects out of the way when they sit down, and a mouth-cloth to cover the mouth when they are engaged in prayer. In strictness the Jains disregard Vedas, gods, and caste; but practically they yield considerably to caste regulations, they pay some devotion to many of the Hindu deities and have a numerous list of good and bad spirits of their own, and they appeal to the Vedas as of considerable authority when they support their views. Now-a-days the peculiarity of nakedness is only retained by the ascetics among the Digambaras (sky-clad ones), and then only at meal-times. The Svetambaras, the other sect of the Jains, are white-robed and completely clad. They have no sacrifices, and practise a strict morality. Many of their beliefs

Jain beliefs.

are common to Brahman and Buddhist philosophies, such as that re-births are determined by conduct in previous states of existence.

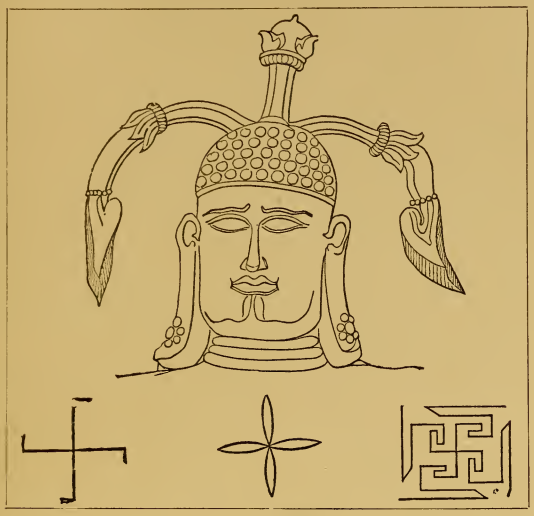
The Jains possess some of the most remarkable places of pilgrimage in India, situated in the midst of most lovely mountain scenery. At Palitana, in Kathiawar, is the temple-covered hill of Satrunjaya, the most sacred of the pilgrim-resorts of the Jains; and Jains from all parts of India desire to erect temples upon it. Many of them are very small buildings only about three feet square, covering impressions of the soles of two feet marked with Jain emblems, and sacred to Mahavira. The larger temples have considerable marble halls with columns and towers, and plenty of openings, unlike Hindu temples; the marble floors have beautiful tesselated patterns. In the shrine, on a pedestal, are large figures of Mahavira, sitting with feet crossed in front, like those of Buddha. Often on the brow and breast are five brilliants, and gold plates adorn many parts of the body. The eyes are of silver overlaid with pieces of grass, and projecting very far, so as to stare very prominently. The larger temples, says Fergusson ("History of Indian Architecture"), "are situated in *tuks*, or separate enclosures, surrounded by high fortified walls; the smaller ones line the silent streets. A few *yatis*, or priests, sleep in the temples, and perform the daily services, and a few attendants are constantly there to keep the place clean or to feed the sacred pigeons, who are the sole denizens of the spot; but there are no human habitations, properly so called, within the walls. The pilgrim or the stranger ascends in the morning, and returns when he has performed his devotions or satisfied his curiosity. He must not eat, or at least must not cook his food on the sacred hill, and he must not sleep there. It is a city of the gods, and meant for them only, and not intended for the use of mortals." Some of the temples date from the eleventh century, but the majority have been built in the present century.

Temples at Palitana.

Mount Abu, in Rajputana, is another remarkable place of pilgrimage, and has been termed the Olympus of India. There are five temples, two of which, according to Fergusson ("History of Indian Architecture"), are unrivalled for certain qualities by any temples in India. They are built wholly of white marble, and the more modern of the two was built (between 1197–1247) by the same brothers who erected a triple temple at Girnar; for minute delicacy of carving and beauty of detail it stands almost unrivalled. A simpler yet very elaborate one, erected in the eleventh century, is a typical example of larger Jain temples; it has a central hall terminating in a pyramidal spire-like roof, containing a cross-legged seated figure of the deified saint worshipped, who in this case is Parsva, the predecessor of Mahavira. There is also a large portico surmounted by a dome, and the whole is enclosed in a large courtyard, surrounded by a double colonnade of pillars forming porticos to a range of fifty-five cells, as in Buddhist viharas, but each occupied by a facsimile of the central image, and over the door of each are sculptured scenes from the saint's life. In some Jain temples the image of Mahavira or other saints is repeated in an identical form hundreds of times, each with cells or niches.

Mount Abu.

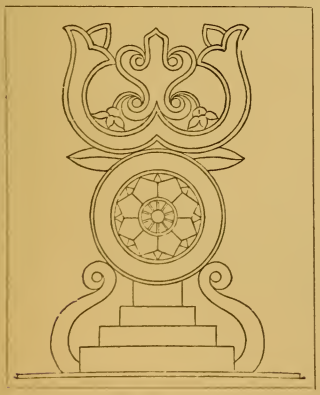
Remarkable skill and ingenuity have been displayed in the decoration of the columns and other parts of the Jain temples.



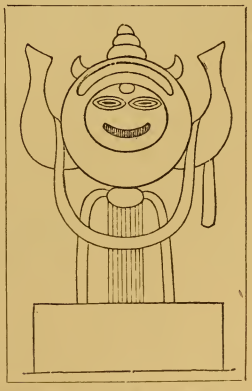
JAIN EMBLEMS.

Parasnath, in Bengal, is the eastern metropolis of the Jains, having been the supposed scene of the entrance into Nirvana of ten of their twenty-four deified saints. In one view of Parasnath there are to be seen three tiers of temples rising one above another, in dazzling white

Parasnath.



EMBLEM OF DHARMA (THE LAW), AT SANCHI (BUDDHIST).



EMBLEM OF DHARMA, TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH, PURI.

stone, with fifteen shining domes, each with bright brass pinnacles. In style these temples differ from those in the West or South, and are partly

derived from Hindu temples and partly from Mahometan mosques. There are no priests to perform ceremonies for the pilgrims; each performs his devotion according to his own views. They have to pay toll to the priestly order before entering, and to leave some contribution to the repairs of the buildings. Extreme cleanliness being one of the Jain principles, it is carried out perfectly in the temples, producing an effect of surpassing beauty. "On entering the centre and holy chamber," says one of the few European visitors who have gained admission, "it is impossible to avoid being impressed with the simple beauty of the place. The pavement is composed of fine slabs of blue-veined marble; and on a white marble pediment, opposite to the entrance, five very beautiful images of the Jain saints sit in dignity waiting for the prayers of their disciples, which are rendered more deep-toned by the echoing influence of the dome." Pilgrims visit every shrine in the holy place, a work of extreme labour, owing to the number of peaks; and the pilgrimage is completed by a circuit round the base of the group of hills, a distance of something like thirty miles.

The yatis, or ascetics, among the Jains have no absolute rule as to worship, being only devoted to meditation and abstraction from worldly affairs; but they often read the Jain scriptures in the temples, while the ministrants, attendants, etc., in the temples are Brahmans. The Jains fast and specially devote themselves to religious duties during a part of the rainy season (the Buddhist Vassa). At its commencement they are accustomed to confess their sins to an ascetic and obtain absolution for them. The Svetambaras are the broader of the two sects, taking their meals clothed and decorating their images, and allowing that women may attain Nirvana, which the Digambaras deny.

The yatis.

[On Jainism see "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxii.; "Imperial Gazetteer of India;" "Statistical Account of Bengal;" "Encyclopædia Britannica," Art. Jain.]

CHAPTER X.

Zoroaster and the Zend-Avesta.

The Avesta—Zend and Pahlavi—The Magi of the Bible—The Greeks and the Magi—Modern study by Europeans—Zoroaster—A real personage—His life in Eastern Iran—His date—Mythical developments—Marvels and miracles—Contrary opinions—The doctrines of Zoroaster—Ormuzd and Ahriman—Dualism—Importance attached to thoughts—Relation to early Aryan religion—Comparison with Vedic religion—Ahura—Zoroaster and the settled agriculturists—Attributes of Ormuzd—The name of Ormuzd—Lofty conception of the Deity—The Amesha-Spentas—The Yazatas or spiritual genii—Mithra—Vayu—Sraosha—The soul of the bull—The powers of evil—Ahriman—The daevas and druj—The Yatus, Drvants, etc.—Zoroaster magnified—The universal conflict—The Fravashis—Immortality—Future rewards and punishments—The final dissolution and renovation.

THE Zend-Avesta[1] is the popular name of the great religious book or collection of books of the Parsees, a wealthy and influential body of Indian residents (numbering over 70,000) whose ancestral home was Persia, but who after the seventh century, when the Persians were overthrown by the Mohametans, took refuge in Western India and the peninsula of Guzerat. Only a few thousand descendants of the old people still keep up the ancestral worship in Persia itself, in Yezd and its neighbourhood. Properly speaking, the old collection of books is the *Avesta*, Zend (or "interpretation") being the name of the translation and commentary on it in the Pahlavi or early Persian language. Nor is "Zend" strictly a correct term for the language of the Avesta; both the book and the language in which it is written are properly called Avesta, and there is no other book remaining in the language. But the language of the Avesta is very generally termed Zend, since that name has long gained currency. This language was that of north-eastern Iran in its wide sense, and was akin to Sanskrit. From it or a closely allied form the Iranian or Persian family of languages is derived.

The Avesta.

Zend and Pahlavi.

Considering how much was known by the ancient Hebrews and Greeks about the Zoroastrian religion, it is a surprising fact that little more than a century ago Sir William Jones rejected the Avesta as a modern rhapsody. The priests of this religion were the Magi or "wise men" of the Old and New Testaments, located in "the East" among the Chaldæans and Persians, and viewed by the Israelites chiefly as astrologers, diviners, and interpreters of dreams. In Daniel xx. we read that the prophet

The Magi of the Bible.

[1] See "Sacred Books of the East," vols. iv., v., xviii., xxiii., xxiv., xxxi. "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth ed., articles "Persia," "Pahlavi," "Parsees," "Zend-Avesta," "Zoroaster." "Avesta," translated with commentary by Prof. de Harlez, second ed. Paris, 1881. "Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians," by Prof. Geiger, translated into English by D. P. Dastur; London: Henry Frowde, 1886. (G.)

and his associates were reckoned "ten times wiser than all the magicians and astrologers." How deeply this view of them impressed itself, we see in the fact that from their Greek name "magoi" is derived our generic term for all professors of enchantment and preternatural powers. Daniel is represented as interceding for the Magi when condemned to death by Nebuchadnezzar, and was himself appointed Master of the Magi; again and again after this we find that one common ground was recognised between the religions, both hating idolatry and acknowledging the "God of Heaven." The "wise men (Magi) from the east" of Matthew ii. may not have been from Persia, but the mention of them implies the high position they held and the respect paid to their persons and doings. Later references to Magi in the New Testament imply what was the fact, that large numbers of impostors had become distributed through the Roman empire, among whom may be mentioned Simon Magus and Elymas.

The Greeks and the Magi.

The Greeks early knew about the Magi through Herodotus and other travellers and historians; and Aristotle and other philosophers wrote about the Persian religion in lost books. The Magi appear to have recommended the destruction of the Greek temples in Xerxes' invasion. After the Greek conquest of Persia the name of the Magi represented a hated system of divination, and the religion of a conquered foe. Both Plato and Xenophon, however, speak of the Magi with respect. Philo, the great Alexandrian philosopher, describes them as men who gave themselves to the worship of nature, and the contemplation of the Divine perfections, and as being worthy to be the counsellors of kings. Much literature was put forth in Greece as being the oracles of Zoroaster, but having very faint traces of his system. Throughout the middle ages, however, no real knowledge of the ancient Persian religion existed in Europe. Gradually after the Renaissance the old knowledge was re-collected; and travellers in Persia and India gathered the beliefs of the Parsees and described their practices. Thomas Hyde, an Oxford professor, in 1700 published the first accurate description of modern Parseeism; and in 1723 Richard Cobbe brought to England a copy of the Vendidad, which was hung up by an iron chain in the Bodleian library, a treasure which nobody could read. More than thirty years later, Duperron, a young Frenchman, after years of persuasion and investigation, obtained from the Parsees of Surat both their books and the means of translating them, and in 1764 brought to Paris the whole of the Zend-Avesta; in 1771 he published the first European translation. But it was loudly asserted that the Avesta was a forgery and a late concoction; and it was not till the Pahlavi inscriptions of the first Sassanian emperors had been deciphered by De Sacy, and they in turn led to the reading of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions by Burnouf, Lassen, and Rawlinson, that it was proved beyond doubt that the Avesta was written in a still more ancient language. Zend, as it is usually called, is apparently derived from a common source with Sanskrit; and its grammatical forms remind one of Greek and Latin as well as of the language of the Vedas.

Modern study by Europeans.

ZOROASTER.

So much scepticism has been displayed as to the Avesta that it is scarcely surprising to find that many have doubted the existence of any person corresponding to Zoroaster or Zarathustra (in modern Persian, Zardusht), although they might in some cases admit that he was a mythological personage developed out of some man. But it requires very cogent proof to upset the unanimous voice of classical antiquity, which speaks of Zoroaster as a real person and the founder of the Persian religion. The period when he lived and the details of his life must be admitted to be doubtful; and his name is not mentioned in any cuneiform inscription yet deciphered. No doubt the Zoroaster of the later parts of the Avesta and of the Zend is largely mythical, and of these myths we must later give some account. But the Zoroaster of the gathas or hymns contained in the Yasna appears as a man, trusting in the Divine Being whom he worships, facing fierce opposition from without, crippled at times by the faintheartedness of his supporters, sometimes suffering from inward doubts and struggles, and again exulting in secure confidence. And it is less marvellous to believe in these sentiments as having proceeded from a man who was the founder of a religion than to believe they were invented long afterwards in the successful days of the religion, when it was beginning to decay. But, as in the case of Buddha and also of the early history of Buddha, these old Aryans had no notion of writing biographies. All we have from them is incidental information, which may be even more reliable, when sifted, than details professing to be biographical would have been in that age.

Zoroaster a real personage.

Although his birthplace is uncertain, Zoroaster's active life and teaching may safely be placed in Eastern Iran, possibly in Bactria. The later parts of the Avesta describe him as teaching during the reign of Vishtaspa, the same word as is rendered Hystaspes by the Greeks; but there is reason to believe this king belonged to a much earlier period than Hystaspes, the father of Darius. This king was evidently the patron and friend of the great religious teacher; and his influence greatly contributed to Zoroaster's success. Two brothers, Frashaoshtra and Jamaspa, the latter a minister of the king, were among Zoroaster's prominent supporters; indeed he married their sister Hvovi. Like some other religious leaders, Zoroaster derived much aid from his relatives and their followers; and he appears to have had a family of sons and daughters. The Avesta does not speak of his death; but in the late Shah-Nama, or book of Turanian kings (13th century), it is related that he was murdered at the altar in the storming of Balk by the Turanian conquerors. Almost the only means that we have of indicating Zoroaster's date is the fact that when Cyrus reigned, in the 6th century B.C., the Magian religion was firmly established in Western Iran. Various conjectures assign him dates between 1000 and 1400 B.C.

His life in Eastern Iran.

His date.

Turning now to the view of Zoroaster given by the later parts of the

Avesta, it is easy to see that he became invested with marvellous powers, nothing less than supernatural, and was in fact made part of the Magian mythology. He is described as smiting fiends chiefly with his prayers, driving away Ahriman the evil spirit with huge stones which he had received from Ormuzd, the supreme and good god. At his birth the floods and trees rejoiced. Ormuzd is even represented as sacrificing to a spring, and praying that Zoroaster may be brought to think and speak and do according to his law. Zoroaster in fact becomes the supporter of Ormuzd, and drives away Ahriman and the fiends that try to kill him. He is a godlike champion, who kills the powers of evil with the word of truth or the sacred spell. At some far-off period a posthumous son will be born to him who will come from the region of the dawn to free the world from death and decay, and under his rule the dead will rise and immortality commence.

Mythical developments.

Still later, in the Bundahish we have more details and marvels about Zoroaster, and from it a legendary history of the great teacher may be compiled. During his early life a whole series of marvels occurred, mostly protecting his life from danger. His early life was blameless, but it was only after he attained the age of thirty that his mission commenced. He appears to have emigrated from his native country to Iran proper, with a few followers, and miracles were worked in his progress. The spirit Vohu-mano ("the good mind") introduces him to Ormuzd, the supreme Being; he asks permission to put questions to Him, inquiring which of God's creatures is best, and receiving the answer, "He is the best who is pure of heart;" and then receives instruction as to the names and duties of angels and the nature of the evil spirit Ahriman. Various miraculous signs are shown to him. He sees a fiery mountain and is commanded to pass through the fire, but is not hurt thereby. Molten metal is poured into his breast without his feeling pain; and these wonders are explained to him as having a mystic meaning. He then received the Avesta from Ormuzd and was commanded to proclaim it at the court of King Vishtaspa. This belief in the communication between Zoroaster and Ormuzd runs through the whole Avesta. In every important matter he questions Ormuzd and receives a precise answer from him. Various statements are made that these revelations took place upon a mountain, which afterwards burst out into flames. When he at last presented himself at court, the king's wise men endeavoured to refute him, but were compelled to own that he had beaten them in argument; finally the king accepted the Avesta, after the prophet had been accused as a sorcerer and had proved his mission by miracles. The king at last did nothing without consulting Zoroaster, and erected the first fire-temple.

Marvels and miracles.

Having treated Zoroaster as having been a real historical personage, round whom many mythical or exaggerated narratives have collected, we will quote a few sentences showing the contrary opinion held by not a few scholars: "All the features in Zarathustra point to a god: that the god may have grown up from a man, that pre-existent

Contrary opinions.

mythic elements may have gathered around the name of a man, born on earth, and by-and-by surrounded the human face with the aureole of a god, may of course be maintained, but only on condition that one may distinctly express what was the real work of Zoroaster. That he raised a new religion against the Vedic religion, and cast down into hell the gods of older days can no longer be maintained, since the gods, the ideas, and the worship of Mazdeism (*i.e.*, Zoroastrianism) are shown to emanate directly from the old religion, and have nothing more of a reaction against it than Zend has against Sanskrit." (Darmesteter, S.E., vol. iv.)

THE DOCTRINES OF ZOROASTER.

The most special feature of Zoroaster's teaching is the dualistic principle, according to which Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), the good spirit, is constantly antagonised by Angra Mainyu (Ahriman), the evil spirit, who is the originator of everything evil. The latter is to be ultimately expelled from the world, and man must take an active part in the struggle, his conduct being regulated by the code revealed to Zoroaster by Ormuzd. Ormuzd and Ahriman are believed to have been co-existent, and opposed in the earliest period known to the Gathas; but the ultimate triumph of Ormuzd indicates essential if latent inferiority in Ahriman. It must not be taken that other spirits were not believed in by Zoroaster; but as far as one can judge, his special teaching relates to the supremacy and greatness of Ormuzd and his final victory.

Ormuzd and Ahriman.

Dualism.

As regards conduct in this world, Zoroaster enforces the doctrine that no one can occupy a position of indifference; he must be either on the side of good or of evil. The only proper course was to choose the good, and to follow it in thought, word, and deed. This was announced clearly in the first gatha; and we must concede to Zoroaster the great merit of seeing the importance of the thoughts, and tracing evil to that source. When we remember how few of the hymns of the Rig-Veda refer to sin or its expiation, and how slight are the traces of feelings of guilt, and the necessity for obtaining forgiveness for it from the Deity, it will be seen that the Avesta contains distinctly an advanced teaching.

Importance attached to thoughts.

Whatever may have been Zoroaster's contribution to the religious progress of his race, such a religion as his could only become accepted where there was already a large basis of positive belief, even if that belief were erroneous; and as there can be no doubt that the Iranians were derived from the same stock as the Aryan Hindus, we must compare their early religion with the features found existing in the Avesta, in default of any document recording what was the state of belief upon which Zoroaster began to work. And this study leads to most interesting results.

Relation to early Aryan religion.

The general name for a god in the earlier portions of the Rig-Veda is *deva* (bright); in the Avesta the evil spirits are called *daeva*, essentially the same word; while in the later Rig-Veda the name means exclusively

a good spirit, a beneficent god. In contrast to this, we find the use of an alternative name to *deva* in the earlier parts of the Rig-Veda, namely *asura*. This is the same word as *ahura* in the Avesta, forming part of the name Ormuzd (Ahura Mazda) and limited to a good sense. Yet in the later Rig-Veda and in Brahmanism the same name is exclusively applied to evil spirits. We have not space to trace fully how this divergence was concomitant in India with the deposition of Varuna from the supreme place among the gods and the rise of Indra; but it may be inferred from the Avesta that in Zoroaster's time the people of Iran were divided between two distinct and contrasted forms of belief—the wilder unsettled nomads who believed in the devas, the original spirits of the Ayran race, and who ill-treated and sacrificed cattle; while the more settled people believed in the ahuras, the patrons of cattle, and elevated the care of cattle into a sacred function.

Comparison with Vedic religion.

Ahuras.

Zoroaster therefore appeared as a champion of the belief of the settled peoples, and added the epithet Mazda, the wise, to the name of the chief god whom they already believed in. He identified the old devas, still believed in by the nomads, with powers of evil, false gods, devils. These, he taught, were all different manifestations or helpers of a predominant evil principle, often called Druj, or deception, and less frequently Angra Mainyu, or Ahriman. This is but a concentration and development of the early Aryan belief in a conflict between the powers of nature, some benefiting and others injuring mankind.

Zoroaster and the settled agriculturists.

The frequent brief address to Ormuzd in the Vendidad is "the most blissful spirit, creator of the material world, thou Holy One," or more fully, "I venerate the Creator, Ahura Mazda, the brilliant, radiant, greatest, best, most beautiful, mightiest, wisest, best-formed, most exalted through holiness, giving profusely, granting much bliss, who created us, who prepares us, who maintains us, the most blissful spirit." Dr. Geiger lays stress on the spiritual view which is given of Ormuzd, and says that he is not represented as having any visible form, except where the sun (Mithra) is spoken of as "the body and the eye of Mazda." Anthropomorphism is rare as applied to the Supreme Being in the Avesta: and Geiger looks upon all the passages as symbolical, which speak of wives and relatives of Ormuzd. But we cannot be blind to the extreme probability that such relationships would be looked upon as real by the general mass of the people, however definitely the leaders may have regarded them as symbolical.

Attributes of Ormuzd.

Great importance is evidently attached to the "name" of Ormuzd, and it is interesting to compare it with the "name" of Jehovah as treated in the Old Testament Scriptures, and the 1,001 names of Allah. These names, as given in the Ormuzd Yast are "the One of whom questions are asked, the Herd-giver, the Strong One, Perfect Holiness, Creator of all good things, Understanding, Knowledge, Well-being, and the Producer of well-being, Ahura (the Lord), the most Beneficent, He in whom there is no harm, the Unconquerable, He who makes the true account (that

The name of Ormuzd.

is of good works and sins), the All-Seeing, the Healer, Mazda (the All-wise). He is represented in the gathas as not to be deceived, and as looking upon everything as a warder with eyes radiant with holiness. How high is the conception of the deity reached in the gathas may be seen from the following extract from one of them (Yasna 44).

"That I ask of Thee, tell me the right, O Ahura!
Who was the father of the pure creatures at the beginning?
Who has created the way of the sun, of the stars?
Who but Thou made it that the moon waxes and wanes?
This, O Mazda, and other things I long to know.
Who upholds the earth and the clouds above,
That they fall not? Who made the water and the plants?
Who gave their swiftness to the winds and the clouds?
Who is, O Mazda, the creator of the pious mind?
Who, working good, has made light as well as darkness?
Who, working good, has made sleep and wakefulness?
Who made the dawn, the mid-days, and the evenings?"

There is no doubt that Ormuzd is believed to have existed before any material thing, and to have called the world into existence by his will. He is specially mentioned as the creator of the holy mind, of religious truth, and of the prayers and offerings. Fire is also a special creation of Ormuzd, the importance of which we shall see later. Being omniscient and infallible, he rewards the good and punishes the evil both in this world and the next. Thus we read in the gathas:

"Whosoever in righteousness shows to me
The genuine good actions, to me who am Zarathushtra:
Him they (the divine beings) grant as a reward the next world,
Which is more desirable than all others.
That hast thou said to me, Mazda, thou who knowest best."

The impious are thus threatened: "Whoso brings about that the pious man is defrauded, his dwelling is finally for a long time in darkness, and vile food and irony shall fall to his lot. Towards this region, O ye vicious, your souls will conduct you on account of your actions."

There have not been wanting those who see in the resemblances between this conception of the supreme Deity and that of the Jews a proof that the one was derived from the other; but the view that they are distinct and unrelated finds warm advocacy. Thus Dr. Geiger says: "In this sublime conception of the Avesta, Ahura Mazda undoubtedly stands far above the deities of the Vedic pantheon. Only the Jehovah of the ancient Jews may be compared to him. But however obvious the similarity between the God of Israel and the god of the Mazdeans may be, still I reject entirely the assumption that the Avesta people have borrowed from the Jews. Upon the Iranian soil a narrowly-confined nation has, independently and of itself, attained that high conception of God, which, with the exception of the Jews, was never attained by any Aryan,

Lofty conception of the Deity.

Semitic, or Turanian tribe." (G.) To another student, Professor Geldner, Ormuzd appears as the idealised figure of an oriental king. To Professor Darmesteter he is the developed idea of the old Aryan "Heaven-God," and many features betray his former sky nature. Thus "he is white, bright, seen afar, and his body is the greatest and fairest of all bodies; he has the sun for his eye, the rivers above for his spouses, the fire of lightning for his son; he wears the heaven as a star-spangled garment; he dwells in the infinite luminous space."

The sevenfold arrangement of the Vedic gods which was sometimes made, and from which were developed the twelve adityas, was seen also in the Iranian religion, and it is a question whether it did not exist very early, Ormuzd becoming the most prominent and finally the supreme. In some parts of the Avesta mention is made of seven Amesha-Spentas (the blissful immortals), of whom Ahura Mazda is chief. The names of the others are (1) Vohu-mano, the good mind, (2) Asha-vahishta, the best holiness, (3) Khshathra-varya, the desirable sovereignty, (4) Spenta-Armati, moderate thinking and humble sense, (5) Harvatat, well-being, happiness, health; (6) Amertal, long life, immortality. The abstract meanings of these names renders it difficult to understand them, but there is no doubt that they are invoked in the Avesta as real beings who can answer prayer. We find them very definitely associated with particular functions: Vohu-mano protects herds, Asha is the genius of fire, Khshathra has the care of metals, Spenta-Armati is the guardian of the earth, while the last two protect the waters and plants. We may here indicate with some reserve Geiger's explanation of the abstract meaning of some of the Amesha-Spentas, as connected with these practical functions. Vohu-mano, the good mind, is the protector of herds because the people who accepted the Zoroastrian doctrine, and consequently were of good mind, were the cattle-rearers, as opposed to the nomads. Vohu-mano came also to be regarded as the guardian of all living beings. The connection of Asha, purity, with fire, is evident, fire being the symbol of purity. Armati (the Vedic goddess Aramati) is the protector of the earth, regarded as "the humble suffering one which bears all, nourishes all, and sustains all. In the Rig-Veda Aramati is devotion, or the genius of devotion. By the Indian commentator Sayana, Armati is regarded as wisdom, but he also defines the same word twice as the 'earth.'" Harvatat, health, is the master of water, for the waters dispense health. Amertal, long life and immortality, is the genius of plants, which dispel sickness and death, especially the Haoma (Indian Soma) plant, which gives health and long keeps up the vital powers. The white Haoma gives immortality. Fire is spoken of as the son of Ormuzd, and Armati as his daughter. In one place (Yast xix.) we find all invoked as sons of Ormuzd: "I invoke the glory of the Amesha-Spentas, who all seven have one and the same thinking, one and the same doing, one and the same father and lord, Ahura Mazda."

The Amesha-Spentas.

Another subject of great interest is the part played by the *yazatas*, sometimes characterised as angels or spiritual genii presiding over elements

or over abstract ideas. Mr. Dastur says: "In the abstract, anything that is excellent and worthy of praise in the moral and material universe and that glorifies the wisdom of the Deity is a yazata. (G. p. xxiv.) Mithra is one of the most significant of these, because he can be identified with Mitra, the Vedic god of the heavenly light, closely associated with Varuna. Mithra was believed to see and therefore know everything, and became the witness of truth and the preserver of oaths and good faith; consquently he punishes those who break their promises. He is also the lord of wide pastures and the prince of the countries. The tenth yast contains many hymns to Mithra, from which the following extracts are made. (S. E. xxiii.)

The yazatas, or spiritual genii.

Mithra.

"Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'Verily, when I created Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, O Spitama, I created him as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda. The ruffian who lies unto Mithra (or who breaks the contract) brings death unto the whole country, injuring as much the faithful world as a hundred evil-doers could do. Break not the contract, O Spitama, neither the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the unfaithful, nor the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the faithful, who is one of thy own faith. For Mithra stands for both the faithful and the unfaithful.'"

"We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake.

"Who upholds the columns of the lofty house and makes its pillars solid; who gives herds of oxen and male children to that house in which he has been satisfied; he breaks to pieces those in which he has been offended."

On behalf of Mithra, loud claims are put forth for a sacrifice, invoking him in his own name. He is prayed to for riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss, wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness. In one place he is a warlike courageous youth, who drives in a chariot with four white horses through the heavens, and also into battle; who becomes a yazata of war. See the account of Mithraism, later, p. 363.

Vayu, another Vedic deity, is the storm yazata in the Avesta, and is appealed to by Ormuzd to grant him power to smite Ahriman. He is invoked as a strong warlike helper in every danger. Among other important yazatas are that of Fire, the messenger of the gods, sent down as lightning and sun-fire to the earth; that of the waters, Ardvisura Anahita, Tistrya the rain-bestower, Verethragna the fiend smiter, and the Sun and Moon, etc. Many of these are identical in name and epithets with Vedic gods or spirits, and in reading the yasts we seem to hear again the strains of the Rig-Veda.

Vayu.

"He who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed sun, to withstand darkness, to withstand the daevas born of darkness, to withstand the robbers and bandits, to withstand death that creeps in unseen, offers it up to Ahura Mazda, offers it up to the Amesha-Spentas, offers it up to his own soul.

"We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, for whom long the standing waters, and the running spring-waters, the stream-waters and the rain-waters:

"When will the bright and glorious Tistrya rise up for us? When will the springs with a flow and overflow of waters, thick as a horse's shoulder, run to the beautiful places and fields, and to the pastures, even to the roots of the plants, that they may grow with a powerful growth?"

The spirit or god Sraosha must also be mentioned; his name signifies obedience, especially to the Holy Word. He it was who first tied together the *baresma*, the consecrated sacrificial branches; he first sang the sacred hymns; three times a day he descends on the world to smite Ahriman. Hence he has been termed the priest-god; the holy prayers are the weapons with which he smites. He requires a man to rise early that he may perform the due rites; he pities the poor and needy and guards the sanctity of the covenants. Again Ashi or piety, moral order, the daughter of Ormuzd and sister of Sraosha, Mithra and others, bestows the human intellect, defends matrimony, and cares actively for the house. She confers power and riches, and gives beauty to maidens.

Sraosha.

Another spirit is named Geush-urvan, "Soul of the Bull"; in the gathas we find this spirit complaining before Ormuzd of the oppressions and dangers inflicted on him by enemies. Besides those named many other spirits are invoked, such as the holy doctrine, the Holy Word, the genius of justice, etc. Here we see how prone Zoroastrianism was to personify abstract ideas, just as the Vedic religion personified material objects or forces.

The soul of the bull.

We now come to the obverse side of the picture—the powers of evil, and their relations to Ormuzd and the forces of goodness. It has already been stated how prominently the Avesta asserts dualism in the government of the world; but there are not wanting those who consider that Zoroastrianism is not more dualistic than Christianity, and point to the fact that no attempt is made to account for the origin of either spirit, while the temporary character of the power of the evil one is distinctly asserted. (West, S. E., vol. xviii.) Haug says that Zoroaster held the grand idea of the unity and indivisibility of the supreme Being, and sought to reconcile the existence of imperfections and evils with the goodness and justice of God by supposing two primeval causes which, though different, were united. But it is surely simpler to take the plain statements of the gathas, that two powerful beings opposed and counteracted each other, but that the good Being is the stronger and will ultimately conquer, as expressing the essence of the creed of Zoroaster. If one reads the gathas naturally, without prepossessions, it will appear that Ahriman is imagined to have existed from the beginning.

The powers of evil.

Ahriman, the prince of the demons, is the opposite and counterpart of Ormuzd in all characters. He dwells in infinite darkness, and is all darkness, falsehood and wickedness, and around him all evil spirits collect. Any good man is his enemy, and he is represented as

Ahriman.

being enraged at the birth of Zoroaster. The evil spirits are the daevas, (devas) male, and the druj (female). There are six principal evil spirits corresponding to the Amesha-Spenta: thus (1) Akomano, evil mind; (2) Andra (Indra), destructive fire; (3) Saru, the tyrant, opposed the first three of the Amesha-Spentas. **The daevas and druj.**

The first section of the Vendidad exhibits in detail the way in which Ahriman counterworked the beneficent creation of Ormuzd. His first creation was the serpent in the river, and winter, followed by the cattle-fly, corn-carrying ants, the mosquito, demon-nymphs and wizards, etc.; and also the sinful lusts, unbelief, pride, unnatural sins, the burying and burning of corpses, the oppression of foreign rulers, and excessive heat, each following a beneficial creation of Ormuzd. Ahriman was also represented as the killer of the first bull, the poisoner of plants, the causer of smoke, of sin, and of death.

Some of the associate spirits of evil can be identified with Vedic spirits; such are the Yatus, wizard demons. The Pairikas are demon-nymphs who keep off the rain-floods. The Drvants or Dregvants are head-long-running fiends. The Varenya daevas are the fiends in the heavens. Bushyasta sends people to sleep at dawn, and makes them forget to say their prayers. We cannot go into the details relating to all these. **The Yatus, Drvants, etc.**

We must note how in the Yasts Zoroaster appears as the typical and best human being, who first antagonised Ahriman. Thus, we read in Yast 13, "We worship the piety and the Fravashi (see p. 354) spirit of the holy Zarathustra, who first thought, spoke, and did what is good, who was the first priest, the first warrior, the first plougher of the ground, who first knew and taught; who first possessed the bull, and holiness, the word and obedience to the word, and dominion, and all the good things made by Mazda; who first in the material world proclaimed the word that destroys the daevas, the law of Ahura; who was strong, giving all the good things of life, the first bearer of the law among the nations; for whom the Amesha-Spentas longed, in one accord with the sun, in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart; they longed for him, as the lord and master of the world, as the praiser of the most great, most good, and most fair Asha; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; and whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creations cried out, "Hail!" (S.E. vol. xxiii.) Here we see, as if in process, the deification of a human being. **Zoroaster magnified.**

The conflict between good and evil was represented as universal in its extent. Every power or being or material thing was engaged on one side or the other. All animals and plants belong to one or the other, or are forced into their service. Sometimes the gods and fiends are seen under the guise of dogs, snakes, otters, frogs, etc.; and it was held a crime to kill the creatures of Ormuzd, while a man might atone for evil by killing the creatures of Ahriman. Darmesteter, speculating on this aspect of the Avesta, says, "Persia was on the brink of zoolatry." **The universal conflict.**

Of course mankind were shared between Ormuzd and Ahriman. The servant of Ahriman and of Asha (fire) offers sacrifice to them with libations of haoma juice (the Vedic Soma), the great healing and invigorating plant, which when drunk by the faithful benefits the gods; sacrifices of consecrated meat and libations of holy water. He aids Ormuzd and the holy spirits by every good thought, word, and deed, and by increasing the number of and protecting the creatures of Ormuzd. The priest, or Atharvan, who drives away fiends and diseases by his spells: the warrior who destroys the impious, the husbandman who produces good harvests, are all workers for Ormuzd, and those who do the contrary, for Ahriman. The former will have a seat near Ormuzd in heaven, and at the end of time the dead will rise and live happily on the earth, which will then be free from all evil.

The good and the wicked.

In this connection we may note the belief in the existence of a spirit (*Fravashi*) distinct from the body originally, separated from it by death, and believed to be simply the spirit of ancestors; but this developed into a belief in Fravashis as the immortal principle or counterpart of any being, whether gods, animals, plants, or physical objects. They are spoken of in Yast xiii. as "the awful and overpowering Fravashis," bringing help and joy to the faithful, helping in the maintenance of all creations. Because of the help they give in the perpetual conflict between good and evil, the Fravashis are worshipped and invoked on all occasions. They are praised as "the mightiest of drivers, the lightest of those driving forwards, the slowest of the retiring, the safest of all bridges, the least erring of all weapons and arms, and never turning their backs"; they are correspondingly dreadful to the foe. They are, however, said to ask for help thus: "Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand, and with a prayer worthy of bliss?" High above all other Fravashis is the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda.

The Fravashis.

There is no doubt that the Avesta teaches the doctrine of immortality, and a coming world which is "better than the good." The idea of a bridge conducting men thither has been common to many religions. The early Avesta represents it as a chinvat bridge, or bridge of retribution, at which justice is administered. The good go to the abode of light and glory where Ormuzd reigns and is praised in hymns. The evil, the false priests, and idol-worshippers go for all eternity to the habitation of the devils, in eternal night, scorned by the demons. Yast xxii. gives a detailed description of the fate of the good and of the evil. A good man's spirit, remaining near the head of the body, tastes during the three nights succeeding the death of the body as much happiness as the whole living world can taste. He passes into the most blissful region and is met by his own conscience in the shape of a beautiful heavenly maiden who recites to him all his good deeds, and then conducts him through the Paradises of Good Thought, Good Worth, Good Deed, and Endless Light. The evil man correspondingly suffers for three nights as

Immortality.

Future rewards and punishments.

much as the whole living world can suffer, and then is brought through a foul region into the hills of Evil Thought, Evil Word, and Evil Deed, and finally into endless darkness. Later this vision is amplified.

In one passage of the gathas we find mention of a final dissolution of creation, when the final distribution of rewards and punishments will take place; but the general tenor of the Avesta is to look for a regeneration of the earth, with a resurrection of the bodies of the dead, to join their souls. Many hold that this view of the resurrection was original in Zoroastrianism and that it was adopted from the Persians by the Jews. The end of the world is to be preceded by the appearance of three great prophets, all regarded as supernatural sons of Zarathushtra, the last one (Astvat-erta), being named the victorious Saviour, embodied piety, overcoming all torments of men and demons. He is to renew the world, he makes the living immortal and awakens the dead from their sleep, brings death, old age and decay to an end, and grants to the pious eternal life and happiness. One last decisive struggle takes place between the powers of light and darkness, and Astvat-erta, with the aid of the good spirits, vanquishes the demons, and extirpates evil. Then comes the peaceful and happy reign of Ormuzd and all the good, no longer disturbed by any evil-disposed being.

The final dissolution and renovation.

PARSEE SUN-WORSHIP.

CHAPTER XI.

The Zoroastrian Books—Mithraism.

The Avesta—Country of its origin—Date of the Avesta—The Gathas—People to whom addressed—The Vendidad—The most pleasing and displeasing things—Impurity of corpses—Exposure of dead—Law of contracts and assaults—The Vispered and Yasna—The liturgies—The early rites of Mazdaism—Rise of the Magi—Loss of Zoroastrian books—The Pahlavi texts—The Bundahish—The Shayast la-Shayast—The Dadistan-i-Dinik—The Spirit of Wisdom—Mithraism—Mithraic monuments—Antagonism of Christians—Mithraic ceremonies.

THE AVESTA.

FROM the Avesta itself it appears to be conclusively proved that it originated in Eastern Iran, east of the central desert of Persia, the land of the Syr-Daria, nearly all the places mentioned in it being situated therein, with the exception of Ragha, near its western boundary. Babylon is the only famous western city mentioned. A passage especially noted is this, in which the Aryan country is described as the first created and best land. "As the first of the lands and as the best dwelling-place, I, Ahura-Mazda (Ormuzd) created the Aryana-vaija (the country) situated on the good Datya. Thereupon Angra Mainyu (Ahriman), who is full of death, counter-created the water serpents and a winter produced by the demons. (G.) This Aryan country was very possibly in Upper Ferghana.

Country of its origin.

The Avesta itself testifies to its own date in the following way. It does not mention any town which was famous in the Median and Achemenian period except Ragha; nor does it mention the names of later nations or empires. It only knows Aryans, not Persians, Parthians, or Medes as such. It does not even contain any reference to the battles between the Medes and the Babylonians, still less to the conquests of Alexander the Great. And this is the more significant as it alludes to many external events, battles, inroads of foreigners, the hostility of the Aryans to non-Aryans, and of the settled agriculturists to the nomad tribes. The tribal grouping was in full force, and only specially powerful kings were able to unite the tribes into kingdoms. It is much more natural to regard all this as a sign of great antiquity, especially when coupled with the primitive type of the Avesta language. And it is not safe to dismiss portions of the narrative as purely mythical because all trace of some of the names mentioned has vanished. Herodotus's statement that the Medes were anciently called Aryans, supports this view of the antiquity of the record which deals solely with Aryans, before the Medes had become a distinct people.

Date of the Avesta.

Let us take the gathas, or hymns of the Avesta, contained in the Yasna, and study them for traces of the people among whom they were composed. In them Zoroaster speaks directly. The king Vishtaspa is described as his pious friend in his great work, wishful to announce it; and in many ways the gathas address or speak of contemporary persons and events. The religion itself is in process of formation, and its followers are subject to persecution. No doubt mythology is intermingled; but if everything which contains mythological interpretations or descriptions were adjudged to contain no historical fact, very much more than the Avesta would have to be sacrificed.

The gathas.

One important fact intimating the great age of the gathas, and also showing the connection of the Aryan people they describe with the Aryans of the Rig-Veda, is the high importance attributed to the cow, showing special attention to its breeding and rearing. Thus they were in the pastoral state which succeeds a nomad life, and becoming more settled than mere keepers of sheep and goats, which can be readily transferred from place to place. We are expressly told in the gathas that the cow is the giver of permanent homes, and the especial care of the active labourer, and also leads to the development of agriculture. In the Vendidad, in contrast to this, agriculture has become of equal importance with cattle-breeding. In the gathas antagonism is represented as occurring between the nomads and the agriculturists, and the former oppose the teaching of Zoroaster. In fact the nomads plundered the settled people then as now, and naturally disliked the moral teacher of their more civilised brethren. We find Zoroaster assigned as the special protector of the cow, and the announcer to man that the cow is created for the industrious and the active. In the later parts of the Avesta we find the religion of Zoroaster firmly established and an order of priests (Atharvans), but the people are still peasants and shepherds, and their daily life is intimately connected

The people to whom addressed.

with their religion, the annual feasts being specially related to the agricultural and pastoral life. The people do not yet seem to have used salt. Glass, coined money, and iron were unknown; the bronze age still ruled. One passage, which has been alleged to refer to Gautama, and to show the date of the Avesta to be later than his time, is not at all conclusive, and the name is rather an old Iranian form; also the name Gautama occurs in the Rig-Veda. It was in fact an early Aryan name.

The Vendidad is specially the Zoroastrian book of purification; but the first two sections belong to the older literature. The first section at once touches a natural chord by representing Ahura-Mazda (Ormuzd) as telling Zoroaster that he has made every country dear to its own people; were it not so, they would all have come to the Aryan country, which was created best of good lands. The counter-creation of Angra Mainyu (Ahriman) is then described, giving rise to the ten months of winter. Other neighbouring countries were then created, followed by Ahriman's creation of special evils or plagues, including various sins, evils, and insect plagues. In the second section Zoroaster asks Ormuzd who was the first mortal with whom he had conversed; and he replies, "The fair Yima, the great shepherd," who appears to have represented the founder of civilisation. Afterwards he was told that a period of fatal winters was approaching, and he was commanded to gather into a large enclosure all kinds of seeds and grains, and to make a sort of terrestrial paradise. This Yima is compared in some respects with Yama, the ruler of departed spirits, in the Rig-Veda.

The Vendidad.

The third section gives an enumeration of five things most pleasing and five most displeasing to the earth. These are, (1) the place where one of the faithful with wood for the altar fire, and the sacred bundle of twigs, steps forward praying to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, and Rama Svastra, the god that gives good pastures to cattle; (2) the place where one of the faithful erects a house for a priest, with wife, children, and herds; (3) the place where one of the faithful cultivates most corn, grass, and fruit; (4) where there is most increase of flocks and herds; (5) and where they yield most manure. The unpleasing places relate to the corpses or other creations of Ahriman, and also the captive wife and children of one of the faithful. No man is allowed to carry a corpse alone, and every corpse, if buried, must be disinterred (for exposure) within six months. A large part of the Vendidad relates to the extent of defilement by corpses or portions of dead matter and the means of purification. Throughout all we see the guiding principle that purity, especially of the body, is of prime importance; but impurity is believed to be the work of a demon, which especially inhabits a corpse, and thence passes to those who touch it. Peculiar washings and spells are enjoined in order to expel the impure spirit. Nowhere has this idea of impurity connected with the dead been more elaborately developed. The evil spirit is expelled from the corpse itself by the "four-eyed dog" being brought near and made to look at the dead. In practice this is interpreted

The most pleasing and displeasing things.

Impurity of corpses.

as a dog with two spots above the eyes. This may be compared with the four-eyed dogs of the Vedic god Yama, and the three-headed Cerberus, watching at the doors of hell. Wherever the corpse passed, death walked with it, threatening the living; consequently no man or animal might pass that way till the deadly breath had been blown away by the four-eyed dog, the priest aiding with his spells.

Fire, earth, and water being all holy to Zoroastrians, corpses must be kept as far as possible away from them and placed on the highest summits, where there are always corpse-eating dogs and birds, and fastened by the feet and hair lest the bones should be carried away. The bones must afterwards be laid in a building known as the Dokma or tower of silence. This principle was carried out very thoroughly, partial death and sickness being equally unclean. Everything proceeding from the human body was impure, even parings of nails and cut hair. Sickness was sent by Ahriman, and must be cured by washings and spells. If several healers offered themselves together, one healing with the knife, one with herbs, and one with the holy word or by spells, the latter was to be preferred. Hence the class of priests included the chief doctors.

Exposure of dead.

The fourth section of the Vendidad is occupied with laws about contracts and assaults; the latter are of seven degrees, and guilt is estimated as very greatly increased by each repetition of the offence. Crimes are punished not only by stripes, but in addition by penalties after death. Offences against the gods were punished more heavily than offences against man; and death is the punishment of the man who falsely pretends to cleanse the unclean, and the man who carries a corpse alone, these being special offences against the gods. Repentance only saves the sinner from penalties after death. The burning or burial of the dead, the eating dead matter, and unnatural crimes were inexpiable, apparently punished by death as well as future torments.

Law of contracts and assaults.

The Vispered and Yasna properly form an indivisible part of the Avesta; in fact, they constitute a liturgy. The Vispered, which is very short, contains merely invocations and invitations to Ormuzd and the good genii to be present at the ceremonies about to be performed. The Yasna means literally "offering with prayers," and includes the gathas or hymns, to which we have already referred. These were to be recited by the priests alone (the laity not being present), during the performance of certain religious ceremonies, which in brief were the consecration of holy water, of the sacred twigs or Baresma, and of the juice of the Haoma, and the offering of the draonas, or little round cakes, on which pieces of cooked flesh were placed, and afterwards eaten by the priests. Properly it was the priest's duty to recite the entire Avesta once every twenty-four hours, and principally during the night, this being essential in order that they might keep themselves fit to perform the rites of purification.

The Vispered and Yasna.

The liturgies are not of interest proportionate to their length, and it is difficult to give an idea of their varied character within our limits.

The liturgies.

Here is a brief extract from the Vispered: "We honour the omniscient spirit Ahura-Mazda. We honour the light of the sun. We honour the sun, the Amesha-Spentas. We honour the perfect Mantras. We honour the brilliant works of purity. We honour the assemblies, of which fire is the cause. We honour pure and benevolent prosperity and intelligence." Again, "Apply your feet, hands, will, Mazdeans, disciples of Zarathustra, to the practice of the good works prescribed by law and justice, to the avoidance of bad actions, contrary to law, and unjust; give to those who lack."

The Yasna largely consists of lists of those in whose honour the various consecrated objects are offered, or to whose praise the priests are chanting. Thus: "With this Baresma and holy water I honour the pure spirits of the months, pure spirits of the pure world. I honour the new moon, pure spirits of the pure world." Frequently various points in the history or achievements of the spirits are alluded to. Then the features of Ormuzd's rule are spoken of: "Reign undisputed over the waters, over the trees, over all that is good and of pure origin. Make the just man powerful, and the wicked powerless and weak." A long account of the origin and history of Haoma is put into the mouth of Zoroaster, and prayer is offered to him as a person, in extravagant terms. Paradise, health, long life, prosperity, conquest, safety, posterity, etc., are among the gifts besought of Haoma. He is also asked to frustrate the efforts of those who would injure the worshipper, and to bring every calamity upon him.

The early rites of Mazdaism.

From these various indications we may picture to ourselves the Zoroastrian religion as practised centuries before the Christian era, and long after the time of Zoroaster. It is to be noted that the Avesta contains no mention of temples; and the sacred fire was kept up on altars in the open air on elevated places, at most surrounded by a simple wall. No image or representation of the gods or genii was made; fire alone was sufficient to symbolise them, kept up perpetually in great stone or copper basins, fed with the choicest wood. The priests (atharvans) taught the holy law, recited the sacred texts and invocations, prepared the Haoma, washed and kept the sacred vessels, and presided at ceremonies of penance and purification. They were expected to know the Avesta by heart, and had charge of the instruction and initiation of novices and students. It appears that they were accustomed to go from place to place in the exercise of their sacred functions; and some of them were medically skilled, but performed many cures by sacred formulas. The holy days which the religion prescribed were sufficiently numerous, including the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 23rd of each month, sacred to Ormuzd, the 3rd and 5th to the Amesha Spentas, and every day had its special spirit or deity. The new year's festival to Ormuzd, and that of the autumnal equinox to Mithra, were among the principal festivals; and the dead in general were celebrated on the last ten days of the year. The contaminations that made men impure, as we have already detailed them, gave much work to the priests in purification.

By the time of Darius, Chaldæan and Semitic image-worship had influenced the worshippers of Ormuzd to a limited extent. Darius placed a symbolical picture of the god on his inscriptions; Artaxerxes II. erected statues and a temple to Anahita, at Ecbatana. **Rise of the Magi.** How the Magians became the priests of the Avesta religion we have no clear account. They appear to have been a tribe or caste of the Medes, and probably they were the inheritors of the primitive Aryan tradition, who accepted the Zoroastrian development of it, and acquired great influence in the Persian empire, becoming not only teachers of religion, and priests, but also political administrators and advisers; and they appear to have become combined or amalgamated with the priestly families of old Persia. The Sacred fire was carried before the kings by Magians, and the king's sons were instructed by them in the religion of Zoroaster. It is doubtful whether at this time they occupied themselves with soothsaying, prophecy, the interpretation of dreams, etc.; it is probable that these offices were performed by the Chaldæan priests. The Greek historians represent that no one could sacrifice in Persia without a Magian. They offered sacrifices at high places, first praying to fire (or rather, looking towards the sacred fire). They sacrificed animals, striking them down with a club; but no part of the flesh was set apart for the deity, the soul of the animal only being required. "As far west as Cappadocia," says Strabo, "there were enclosed places, in the midst of which was an altar heaped up with ashes. On this the Magians kept up the unquenchable fire. Each day they went and sang for an hour before the fire, holding in their hands a bundle of twigs." The Magian religion extended even to the cities of Lydia, where Pausanias observed their worship.

The exposure of corpses was but partially practised by the ancient Persians, and may have been restricted to the priests. Certainly the kings were buried: but under the Sassanian monarchy, the dead were exposed according to the modern custom.

There can be little doubt that the Avesta anciently consisted of many more books than we have at present. Various traditions speak of their number (twenty-one) and contents, and the efforts made to preserve them. Alexander the Great, in a drunken frolic, burnt the palace at Persepolis, which contained one of the two then existing complete copies of these books, and the other was said to have been taken away by the Greeks. The attempts of the Sassanian kings of Persia to collect and preserve the Zoroastrian books were rendered futile by the destroying fury of the Mohammedans, and those who refused to adopt the faith of the conquerors emigrated to India, and settled chiefly on western shores. They preserved some portions of the Avesta, together with translations, commentaries, and original works in the Pahlavi language and character, which prevailed in Persia from the third to the tenth century A.D. In these Pahlavi texts we have much of the middle period of Mazdaism, "with a strange mixture of old and new materials," says Dr. West, "and exhibiting the usual symptom **Loss of Zoroastrian books.** **The Pahlavi texts.**

of declining powers, a strong insistence upon complex forms and minute details."

The Bundahish.

The Bundahish is one of these texts which gives an account of cosmogony and legendary history, describing creation under the good and evil influences of Ormuzd and Ahriman, with their conflicts, and coming down to early Persian kings and to Zoroaster, with a brief account of later Persian history. There are many references which indicate that this is a translation with commentary from an Avesta original. The Bahman Yast is a remarkable prophetical book, in which Ormuzd is said to give to Zarathustra a narrative of the future history of his religion.

The Shayast.

The Shayast La-Shayast is a work about "the proper and the improper," or laws and customs about sin and impurity. The nature and degrees of different breaches of propriety, the kinds of good works and those who can or cannot perform them, the mode of atoning for sins, various kinds of worship, and an infinite number of detailed rules are given, showing no elevation of mind, but a pedantic reliance on outward formal purification.

The Dadistan-i-Dinik.

The Dadistan-i-Dinik, by Manuskihar, a high priest of the Parsees, was written in the ninth century, and represents the doctrines and practice of the modern Parsees. The title signifies "Religious Opinions or Decisions." The purpose of the creation of men is defined as "for progress and goodness," which men are bound to promote. Man is bound to glorify and praise the all-good Creator. "A righteous man is the creature by whom is accepted that occupation which is provided for him, and is fully watchful in the world as to his not being deceived by the rapacious fiend." The evil happening to the good in this world to so large an extent is attributed to the demons and evil men; but for this they receive more reward in the spiritual existence, and by it they are kept from evil and improper actions. Explanations are given as to the exposure of the dead, the knowledge by the soul of the fate of the body, the future of the evil and the good. A brilliant picture is given of heaven, and a very dark one of hell. The sacred thread-girdle is declared to be a sign of the service of the sacred beings, a token of sin ended, and a presage of beneficence. The sacred ceremonial is pleasing to Ormuzd, because it entirely fulfils his commands, and produces propitiation of good spirits, the increase of digestiveness, the growth of plants, the prosperity of the world, and the proper progress of living beings. The proper mode of celebrating the ceremonial is described; but there is little in it that adds to the essentials already described, and nothing that is of a very lofty or original character. Another Pahlavi book, "Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom" is of interest for its expressing the belief that the "innate wisdom" of Ormuzd, a distinct personality created by Ormuzd, produced both the material and spirit worlds, and can appear in a personal form and give instructions, such as those recorded in the work itself. Another similar book is called by its author "The Doubt-dispelling

The spirit of wisdom.

Explanation," and defends and expounds the dualism of Mazdaism, asserting that other religions can only account for the origin of evil by degrading the character of the supreme Being, or by supposing a corrupting influence to be at work, which is really an evil spirit. He makes references to, and attacks the inconsistencies he finds in Mohammedan, Jewish, Christian, and Manichæan doctrine.

MITHRAISM.

The recurrence of the name of Mithra in the preceding chapters, from page 171 onwards, will already have been noted; and we must now give a brief account of the obscure cultus which has been termed Mithraism, which some assert to have been the most widespread religious system in the Roman empire for some centuries after the rise of Christianity, having been even brought into this country by the Roman soldiery (see J. M. Robertson in "Religious Systems of the World," 1890, pp. 225–248). In the Veda, Mithra is twin-god with Varuna; in Zoroaster, he is lord of wide pastures, created by Ahura-Mazda; he was still lord of the heavenly light, and so became specially the sun-god, god of light and truth, of moral goodness and purity, punishing the Mithra-Druj, 'him who lies to Mithra'; hence also he is a judge in hell. (S.E., iv. xxiii.) Rawlinson says that Darius Hystaspes placed the emblems of Ahura-Mazda and of Mithra in equally conspicuous positions on the sculptured tablet above his tomb (B.C. 485); and his example was followed by later monarchs. The name Mithradates "given by Mithra," so often borne by Eastern monarchs, is another testimony to the influence of Mithra. He came to be regarded as a sort of intermediate between Ormuzd and Ahriman, a mediator eternally young, preserving mankind from the evil one, and performing a mysterious sacrifice, through which the good will triumph; and in some aspects Mithra was regarded as a female deity, and there are many Mithraic monuments on which the symbols of two deities appear, male and female. The Græco-Roman bas-relief of Mithras slaying a bull, in the British Museum, indicates one form of the symbolism associated with this god, and connected with the idea of sacrifice and purification; and in other associations a ram was slain to Mithra. We learn from Origen that the Mithraic mysteries included a complex representation of the movements of the stars and planets, and of the disembodied human soul among them.

Mithraic monuments.

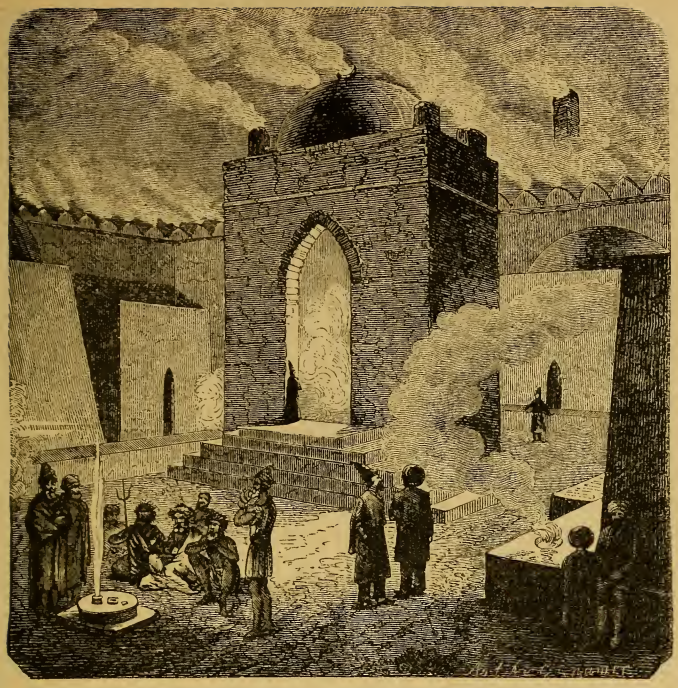
Much of the difficulty of comprehending Mithraism really is due to its opposition and proscription by early Christianity, and to the secrecy with which its worship was carried on, largely in caves. There are many remains of Mithraic altars cut out in rocks, and he was even named "Mithras out of the rock." The rites were probably to a large extent derived from those of Zoroastrianism. At the vernal equinox, the deity appears to have been symbolically mourned as dead, a stone image being laid by night on a bier to represent the dead god; and Justin Martyr and Tertullian describe initiation and other ceremonies of the worshippers of Mithra, which they regarded as imitations of the Christian sacraments.

Antagonism of Christians.

We can see in the light of the Greek myth of Persephone, that this was no imitation, but an early and widespread symbolism of the early death of Nature, and the restored life of spring-time. Initiation was an elaborate ordeal, including trial by water, by fire, by cold, by hunger, by thirst, by scourging, etc.; and the worshippers were divided into different grades, called after different birds and other animals. Tertullian says that the soldier of Mithra was offered a crown, which it was his place to refuse, saying Mithra was his crown. Mithraism seems to have had considerable popularity among the later Roman soldiery, and to have been acknowledged by the emperors, so that there are many military inscriptions, "Deo Soli Invic to Mithræ,"—"to the invincible sun-god, Mithra." The most usual representation of him depicts a young man in Oriental costume kneeling with one knee on a prostrate bull, grasping the head and pulling it back with his left hand, while with the right he plunges his sword into its neck. A dog, a snake, and a scorpion drink the blood flowing from the bull, and the sun and moon occupy the two sides of the relief.

Mithraic ceremonies.

There is much curious speculation and fact bearing on Mithra worship, but the study cannot yet be said to be placed on a basis of certainty; and to say that Christianity borrowed largely from Mithraism, is quite unproved.



FIRE TEMPLE OF PARSEES, BAKU.

CHAPTER XII.

Modern Parseeism.

The Parsees—Their persecutions—Their principles—A Parsee catechism—The priesthood—Devotions of the laity—Festivals—Ceremonial rites—Deathbed forms—The towers of silence—Ceremonies of departed souls—Family life.

THE PARSEES.

A PEOPLE within a people, like the Jews in England, the Parsees have attained and maintained an influence and wealth far beyond their numerical proportion. Their persistence is in its way as strong a testimony to the power of heredity as any. The people survive by their commercial ability; their religion survives with them, like Judaism with the Jews. Persecution was long their fate, both in Persia and India; the difficulties of their struggle for existence have fixed their striking characteristics in a mould more tenacious of life. May we not say that they have largely preserved a pure faith in one supreme beneficent God, Ormuzd, and believe them when they repudiate the designation fire-worshippers, and reject idolatry in all forms? Fire they revere, fire is the symbol of their god, and they do not treat fire lightly in any circumstances;

Persecution of the Parsees.

indeed, they are the only people who universally refrain from tobacco-smoking, as offending their religious principles. But they are equally fixed in the determination not to defile any of the works of Ormuzd, whether earth, water, animals, or plants; and their practices of cleanliness and frequent personal ablution must have contributed greatly to their maintenance in health. The greatest number of them is to be found in Bombay; they are numerous in Surat, Ahmedabad, and other cities of Gujerat; and they are to be found in many other cities under British Indian rule. Their total number is about 82,000, including 8,000 in Persia (Yezd, etc.). Their name is derived from their original province, Pars, or Fars, from which Persia is named.

Their principles.

The Parsees, or Guebres, of Yezd have still thirty-four fire temples great and small, but possess very few books; and till lately were in a very degraded condition and in great poverty, being most unjustly treated by their Mahometan neighbours; their condition has, however, been mitigated by the persistent efforts of the Parsees of Bombay and of the British ministry in Persia. At Baku, on the Caspian, they still have fire temples.

Till recently the pure faith was only preserved by a few of the Parsee priests; and the average priest was little but a reciter of portions of the sacred books and formulas by rote, without understanding the language in which they were written. Of late years a catechism of instruction has been prepared for the instruction of Parsee children, from which we learn that they are taught that there is one God, Ormuzd, and that Zartusht (Zoroaster) is his true prophet; that the religion of the Avesta was communicated to him by God, and that it is true beyond doubt; that God is good, and that good deeds are enjoined. All evil and wickedness are strictly forbidden. Morality is confined within three words, pure-thought, pure-word, pure-deed; truth is particularly enjoined. Evil deeds will bring punishment after death in hell, and judgment is believed to take place on the fourth day after death, determining whether the deceased goes to heaven or hell. But a future resurrection is held out as certain, when God only can save any one. It is also enjoined upon believers that they turn their face towards some luminous object while engaged in prayer and worship, which must be of frequent occurrence in the day. Angels are believed in, who aid mankind in various ways, and superintend various parts of creation. Prayers are addressed to these spirits. Prayer is made that the evil may become virtuous and be pardoned by the mercy of Ormuzd. There is no propitiation of the evil spirits, or prayer to them.

A Parsee catechism.

The priesthood is handed down by inheritance from father to son, although priests may become laymen. The high priests, or dasturs, are the especial religious authorities, imposing penances and declaring doctrine. The ordinary priests, or mobeds, and the lower priests, or herbads, complete the religious orders of the Parsees. They have a council, or Panchyat, composed of six dasturs and twelve mobeds, which settles all the joint affairs of the Parsee community. At present the condition of the Parsee priesthood is one of progress; two colleges, representing the two

The priesthood.

sects of the Parsees (marked by comparatively unimportant differences), have been established, under able teachers; and learned works of considerable value bearing on the history and ancient texts of their religion have been produced by Parsees who have studied at German universities and write English with fluency. The Parsee community does not make offerings to the priests and to the temples the chief or only meritorious work; but its charitable institutions are numerous, and a Parsee beggar is unknown.

As to the devotional practices of the laity, a man who is very religious will say prayers many times a day, albeit in the Avesta language, which he does not understand. Prayer may be said on rising from sleep, after bathing, and after every operation of life, before and after meals, and before going to bed. Among the strangest and most repulsive of Parsee practices, to western notion, is the habit of rubbing nirang (cow's urine) over face and hands, as a specific against devas or evil spirits, a prayer or incantation being recited at the same time. Devotions at the Parsee fire altars are quite optional, and they may be performed at any time by the worshippers, who usually give something to the priests. There is, however, a considerable attendance at the festivals, about once a week, and at special seasons, such as the six days' festival in the middle of winter, celebrating the six periods of creation, that at the spring equinox in honour of agriculture, that to Mithra, etc. On the tenth day of the eighth month there is a festival to Fravardin, who presides over the souls of the departed, when special ceremonies for the dead are performed, the towers of silence are visited, and prayers said for them in the small temples in the grounds; these are in addition to annual celebrations for the dead in each house. New Year's Day is both a day of religious festival and social intercourse, when the fire-temples are visited and prayers said, looking towards the altar of sacred fire. Visits to friends, with ceremonial hand-joining, follow, and alms are given to the poor.

Devotions of the laity.

Festivals.

The Parsee infant, born on a ground floor, to which he is again brought as soon as he is dead, has his nativity cast on the seventh day by a Brahman or Parsee astrologer-priest; at seven years old he is purified with nirang, and invested with the sacred girdle of seventy-two threads, representing the seventy-two chapters of the Yasna. As the priest blesses the child, he throws upon its head portions of fruits, spices, and perfumes. This is the ceremony of the *kusti*. Marriages are carefully arranged by the astrologer, but are celebrated with a religious ceremony, in which the couple are tied together by a silken cord gradually wound round them, while a benediction is pronounced in Zend and Sanskrit. It is in their funerals that the Parsees are most peculiar. A dying Parsee will be attended by a priest, who repeats to him consolatory texts from the Avesta, gives him the sacred Haoma juice to drink, and prays for the forgiveness of his sins. The body is then taken to a ground-floor room from which everything has been removed, laid upon stones, washed in warm water, dressed in clean white clothes, and laid upon an iron bier. The priest, in the presence of the corpse, gives an exhortation to the relatives

Ceremonial rites.

Deathbed forms.

TOWER OF SILENCE, MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY.

to live pure and holy lives, so that they may meet the deceased again in paradise. This exhortation consists of the first gatha of Zoroaster. A dog is brought in to look at the deceased, this being known as the *sag-did* or dog's gaze. This used to be looked upon as a means of judging, by the dog's instinct, whether life was really extinct; but it is now explained as securing the passage of the soul over the Chinvat bridge, over which only the pious pass to heaven. The carriage of the body to the towers of silence is committed to a special class of Parsees called Nessusalar, or unclean, from the work they perform. The towers of silence in Bombay are constructed on the top of Malabar Hill, a great home of vultures. Built of stone, they rise about twenty-five feet, with only a small entrance below. On arrival at the appointed tower, prayers are said at the neighbouring fire-altar. The body is then exposed on a stone platform within the tower, so that all fluids pass into a well, into which also the bones left by the vultures are swept. During the three days after death a priest constantly prays before a burning fire fed with sandal-wood near the spot where the dead body was laid, the soul not being believed to leave this world during that period. On the fourth day after death there is a further ceremony for the soul of the departed. Contributions to charities are made in memory of the deceased, and successive annual, *muktad*, or ceremonies of departed souls, keep them in remembrance.

The towers of silence.

Ceremonies of departed souls.

The well-to-do perform a ceremony every day of the first year after a death; and the last ten days of their year are specially set apart for the muktad. One of the rooms of the house is specially cleaned and set apart, and every morning choice flowers and fruits are placed there, and prayers are offered in it by the relatives, not only for the dead but for themselves for forgiveness of their past sins.

Parsees keep their heads covered day and night, having imbibed an idea that it is sinful to be uncovered. Parsee women occupy a much higher position than among Hindus and Mohammedans; and in recent years women have been admitted to meals in common with the men. The family life, especially of the well-to-do, has much in it that is admirable. The education of women has made great progress among them in recent years. Much superstition still exists about the significance of particular days, every day having some special thing for which it is best suited; some days for beginning a journey, others for choosing a new house, others for soliciting a bride, etc.

Family life.

The largest tower of silence in Bombay is about ninety feet in diameter, or 300 feet in circumference, the outer (circular) walls being built of very hard stone, faced with white plaster. Inside the tower is a circular platform extending to its full circumference, formed of large stone slabs, divided into three rows of exposed receptacles for the bodies of the dead, diminishing towards the interior, the exterior row being used for men, the middle for women, and the inner for children. Each receptacle is separated from the others by ridges about an inch high; and channels are cut for the pur-

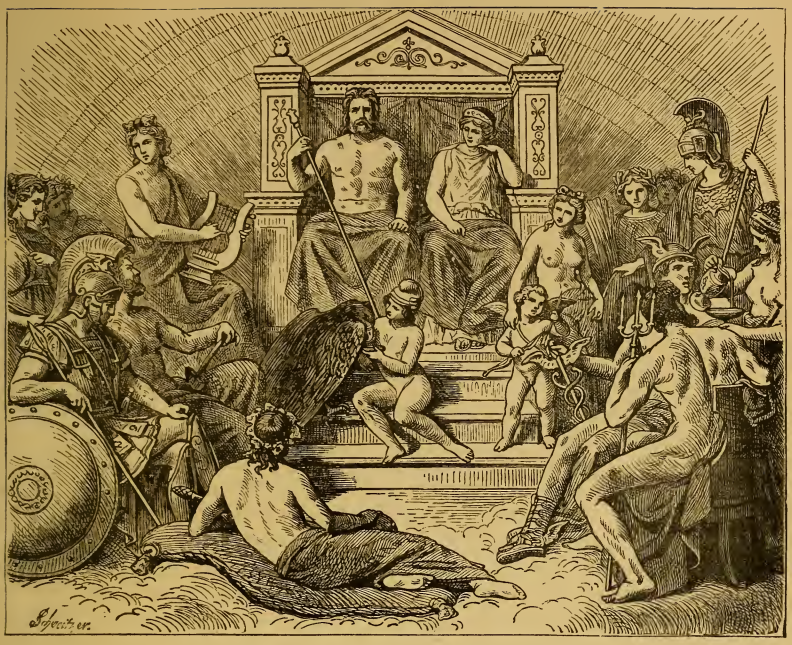
pose of conveying all liquids into a deep hollow, or well, in the centre of the tower. "When the corpse has been completely stripped of its flesh by the vultures, which is generally accomplished within one hour at the outside, and when the bones of the denuded skeleton are perfectly dried up by the powerful heat of a tropical sun, they are thrown into this pit, where they crumble into dust." There are also four drains leading from the pit to the exterior, opening into four wells. "At the mouth of each drain charcoal and sandstones are placed for purifying the fluid before it enters the ground, thus observing one of the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion, that "the mother earth shall not be defiled." The wells have a permeable bottom, which is covered with sand to a height of five or seven feet.

Foundation and consecration of towers.

The foundation-laying and the consecration of a new tower is an occasion of great ceremony. After the ground has been marked out and limited with a thread carried round a large number of nails arranged in a circle, prayers are offered to Sravsha, the guardian deity of the souls of the dead, to Ormuzd, and to Spenta Armati, the guardian deity of earth, to departed souls, and to the seven Amesha-Spentas. These prayers, acknowledging that it is wrong to contaminate the earth with the bodies of the dead, pray that the enclosed space, and no more, may be occupied for depositing the bodies of departed souls. At the consecration of a dokhena, a trench is dug all round it, and then in the centre of the tower two priests perform the Yasna and Vendidad prayers and ceremonies in honour of Sravsha for three consecutive mornings and nights. On the fourth morning there is a prayer in honour of Ormuzd; and afterwards there are similar prayers to those at the foundation. Other services outside the tower follow, during and after which thousands of Parsees visit the tower, which is afterwards closed to everybody. Sometimes the towers are erected by public subscription, but private persons frequently bear the sole expense, it being considered a specially meritorious act to build one.

Thus, in the midst of antagonistic creeds, persists the religion associated with the name of Zoroaster, a standing revelation to us of the ideas and worship of long-distant ages. Reverence and worship for the great Ormuzd, the supreme Being, principally typified by the wondrous fire, dread of the evil spirit and anxiety to avoid the evils he can bring, and practical charity chiefly characterise this most interesting survival from the past. Learned modern Parsees maintain and teach that invocations to spirits other than the supreme God do not belong to the religion as originally established by Zoroaster, and that they may all be dispensed with, retaining the belief in one God and in purity of thought, word, and deed. They hold also that all their ritual and ceremonies may be altered according to the spiritual state and needs of the community.

[For the best account of the modern Parsees and their present religious state, see "History of the Parsees," by Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I., late member of the Bombay Legislative Council. Macmillan, 1884.]



IDEAL ASSEMBLAGE OF THE GODS ON MOUNT OLYMPUS.

BOOK IV.

EUROPEAN ARYAN RELIGIONS.

CHAPTER I.

The Ancient Greek Religion: The Gods.

Long study of classics—Nature- and ancestor- worship—Early simplicity—Local gods—Foreign influences—Succession of gods—Kronos—Personification of nature—Growth of myths—Early cosmogony—Local, tribal, or civic gods—Zeus—Hera—Pallas-Athēnē—Themis—Apollo—Delphi—Aphroditē—Dēmētēr—Hephaistos—Hestia—Arēs—Hermēs—Dionysos—Poseidon—Hadēs, or Pluto—Minor divinities—Characters of gods.

WHEN we come to the Aryan religions of Europe, we enter at first upon a domain which has been more thoroughly traversed and discussed than any we have previously described. For hundreds of years classical students have been engaged in making out the meaning of the Greek and Latin authors, and reconstructing and explaining their systems, histories, and philosophies. It cannot be said that either Greece or Rome possessed Scriptures like the Vedas, though the Homeric hymns, the works of Hesiod, and various lost writings approached to this character; and there certainly is no special set of sacred books to which the

Long study of classics.

Greeks and Romans appealed as of divine authority. Both on account of the literature being well known and accessible, and on account of its great bulk, we shall not here attempt anything like a full treatment of this subject, but shall rather seek to indicate the main ideas, and very briefly describe the personages of the Greek and Roman deities and the beliefs generally associated with them.

KRONOS.

In Greek and Roman, as in Indian, religion we find a combination of nature-personification, nature-worship, with that of deified heroes and ancestors. The original Pelasgians appear to have had no temples, and to have worshipped principally upon the tops of mountains. When they attained the conception of a supreme deity cannot be ascertained; but the earliest aspect of the Zeus, or supreme God, is that of the heaven, earth, or sky, just like Dyaus of the Veda. They also worshipped the same god under the title Father Zeus, Zeus pater (later developed into the Latin Diespiter and Jupiter). This conception was retained, together with an open-air altar, long after the Greek cities were crowded with images and temples. St. Paul detected a relic of the old religion at Athens in the altar to "the unknown god," and it was no uncommon thing to see in Greece altars to the "pure," "great," and "merciful" gods unnamed, inspired by an old feeling which neither named nor represented the gods in word or by symbol.

Nature- and ancestor-worship.

Early simplicity.

As the primitive Pelasgians branched and migrated, they imagined new local gods or phases of divine beings, possibly learning about them from people whom they conquered or enslaved. Later they mingled with the Phœnician voyagers, and saw their images of Astarte and Melcar, which latter they changed to Melicertes, and adapted to their own ideas. The Greeks who colonised the coasts of Asia Minor found plenty of material already there for the development of local or patron deities; some they adopted directly, to others they gave the attributes of their own national heroes.

Local gods.

Foreign influences.

HEPHAISTOS.

Whether it marks a series of changes of divinities or not, we find that the great god Zeus rests on a past history, traced by the poet Hesiod from Chaos, after whom arose Gaia, the earth, with Tartarus, the infernal region, below. Gaia was the parent of Ouranos, the Heaven; and from their intermarriage

Succession of gods.

arose the twelve Titans, the Cyclopes and three hundred-handed beings. Ouranos was not at all satisfied to see his offspring, including Oceanus, Hyperion, Kronos (The Creator), Themis (Law), etc., multiplying, and concealed them in cavities of the earth. Finally Kronos disabled and dethroned Ouranos, whose last offspring, Aphroditē, rose from the sea-foam opposite the island Kythera, and thence went to Cyprus; in both of which islands her worship was probably derived from that of the Phœnician Astarte. Each Titan was credited with a numerous offspring; very remarkable is the facility with which gods were multiplied by the Greeks. The children of Kronos, however, became most powerful, and included Hestia (Vesta), Dēmētēr, and Hērē (Juno), Hades (Pluto), Poseidon, and Zeus, the latter destined to supplant his father. But Kronos, foreseeing destruction by one of his children, had swallowed the first five, and retained them still alive within himself. The birth of Zeus was concealed from him, a stone enveloped in swaddling clothes being substituted, and duly swallowed. Later, Zeus made his father eject the stone and the children; the stone being preserved and venerated near the temple of Delphi. And this is but a sample of an extraordinary number of myths which the Greeks related and believed about their gods.

Kronos.

HADES (PLUTO).

What the sentiments properly termed religious had to do with the growth of Greek polytheism it is difficult to determine. The oldest names of the gods describe the elementary facts of nature. It probably can never be settled how far the old Greeks consciously personified the facts and forces of nature, and how far early modes of expression, not at all fictitious in intention, came to signify personal beings, which gradually became dissociated from the natural facts they represented. Early human beings, seeing the heavenly bodies, lightning, rain, trees, etc., probably imagined them to have life and consciousness like themselves, and saw in the rising, the course, and the setting of the sun facts in the history of the sun-being, which those who had fancy interpreted in their own fashion. Many myths undoubtedly sprang up in the attempt to explain part of the ritual. By the effect of natural selection, those beliefs which gave most pleasure, satisfied the instinct for the marvellous, or best appealed to feelings already in existence, persisted, and were firmly believed in even after higher thoughts had been awakened. Some of these legends

Personification of nature.

APOLLO.

are very gross, and can only have persisted because religion is always conservative. Then the imaginative minds set to work to give fuller and more artistic representations, to fill in details, to supply explanations of what seemed incongruous in the older myths; and often an old epithet of one being would give rise to a totally new one, and to a secondary story or myth. And there can be little doubt that the sun supplied the source for many of these myths. As Sir G. W. Cox says: "In the thought of these early ages the sun was the child of night or darkness; the dawn came before he was born, and died as he rose in the heavens. He strangled the serpents of the night; he went forth like a bridegroom out of his chamber, and like a giant to run his course. He had to do battle with clouds and storms. . . . Sometimes he was the lord of heaven and of light, irresistible in his divine strength; sometimes he toiled for others, not for himself, in a hard, unwilling servitude. His light and heat might give life, or destroy it. His chariot might scorch the regions over which it passed. . . . He would have many brides in many lands; and his offspring would assume aspects beautiful, strange, or horrible. His course might be brilliant and beneficent, or gloomy, sullen, and capricious." Thus we may see how it is to the creative and imaginative men among the early Greeks that we owe the growth of that marvellous mass of myth which is involved in their entire history. From the idea of the sun looking down on the earth, and producing a teeming harvest or countless progeny, the transition is easy to the sun-god marrying the earth-goddess, and becoming by her the parent of a vast family of beings; and by a further literalising of language, we have Zeus depicted as inspired by passions and lusts, having many wives, or assuming many forms to woo reluctant brides. And the deceased heroes of the race, no longer seen by their relatives, are imagined as becoming acquainted with the heavenly beings, being advanced by them to positions of honour, and finally, it may be, are identified with personalities, of whom it may be represented that they were mere temporary earthly embodiments.

Growth of myths.

We may pause here to refer to the cosmogony or history of the world as represented in the early Greek poems. The Hebrew belief that God formed man out of the dust of the earth is parallel with the Greek belief that man originated from the earth, untamed like the beasts, and was only gradually civilised by the gods and heroes who taught him useful arts, agriculture, house-building, etc. A tradition as old, or older, makes men the children of trees. Then came a period of degeneracy, and all the world was destroyed by a flood, from which only Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha were saved, in consequence of their piety, in an ark, in which they floated for nine days and nights, till it rested on the summits of Parnassus. From the bones (*i.e.*, stones) of their mother earth, cast over their shoulders, sprang men and women. It was by a displacement of this view that men came to be regarded as made by the gods, and as having passed through successive periods known as the Golden, the Silver, the Brazen, and the Iron Ages. The first age (when Kronos or

Early cosmogony.

Saturn was supreme) was one of unmixed bliss, all things growing freely; men were pure, happy, and long-lived, did no evil, and had no wars. In the Silver Age, when Zeus came into power, men were feebler and shorter-lived, fought with one another, and were not properly reverent to the gods. Consequently, they were banished to Hades, where they wandered restlessly, regretting their lost pleasures. The men of the Brazen Age were a new strong race, cruel and warlike, using brazen (or rather, bronze) tools and arms. The gods at length sent them also to Hades, and they were followed by the men of the Iron Age, who had to toil hard to gain food, and who also became sinful. These then were all drowned but Deucalion and Pyrrha, who became the father of Hellen, from whom the Hellenic people derived their origin. But this was by no means the only cosmogony of the Greeks, for which we must refer to separate works. In fact, every tribe or town may be said to have had a share in a cosmogony, at least, so far as concerned their own locality. As Mr. Grote says, "Every association of men traced back their union to some common progenitor, either their common god or some semi-divine person closely allied to him. A series of names of ancestors, with adventures ascribed to them, constituted for the Greeks their pre-historic past connected with the gods. The names in this genealogy were largely their own names, or those of local objects, rivers, mountains, etc., embodied as persons, and introduced as acting or suffering. The personage from whom the community derived their name was sometimes the son of the local god, or sometimes a man sprung from the earth, thought of as a goddess." We must now refer to the principal gods and their characteristics as accepted in the greatest period of Greece; but we have not space to describe even such a great hero-god as Herakles (Hercules), whose labours and significance as the patron god of the Dorians are well-known, or Theseus, the patron god of Athens.

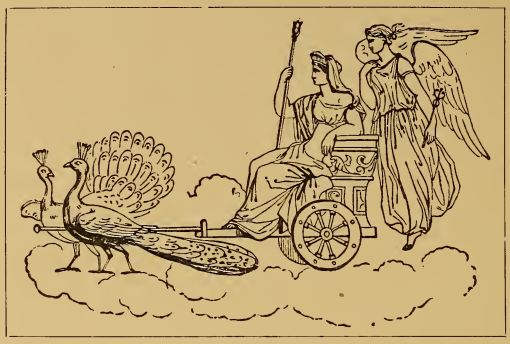
Local, tribal, or civic gods.

Zeus was the ruler of earth and heaven, the god producing storms, darkness, and rain; he controlled the phenomena of nature and the recurrence of seasons; kingly power was derived from him, and he upheld princes and rulers, and all the institutions of the State. As father of men, he watched over them, rewarding good deeds, such as charity, truth, and integrity; while he punished cruelty, false swearing, and want of hospitality. Zeus also, as father of the gods, saw that each of the gods performed his duty, settled their quarrels, and punished their defaults. His special home was on the cloud-capped top of Mount Olympus, in a palace of gold, silver, and ivory, built by Hephaistos (Vulcan), who had also built palaces for the other gods lower down.

Zeus.

In Greek art Zeus was represented as a man of noble appearance, serious and benign, with high forehead, thick hair, and flowing beard. An eagle, a bundle of thunderbolts, lightning, and a wreath of oak-leaves are his accompanying symbols. At one of the earliest places where he was worshipped,—Dodona, in Epirus,—he was chiefly adored as the sender of water or rain. There his voice was believed to be heard in the rustlings of an

oak, interpreted by his priests. The worship at Dodona became inferior to that at Olympia, in Elis, where there was a magnificent statue of Zeus of



HERA AND IRIS.

ivory and gold, forty feet high, counted as one of the seven wonders. The appropriate sacrifices to Zeus were white bulls, cows, and goats.

Zeus appears as a polygamist, seven of his wives being immortals. His first wife, Metis (representing prudence and wisdom), was devoured by him in the belief that her offspring would depose him. After this he himself gave birth to Athēnē, his head being cloven for that purpose by Hephaistos. His remaining goddess wives were Themis (goddess of Justice), Eurynomē, Dēmētēr, Mnemosynē (goddess of Memory and mother of the nine Muses), Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis (Diana), and Hera (Juno) whose position became highest, so that she was regarded as queen of heaven.

Zeus was not only allied to numerous goddesses, but he visited mortal women under various disguises; Antiope, Leda, Europa, Kallisto,

BACCHUS.

DĒMĒTĒR.

Alkmene, Semele, Io, and Danae are among these; and the children of Leda (Castor and Pollux), Europa (Minos, Rhadamanthus), Alkmene (Herakles or

Hercules), are world-famed types of heroes. No doubt the fables of Zeus becoming the father of earthly kings and heroes represent part of the process of their deification, so that much of the Greek mythology is resolvable into ancestor-worship.

Hera was generally regarded as the one truly married wife of Zeus (also his sister), and so became the protectress of married women. She was also figured as specially faithful to her husband, and thence was the representative of wifely virtue and the sanctity of the marriage bond. Jealous of any immorality, she was a strict censor of the misdoings of gods and men; and she is represented as vain of her beauty and jealous of any indignity. She became the mother of Ares (Mars), Hephaistos, and Hēbē, and was the special guardian of the Greek people. She is figured seated on a throne, with a sceptre in one hand and a pomegranate in the other, as a calm, beautiful, dignified matron, wearing a tunic and mantle. Her principal temples were at Argos and Samos; and on the first day of each month a ewe lamb and a sow were sacrificed to her.

Hera.

ARTEMIS.

Pallas-Athēnē, whom we have already described as issuing from Zeus's head, was born fully armed, and she is the goddess of wisdom, protecting the State, law and order, the patroness of learning, science, art, and all arts and inventions. She is the type of chastity and purity. An ægis or shield was given to her by Zeus, which she whirled swiftly around her; in its centre was the awful Medusa's head, which changed all who looked at it into stone. Athēnē, among other arts, presided especially over spinning and weaving, in which she excelled. In statues, etc., she appears as a fully clad woman, serious, thoughtful, and earnest, with beautiful oval face and abundant hair, somewhat masculine on the whole. As a war goddess in defence of the Greeks, of cities, and of innocent victims, she wears a helmet with a large plume, a golden staff, and her famous shield. While very generally worshipped throughout Greece, she was specially the goddess of the Athenians, who built the great temple of

Pallas-Athēnē.

the Parthenon to the virgin goddess, whose great statue by Phidias was enshrined there. The olive-tree was specially sacred to Athēnē, and rams, bulls, and cows were offered to her. The great Panathenaic festival was held in her honour.

Themis, the goddess of law and justice, presided over popular assemblies and guarded the rights of hospitality; even Zeus is represented as taking counsel with her. Her statues represent her with the scales of justice in her right hand, indicating her impartiality, which is further secured by her eyes being bandaged, so that no individual influence or prejudice should influence her. The sword in her right hand indicates the majesty and sovereignty of the law.

Themis.

Together with Zeus and Athēnē, Apollo may be named as constituting the greatest triad of the Greek gods; and in many ways Apollo, though described as a son of Zeus and deriving his power from him, is the god whose character and worship had the greatest influence upon the Greeks. There is no doubt that among the later Greek poets and philosophers Apollo was identified with Hēlios, the sun-god, although in Homer and for some centuries afterwards the two are quite distinct; but the epithet Phœbus, the shining one, is even in Homer applied to Apollo. It has been strongly held by some that Apollo was originally the sun-god, and that it was a process of development which made Helios a subordinate deity. We must not attempt to decide whence his worship was brought to Greece, whether from Egypt, the East, or the Hyperboreans; in fact, if sun-worship is a natural product, there is no necessity to regard it anywhere as imported. The settled tradition was, that he was born of Leto in the island of Delos, though several other places claimed his birth. Not long after his birth he suddenly appeared as a full-grown youth of divine strength and beauty, demanded a lyre and a bow, and announced that he would thenceforth make known to mortals the will of Zeus; whereupon he at once ascended to Olympus.

Apollo.

Apollo is described as the punisher and destroyer of the wicked and insolent, as the god of medicine and warder-off of plagues and epidemics (father of Asclepios, the god of the healing art), as the god of prophecy, song, and music, as the protector of flocks and herds, and the founder of cities and leader of colonists, no colony being founded without consulting his oracle. Many of these characteristics are explicable in reference either to the sun as the great light of the earth, or to the heavenly illumination given to the spirit of man. We can see how, like the fierce sun of summer, he could be a bringer of pestilence and death, or like the genial orb, he could give pasture to preserve the flocks. The rising sun awaking nature to life and rousing the birds to sing, gave foundation to Apollo's being the god of music, and hence of poetry. Prophecy was his, for nothing escaped his all-seeing eye. Not long after his ascent to Olympus, he again came back to earth and travelled through many countries, seeking a place in which to establish his oracle. It was fixed at Delphi, after he had destroyed the dragon Python (whence the epithet Pythian Apollo); but this

was not his only oracle, though by far the most famous one. It actually became the national Greek oracle, which was even consulted by foreigners, Romans, Lydians, and others; and no Greek would undertake an important enterprise without consulting the oracle, whose priestess, as interpreted by the priests, gave utterances of world-famed dubiousness. No doubt the highest aspect of Apollo was that in which he appears as the pardoner of sin after repentance and the protector of those who expiated their crimes by long years of suffering. No evil deed escaped him, and hence expiatory offerings were often made to him.

The extraordinary abundance and often beautifully idyllic character of myths and stories about Apollo show how his nature had become part of the Greek mind and spirit. In sculpture and in the poets he is represented as gifted with eternal youth, joyous, and perfectly beautiful. His deep blue eyes, somewhat low but broad forehead, golden or bright chestnut hair falling in wavy locks, well suited this ideal. Laurel-crowned, wearing a purple robe, and carrying a silver bow, he looks the perfection of manly beauty. The celebrated Apollo in the Belvedere of the Vatican is a naked statue seven feet high copied from one at Delphi. Among the appropriate surroundings or implements of Apollo are the bow and quiver, the lyre and plectrum, the raven, the shepherd's crook, the tripod, and the laurel. Wolves and hawks were sacrificed to him.

The Delphian temple was one of the most famous and magnificent of all Greek temples; its foundation dated before historic record, and it was for centuries the recipient of vast offerings from kings, States, and private persons who sought its counsel. The Pythian games were held at Delphi every fourth year, in honour of his victory over the Python; and two annual festivals celebrated the god's supposed departure at the beginning of winter to the Hyperborean region, and his return at the beginning of summer. Athens, Sparta, Delos, Thebes, etc., all had their distinctive festivals for Apollo. **Delphi.**

In many ways the idea of Apollo represents an elevated aspect of Greek religion, having so much distinct moral teaching; for Apollo could only be rightly approached by those of pure heart who had duly examined themselves, and who practised self-control, though without any austerity. It is held that the Delphian oracle maintained a really high standard of moral and political conduct for several hundred years. Apollo is certainly one of the highest ideals of the Greek mind.

Artemis is the twin and correlative of Apollo, the goddess of night and of the moon, of hunting and of chastity. In several of her functions she resembles Apollo, as in her relieving the sufferings of mortals, and her power of sending plagues and destruction. She devotes herself passionately to the chase, and always carries a bow and quiver and is attended by huntress-nymphs. Under this form she is especially termed the Arcadian Artemis, her temples being more numerous in Arcadia than in other parts of Greece. She especially protected the young, both children and animals. All her priests and priestesses were required to live chaste lives. **Artemis.**

Artemis is represented as a head taller than her nymphs, slender and youthful, beautiful in feature but not gentle in expression, her figure graceful but somewhat masculine. Her hair is loosely knotted at the back of her head, and her short robe, not reaching to the knees, gives her abundant freedom for hunting. Of the many existing statues of Artemis, the most famous is in the Louvre, in which she is depicted rescuing a hunted deer from its pursuers. The bow, quiver, and spear belong to her equipment; and the hind, dog, and wild boar are specially sacred to her. In Thrace dogs were sacrificed to Artemis.

Another form of Artemis was named the Tauric or Brauronian, from the statue of her at Brauron in Attica, said to have been brought by Orestes from Taurica (the Crimea), where human sacrifices, especially of strangers, were offered to her. This is probably connected with bear-worship. The little Athenian girls imitated bears in her honour. These sacrifices, whatever their origin, were kept up both in Attica and Sparta till the days of Lycurgus. Afterwards at Sparta boys were cruelly scourged at her altar. Stags and goats were sacrificed to her.

The Ephesian Artemis was very distinct, being in fact identical with the old Chaldæan divinity Mitra (or Anaitis), the goddess at once of love and of the light of heaven. It was owing to this latter character that the Asiatic Greeks adapted this deity to the name of Artemis; but she retained her other character, also exercising sway in the land of Hades and permitting departed spirits to visit this world sometimes for counsel or for warning. Contrary to any Greek custom, her priests were eunuchs, and she was represented with many breasts. Her magnificent temple at Ephesus, often termed that of Diana (see Acts xix.), was one of the seven wonders of the world, being 425 feet long by 220 wide, having 127 columns, each 60 feet high, a great ebony statue of the goddess with a crown of turrets on the head, the body pillar-like and sculptured with rows of animals, and countless other rich treasures, statues, and paintings. It was destroyed by fire in 356 B.C. by Herostratus; but afterwards rebuilt, burnt by the Goths in 262 A.D., and utterly destroyed by the end of the fourth century.

The moon-goddess Sēlēnē became identified with Artemis. Hecate was a moon-goddess of the Thracians, at one time identified with Sēlēnē, at another with Persephone (see later).

There is abundant evidence that the worship of Aphroditē was originally derived from that of the Phœnician Astarte. But she became thoroughly Hellenised, and in Homer takes a natural place as daughter of Zeus and Dionē, a sea-nymph; while we have already referred to Hesiod's account of her origin from Ouranos, her rising from the sea-foam, and her landing at Cyprus. In the popular creed of the Greeks, Aphroditē represented love, excited it in human beings, and by her special power ruled all creatures. In the Greek mind love and beauty were associated; and thus Aphroditē is perfectly beautiful and the goddess of beauty, which she could grant to her votaries. She was married to Hephaistos (Vulcan), but was unfaithful with Arēs (Mars) and others; these traditions representing the

Aphroditē.

gradual decay of Greek morals, which at last made Aphroditē the patroness of courtesans. Her magic girdle was held capable of inspiring love for any one who wore it. Her principal festivals were held in spring, among flowers and sweet scents; some of them were undoubtedly of a licentious character. Eros (Cupid) is generally represented as her son and chief companion.

Aphroditē is variously represented in ancient art as clothed, half clothed, or nude, as bathing, or as armed (the latter at Cythera, Corinth, and Sparta). In every respect she is depicted as possessing the most perfect beauty of form and expression. The finest existing statues of her are those of Melos (Milo) in the Louvre, of Capua at Naples, and of the Medici at Florence. The principal sacrifices made to Aphroditē were incense and garlands of flowers; but sometimes various animals were offered. The dove, swan, swallow, and sparrow were sacred to her.

HERMES.

Dēmētēr.

Dēmētēr is another great goddess, intimately associated with the natural operations of agriculture, sowing and reaping. In this way she was associated with subterranean working; and many stories about her relate to the periodic death and quietude of nature and the recurring spring-time and harvest. She was the daughter of Kronos and Rhea, and became one of the wives of Zeus, to whom she bore Persephonē and Dionysos. The great myth about Dēmētēr and Persephonē relates to the carrying off of the latter to the subterranean regions by Pluto, to whom Zeus had promised her. Dēmētēr travelled far to seek her, but on finding out the truth abandoned Olympus and came to dwell among men, blessing those who received her kindly, and punishing those who repelled her. At last, however, unable to recover her daughter, she produced a famine on earth. Zeus, failing otherwise to reclaim her to Olympus, or restore fertility to the earth, sent Hermes to fetch back Persephonē, and arranged that she should

spend only a part of the year (namely the winter) in the subterranean regions. Thus Dēmētēr was conciliated. We may see in this story a representation of the concealment or dormancy of the reproductive powers of the earth during the winter season. Some of the later Greek philosophers interpreted the disappearance and return of Persephonē as referring to the burial and resurrection of man. She was looked upon not only as a goddess of agricultural fertility, but also of marriage, and as a law-giver and friend of peace. She was worshipped in Crete, Delos, Attica, and especially in Sicily. The worship was carried out by secret rites at the Eleusinian mysteries every five years, of which nothing certain is known, except that they were conducted by torchlight and with great solemnity.

Dēmētēr is depicted as of noble stature and bearing and matronly appearance; her hair was golden-yellow falling in curling locks. Sometimes she is represented sitting in a chariot drawn by winged horses; sometimes she is standing, with a sheaf or a bunch of poppies in one hand and a lighted torch in the other. She is always fully clad, and wears a garland of ears of corn or a simple riband round her hair. The appropriate offerings to her were figs, pine, fruits, etc. Her temples, known as Megara, were often in groves near towns.

Hephaistos (Vulcan), son of Zeus and Hera, was the god of fire, as a natural phenomenon and as useful in the arts. He was fabled to possess a workshop with an anvil and twenty pairs of bellows in Olympus; there he made arms, utensils, etc., of marvellous workmanship; yet in the court of the gods he was the object of laughter, being lame, deformed, and slow. Various volcanic islands were also termed his workshops. He gave skill to human artists, and taught them to make their tools and other products. He was also reputed, like Athēnē, to have great healing powers. He was depicted as a man of powerful muscular frame, bearded, and wearing a small cap, his right arm raised to strike the anvil with a hammer, while with the left he is turning a thunderbolt which he is forging for Jove. In several temples he was jointly worshipped with Athēnē. He was specially worshipped at Lemnos.

Hephaistos.

Hestia (Vesta) was a goddess of fire, being a daughter of Kronos and Rhea, and especially the patroness of the domestic hearth and home life. Her worship became distinct from that of Zeus rather late; she is not mentioned in Homer. As represented at the house and temple altar fire, she shares in the sacrifices of all the gods. To her the first and last libations of the sacrificial meal were poured out. Her fire was always kept burning, or if extinguished it was again kindled by friction or from the sun's rays. As the goddess of the hearth, she also became the goddess of house-building; she was worshipped, not in special temples, but in the prytaneum or city hall, the city hearth, so to speak; there the city entertained its benefactors, and thence colonists took a portion of the fire to their new abode.

Hestia.

Arēs, the god of war, son of Zeus and Hera, is represented as rejoicing

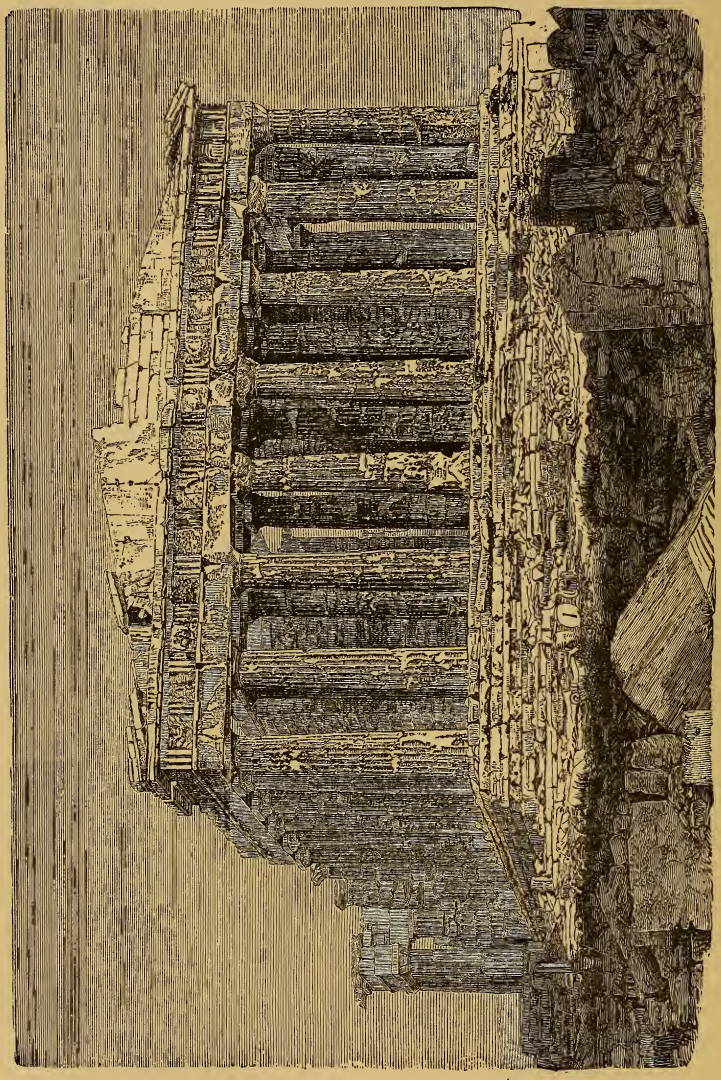
in the actual business of war, its tumult and carnage, wild and destructive and bloodthirsty. His worship flourished in Thrace, and is reputed to have reached Greece from the north. He does not fight always on the same side, nor is he uniformly victorious. He is represented as youthful, athletic, and muscular, carrying a great sword, with a shield. He had comparatively few temples; but it is related that human sacrifices were offered to him at Sparta. Arēs.

Hermēs (Mercury), the messenger and herald of the gods, was the son of Zeus and Maia, one of the Pleiades; but there are traces of his being modified from an early Pelasgian nature divinity, the god of festivity and bestower of flocks and herds. As messenger of the gods, he is the ideal skilful and eloquent speaker; and hence the tongues of sacrificed animals were offered to him. He was prudent and cunning, sagacious and shrewd, the promoter of social intercourse, and the reputed inventor of the alphabet, numbers, astronomy, weights and measures, etc. He was charioteer and cupbearer to Zeus, the imparter of dreams to men, the giver of sleep, the conductor of the spirits of the dead to the lower world, the maker of treaties, the helper of commerce, the god of words, and protector of travellers. He watched over the rearing of children, and encouraged gymnastic exercises; as the giver of gain, he was regarded as the author of any stroke of good luck, and as presiding over the dice-box. He was said to have performed many acts of mischief and dexterity, and even to be the god of thieves. Hermēs.

Hermes is represented in art as young and handsome, without beard, often in the attitude of running. He may wear a travelling hat with little wings, a herald's staff (caduceus) with entwined serpents, and wings at the top, and golden sandals. He was worshipped anciently in Arcadia, whence his worship spread to Athens and throughout Greece. Little images of him, known as Hermæ (being busts upon pillars of stone), were set up at cross roads and in streets and apparently before the door of each house. Lambs and kids were among his special offerings, with incense, honey, and cakes. The palm-tree and the tortoise were sacred to him.

Dionysos, the god of wine, son of Zeus and Semele (called Bacchus in late Greek and Roman times), was related to have accidentally discovered the making of wine from the juice of the grape. The exhilaration produced by drinking it caused both Dionysos and his companions to burst into song, joyful exclamations, and dancing. The god extended the gift to all mankind, that they might have more enjoyment, and forget care and sorrow. Consequently he journeyed through the world, planting the vine and instructing people how to make wine. Lycurgus, king of Thrace, disapproved of his wild revels, and banished him from his kingdom. Midas, king of Phrygia, was one of his most noted worshippers. The stories about Dionysos are extremely numerous, and many give accounts of the riotous exploits of his followers. But other accounts of him elevate his character. From being associated with the vine, he becomes the protector of trees in general; the wine-giver is an inspired being and a source Dionysos, or Bacchus.

of inspiration, and reveals the future by oracles; at the same time he heals diseases by revealing remedies in dreams. Thus he is accounted a pro-



THE PARTHENON, ATHENS.

moter of peace and the well-being of States. His worship probably had a Phœnician origin. Later he was regarded as the patron of the drama.

Bacchus is represented in early times as a grave manly figure, bearded and robed like an oriental monarch; but later he appears as a beautiful but effeminate youth, his long curling hair adorned with vine or ivy leaves, his expression pleased and gentle. He carries in one hand a drinking-cup with two handles, in the other a thyrsus, or pole terminated with vine-leaves, a fir-cone, or other ornament. Human sacrifices are said to have been offered to him in early times; later, rams and goats were offered. Tigers, panthers, and dolphins were among his sacred animals. His attendant women are usually known as Bacchantes, and they are generally represented in violent enthusiasm or madness, with dishevelled hair.

Poseidon (Neptune), son of Kronos and Rhea, was the god of the sea, especially of the Mediterranean, and took the place of the older Oceanus. His most distinctive attribute was that of causing and quieting storms; and hence mariners poured out a libation to him before beginning a voyage, and made offerings on their safe return. He is represented as riding in a chariot drawn by sea-horses, at whose approach the waves became smooth. Hence he is greatly famed as the creator and tamer of horses, and the originator of horse races. He was the patron of fishermen, and had the power of sending great inundations and horrible sea-monsters on States which displeased him. **Poseidon.**

Poseidon is depicted in varying forms, a good deal resembling Zeus, without benignity, the hair usually disorderly, the figure massive, the eyes bright. His special symbol was the trident, a three-pointed fork with which he could stir up or allay storms and shake the earth. As signifying the contest between sea and land, he is fabled to have disputed the possession of several countries with other gods. He was accompanied by a crowd of minor divinities and attendants, including his wife Amphitritē, the Tritons, Nereids, dolphins, etc. He was specially worshipped in Peloponnesus and the coast towns of Greece. Black and white bulls were his appropriate sacrifices. We can only briefly refer to his wonderful palace beneath the waters, of which marvellous descriptions were given.

Hades, or Pluto, son of Kronos and Rhea, and monarch of the land of shades, is connected with a very important part of our study, the question of the future life: we shall therefore postpone details about his kingdom, merely noting that it was inhabited not only by the shades or spirits of deceased mortals, but also by dethroned deities. The name of this god was habitually left unmentioned; and those who invoked him struck the earth with their hands, and averted their faces when they sacrificed. According to Homer, he was the most detested of all the gods. He is depicted as very much like Zeus in feature, but stern and gloomy-looking, his hair and beard being black. His wife Persephonē is seated beside him, and he holds a staff with which he drives the shades into the lower world. He was worshipped, though with fear, throughout Greece; and his sacrifices, consisting of black sheep, whose blood was allowed to run into a trench, were offered at night. Even his priests wore black robes. At a comparatively late period Pluto, as god of the lower world, was **Hades, or Pluto.**

regarded as giver of all things dug out of the earth, and hence of the precious metals; so he became confounded with Plutus (wealth), originally quite a distinct divinity.

We have not space to describe a crowd of minor divinities, many of them important in the Greek way of looking at things, and connected with distinctive circumstances or events pertaining to human life. Such are the Fates, the Furies, the Gorgons, the Nereids, the Sirens, Nemesis, Thanatos (Death), Hebe, the Muses, the Graces, etc.

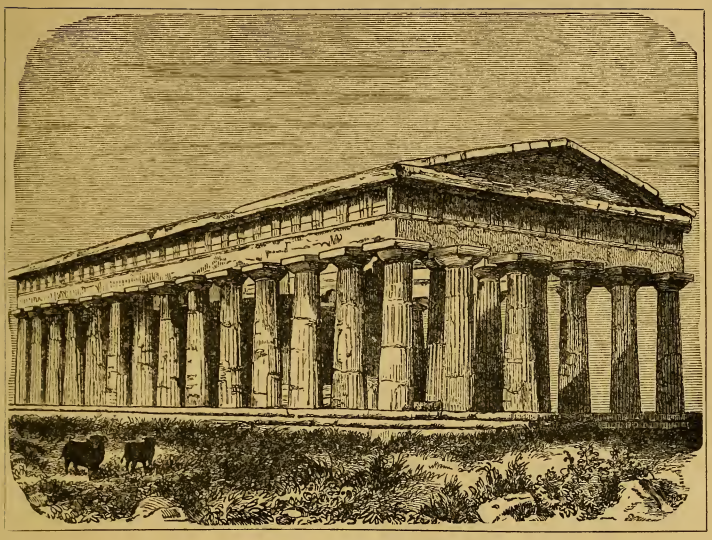
Minor divinities.

In the Greek religion, the gods are very generally represented with human characteristics, though usually heightened and ennobled; they required food and sleep, and married and had children. In passions they were like men, and frequently committed the same evil deeds as men. They are represented as punishing evil-doers, although in most cases the heaviest punishment is for neglecting to worship them. Their visits to and friendships for human beings are frequent; and the children of gods and mortals were heroes or demi-gods. If we invert this process, it will be seen that many gods have been imagined as a mode of accounting for the courage or prowess of real heroes. Of course, in addition to mortal powers, the Greek gods were gifted with all kinds of super-natural faculties, and many of these represent natural phe-nomena. In fact, while ac-knowledging that many attri-butes and achievements of deities are derived from those of heroes, and that some gods are deified heroes, we must admit that a great number of individual gods and of their attributes represent departments of nature and nature's workings, as idealised by the most imaginative and highly cultured people that ever lived.

Characters of gods.

HEAD OF THE BELVEDERE APOLLO.

[Sir G. W. Cox, "Mythology of the Aryan Nations"; Grote, Curtius, and Duncker's Histories of Greece; Berens, "Myths and Legends of Greece and Rome"; A. Lang, "Myth, Ritual, and Religion."]



TEMPLE OF POSEIDON AT PÆSTUM.

CHAPTER II.

Greek Sacrifices, Priests, Temples and Festivals, and Morals.

Sacrifice—Votive offerings—Kinds of sacrifices—Description—Slight consciousness of sin—The priests—State aspect of religion—Duties of priests—Their position—Private temples—A Greek festival—Wealth of temples—Early temples—The Greek styles—Sculpture—Altars—Oracles—The Delphian Oracle—Various beliefs—The great festivals—Religious origin and purpose—Rise of the drama—Marriage—Death and the future life—Funeral rites—Moral state of the Greeks.

IN presenting a picture of Greek religion, we are in the presence of difficulties of a kind more liable to mislead than in the case of any other people. Worship and ideas about the gods not only changed considerably from one age to another, but they varied largely from place to place, from State to State at the same time, no doubt in dependence upon the original ideas about local deities, but also in accordance with the great fertility of the Greek mind. Thus it would be impossible, without more space than we can give, to present a clear idea of the religious observances of any one State or city. Therefore what we say must be understood to be generalised to a considerable extent, and perhaps inapplicable to special localities.

Inasmuch as sacrifice is the essential element of religious acts in such a religion as the Greek, we will begin the account of the practical side of it with this subject. The Greek, as far back as we know anything about him, offered gifts to his gods, in gratitude for their protection, to obtain their favour, either generally or in some particular instance, or to expiate some offence or appease the anger of the gods. The gratitude of individuals and of States led to the building of temples, the

Sacrifice.

donation of statues, the offering of garlands, locks of hair, costly garments, vases, cups, candelabras, pictures, arms, etc. After successful wars a tenth part of the spoil was often dedicated to the gods. On recovery from illness votive tablets and presents were given to temples of Asclepios. Persons who had escaped from shipwreck dedicated to Poseidon the dress which they had worn when in danger; and many other presents of gratitude for escape or for prosperity are recorded in Greek authors, showing that the Greek religion was real, and founded not merely on fear, but also on a sense of humble dependence on Divine protection and on the acknowledgment of gratitude for benefits received. Frequently the finest of flocks and herds or the firstfruits of agricultural produce were thus offered.

Votive offerings.

HEAD OF ZEUS (FROM OTRICOLI).

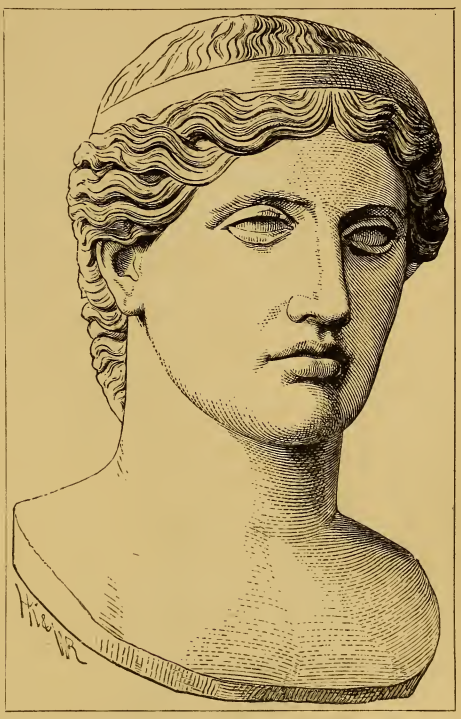
No doubt the early Greek gods, like dead human beings, were conceived as needing food, or capable of deriving pleasure from it; and early sacrifices consisted largely of grains, either cooked or uncooked, and fruits; though with the increase of flocks these gained a predominant place among the offerings. The gods of the seas, rivers, etc., were fed by offerings thrown into the water, and the offerings to gods of the subterranean regions were buried. Ordinarily, when the deity is looked upon as benign, the meal offered is one which the god and his worshippers can share at the same time; and often ordinary meals were sanctified by invoking the gods to be present. Even in St. Paul's day most of the meat sold for ordinary food had been dedicated to the gods, small parts having been specially assigned to the god. It was an appropriate accompaniment of sacrifice to drink wine, part of which was poured on the altar or on the ground for the gods (compare the Soma and Haoma offerings of the Hindus and Parsis), to listen to music, or to dance. The entire sacrifice, by burning, of the animal offered was rare, though it is difficult to ascertain how extensively it once prevailed. We cannot here discuss the relation of

Kinds of sacrifices.

special animal sacrifices to the totem system and totem worship by clans; but there can be little doubt that many special features of the early Greek sacrifices are due to it. The Greek religion, as accepted nationally, represents the combination of the beliefs of many diverse tribes, maritime, mountainous, pastoral, agricultural; and the discordant or strange features sometimes seen in the characters and sacrifices appropriate to the several gods are attributable to this combination.

In Homer we find that the legs were burnt, enclosed in fat, together with part of the intestines, and the worshippers consumed the rest. The smoke from the burning victims was believed to be peculiarly pleasing to the gods, and the greater the number of animals sacrificed the more meritorious was it. Hence States and wealthy individuals would frequently sacrifice "hecatombs" (not necessarily meaning a hundred victims); and such sacrifices were much in vogue at Athens. The head of a victim was usually sprinkled with roasted barley-meal mingled with salt, and adorned with garlands; a portion of hair from its head was thrown into the fire before it was killed. The head of the animal was drawn upwards when the offering was to one of the Olympian gods, and downwards if to the gods of the lower regions, or to deceased heroes. While the flesh was burning, wine and incense were cast upon it. At the time of sacrificing, opportunity was taken to judge whether the god was propitious, for, if not, he would certainly give signs recognisable by the priests; these being derived from the movements of the still warm intestines, the phenomena of the altar fire, etc. The singing or chanting of hymns in praise of the gods or recounting their actions was a frequent accompaniment of the sacrifices; but few of those have come down to us. In general, the longer hymns are narratives of the principal stories current relating to the gods. Few of them can properly be compared with the "scriptures" we have

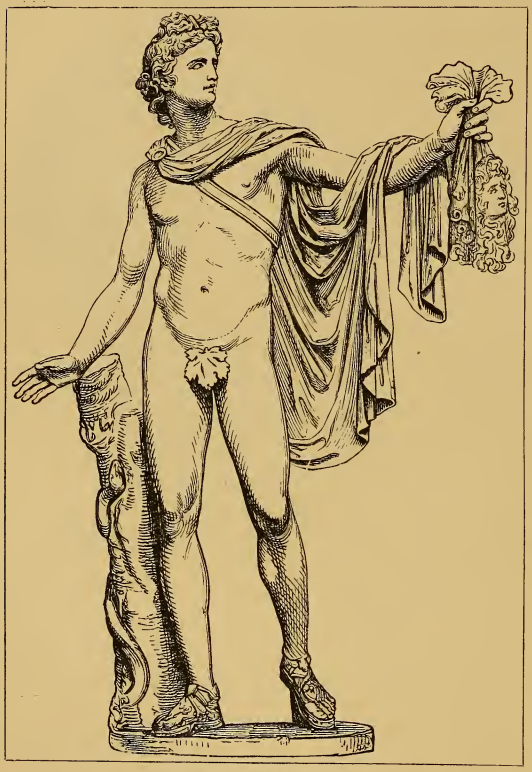
Description of sacrifices.



THE FARNESE HERA.

already noticed. We may quote, however, the hymn to Athene, as translated by Chapman.

"Pallas Athene only I begin
To give my song, that makes war's terrible din;
Is Patroness of cities, and with Mars
Marshalled in all the care and cure of wars;
And in everted cities fights and cries,
But never doth herself set down or rise
Before a city, but at both times she
All injured people sets on foot and free.
Give, with thy war's force, fortune then to me;
And with thy wisdom's force, felicity."



THE BELVEDERE APOLLO.

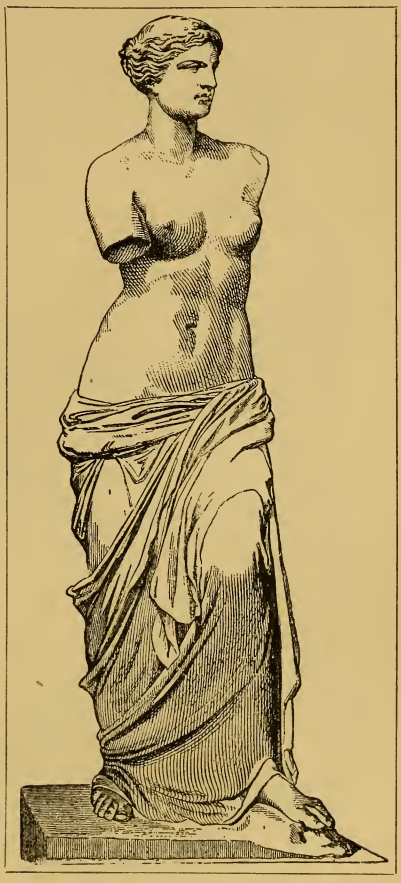
Slight consciousness of sin.

The remainder of the hymns are just as much or as little "devotional" as this specimen; and taken by themselves they would indicate a race comparatively little conscious of "sin" as understood in modern times. To have displeased the gods was grievous, but the gods were not supposed to be governed by any inexorable standard of right and wrong; they could be appeased and persuaded, and even grievous faults could be, as it were, paid for or expiated by a proportionate animal sacrifice. The "Theogony" and the "Works and Days" of Hesiod are two of the most important poems which have come down to us, giving accounts of the gods and their doings, portions of which probably were chanted in their services.

The priests.

That there were priests in ancient Greece, and that they exercised important functions and filled important positions in the Greek States, is evident from a very slight study of Greek literature; but it is difficult to realise their precise status without a knowledge of the

entire social and political condition of the Greeks. The priests did not constitute a distinct and ordained order; there was no fixed or regular principle about the priesthood. Religion was above all an affair of the community, whose first business it was to fulfil the duties of the State towards the gods. Such duties must be performed for all by certain appointed persons, or by the head of the State, whether king or general. In early Greece we find that the king frequently sacrificed on behalf of the people; and when kings ceased to reign, the priestly functions were given to elected leaders or magistrates, such as the *archon basileus* at Athens. Where this course fell into abeyance, we find the priest as the elected or hereditary minister of a temple, charged to fulfil all the due rites of the worship there celebrated, and paid from the temple revenues or by the gifts of worshippers. Subordinate bodies, such as the *phratriæ*, had common religious duties which were discharged by chosen members. The State kept watch over any infraction of duty towards the gods by private persons, and each family discharged its private religious duties through its head. The priesthood of certain gods became hereditary in particular families on account, sometimes, of the supposed hereditary transmission of prophetical power, or of the knowledge of certain traditional rites. Some priests were merely appointed for a term of years; in some cases the succession was to brothers, and to the sons of the eldest brother; sometimes the priesthood was purchased, or was granted for special services.



APHRODITE (MELOS).
(Commonly termed the Venus of Milo.)

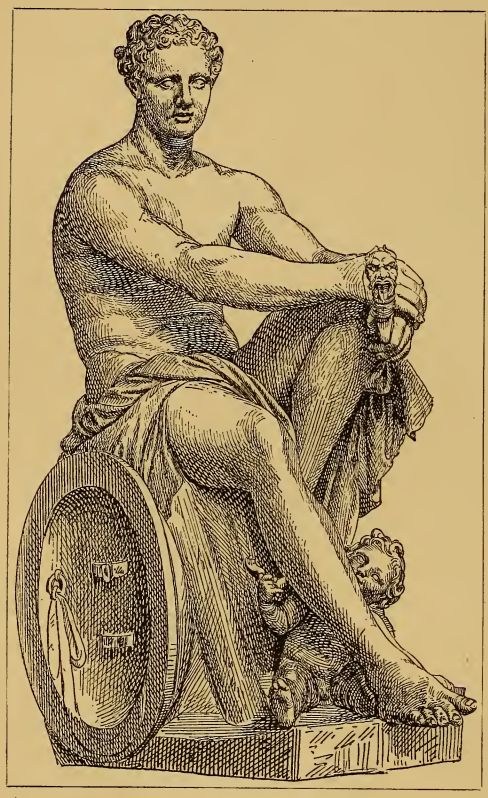
In Greece we have the spectacle of a people, with strong religious feelings, in whom the public or State aspect of religion permanently predominated over the ecclesiastical. The priesthood did not become the ruling power; art, literature, and politics used religion as part of their inheritance, without placing their consciences in commission to an

State aspect of religion.

order of priests. Although the priests claimed and gained the benefit of protection from the gods they served, they were by no means exempt from criticism, and they were not in general allowed to control the funds of the temples. The tenure of the priesthood by unworthy persons was jealously guarded against, and persons of high birth were preferred.

The priest of a temple had specially to superintend the ritual of his temple, to protect it from improper intruders, and to see that the sacrifices were properly performed. He was also charged with all, or nearly all, the interpretation of the will of the gods, and, especially in regard to the sacrifices, he had to note all signs indicating the approval or disapproval of the gods. In this he had the aid of skilled soothsayers, who noted the manner in which the victim approached the altar, and whether he made sounds or not; the colour and smoothness of the intestines, the appearances of the flame and smoke of the altar, etc. It was specially important, too, that no irreverent or frivolous words should be uttered by the bystanders. The flight of birds and the phenomena of the heavens were also observed for the purposes of drawing omens. The diviners who interpreted dreams and told fortunes, though they enjoyed considerable favour in Greece, had no regular connection with the temples or the priests. Within their temples the priests had great authority, being able to excommunicate those who broke their regulations, and invoking curses on them before which the stoutest-hearted Greek quailed. Such offences were stigmatised as impiety, and often heavily punished by fines or boycotting.

Duties of priests.



ARES (MARS).

Notwithstanding the limitations we have mentioned, a Greek priest had no mean position, especially in virtue of his office as interpreter and

representative of the god. The priests could solve the State's difficulties when disaster or pestilence occurred, and in the case of the greater oracles which were consulted by all Greece, they occupied a position which no great man in a single State could attain. At public festivals they occupied special seats of honour, and sometimes appeared decked with the costume and attributes of the god they served. Consequently the position was sought after by the wealthy, who in their turn could gratify the people by splendid ceremonies and costly festivals. Naturally such persons tended to gather about them assistants to perform the more laborious or irksome portions of their duty, such as revealers of the mysteries to the uninitiated, torch-bearers, proclaimers of rites, bearers of sacred water, etc.; and not a few slaves were attached to the temples to perform menial offices. Each temple had its appropriate series of services, according to the character of the god and the State.

Position of priests.

HESTIA.

But public, national, or State temples were not the only ones in which the services of priests were required. They were not infrequently founded by private persons or societies, and endowed with estates to keep up a succession of priests and services. They might be founded in honour of success in an enterprise, in honour of a deceased friend or relative, in obedience to dreams or oracles. Xenophon, for instance, devoted a tenth of certain spoil of war to buy an estate in Lakonia, on which he built a temple to the Ephesian Artemis, surrounded by a forest full of wild animals, let to a tenant who had to give one-tenth of the produce to a festival in honour of Artemis, and also to keep the temple in repair. In other cases rites for the dead were associated with a temple, and periodical gatherings of a family were enjoined, which remind us of Chinese ancestral worship. There were also numerous religious corporations or associations devoted to the worship of some particular divinity, holding assemblies, building temples, choosing priests, making regulations enforced by fines. Really these assemblies formed limited churches, governed by the church assembly. Many of these were founded in large cities for the worship of gods not worshipped by that particular city.

Private temples.

The most complete account of the ritual of a Greek festival is given in an inscription from Andania in Messenia. The twin gods known as Kabiri

OFFERING SACRIFICE TO THE GODS (AFTER FLAXMAN).

were there celebrated, together with Demeter, Apollo, Hermes, and a local nymph, by a body of priests and priestesses chosen by lot out of the tribes of the city, who had to swear to conduct the ritual in accordance with prescribed form. They had the custody of the sacred books and the chest in which they were kept. Strict regulations are laid down as to the dress of the priests and priestesses, limiting the cost, prescribing the absence of paint and of gold ornaments. The procession included a leader, the priest of the deities, the president of the games, the sacrificers and flute-players; then sacred virgins, priestesses, and priests. The victims were also led in procession; they included a large number of lambs, a sow for Demeter, a two-year-old pig to the Kabiri, a ram to Hermes, etc., and all victims were to be without blemish. After the sacrifices, the portions not given to the gods were eaten by the priests, priestesses, and virgins, the musicians and other assistants. Complete provision was made for a market to supply the crowds gathered to the festival, and for the judgment of offenders during its continuance, as well as for public warm baths. All brawlers and sacrilegious persons were sternly denounced; and there is every sign that in the best period of Greece public opinion was strongly against any unseemly conduct at the festivals.

A Greek festival.

HERMES.

The wealth of temples became very great from the accumulated offerings of devout worshippers and States. As a temple grew in fame, it attracted wealthy foreigners and even foreign kings to its worship. The place being sacred, money was often deposited there, and invested either in loans or in property. The State undertook the management of

Wealth of temples.

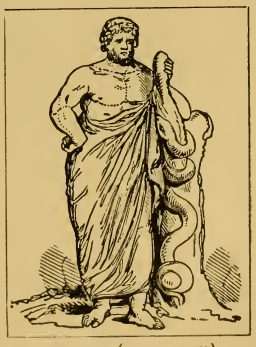
all the property of the civic temples, issuing commissions from time to time, or regularly appointing officers to supervise the temple accounts. Apart from property which could be dealt with, the temples became very rich in votive offerings, and as these varied extremely with the taste of the giver or of his time, the temple was in fact a museum of art; and wherever it has been possible to explore the site of an ancient temple, it has yielded many treasures and much valuable information, especially in the form of dedicatory inscriptions.

THESEUS.

We must now briefly refer to the Greek temples, which succeeded the early open-air altars on hills and in sacred enclosures. **Early temples.** We see a strange likeness to the fetish enclosures of the African negro in the placing of the images of gods and heroes in hollow trees as a habitation in early times. Then, as architecture developed, the sacred image was covered and protected in dark buildings only lighted from the door, or by lamps. This period of the history of Greek temples is almost entirely prehistoric, for the Greeks in early times had so far progressed as to build fine temples of the well-known oblong form, almost always adorned with a row or rows of columns in various styles or arrangements. Certain types, associated with or invented by a particular state or tribe, became peculiar to certain gods, probably from having been early used for their temples. Thus the Doric style was used in the temples of Zeus and Ares; the Ionic, in those of Apollo, Artemis and Dionysos; the Corinthian, of Hestia. Most of the chief temples, besides the porch with columns, had a vestibule, a large cella or habitation of the god or gods, in which the statues of the gods were placed, facing the entrance, and a chamber in the rear, often used as a treasury. When the temple was a famous oracle, the cella was kept closed to all but priests and the initiated, and its violation by others brought the severest punishments. The temples afforded the Greeks the utmost scope for their sculpture, in the capitals, friezes, pediments, etc.; and while no light was admitted into the cella from the sides, it was frequently partly open above. The entire series of legends about the gods was represented in sculpture, and the highest skill and costliest materials were lavished on the statues of the gods, which are in reality only to be distinguished from the "idols" of other religions in the greater

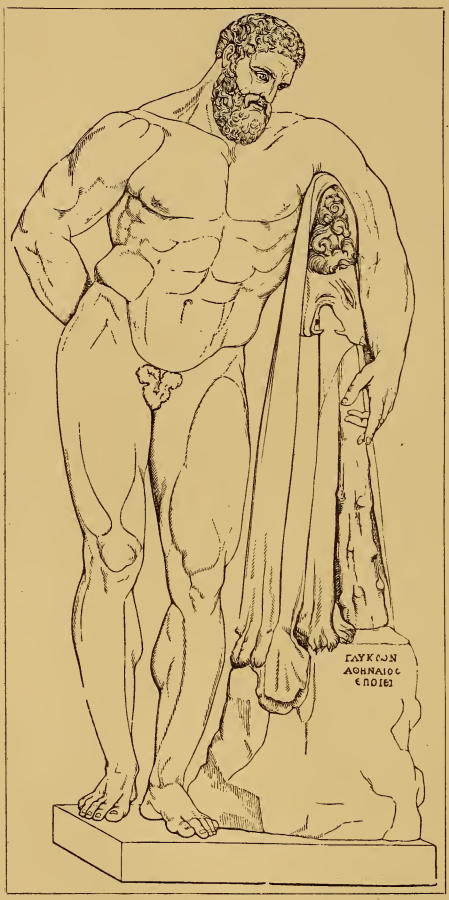
The Greek styles.

Sculpture.



ASCLEPIOS (ÆSCULAPIUS).

beauty and imaginative power they displayed. This is not degrading the beautiful images of the gods; for few so-called idols have ever been imagined to be anything in themselves, apart from the spirit of a god believed to reside in, or to visit them; yet the rudest image made by a savage may represent as true an act of devotion and submission of himself to the unseen powers as the most magnificent Greek statue. Who can assign relative merits in this the most difficult of all fields? But as we have shown the savage as not destitute of genuine religion, so do we demonstrate the same fact for the Greek, whom St. Paul recognised as "very attentive to religion." Among the most notable Greek temples were those of Zeus at Olympia, of Athene Parthenos (known as the Parthenon), and Theseus at Athens, of Zeus at Ægina, Artemis at Ephesus, Athene at Syracuse, the Erechtheum and Propyleum at Athens. The Spartans were conspicuous for their lack of grand temples. We must not omit to note that the porch of every temple had a font containing holy water, consecrated by dipping into it a burning torch from the altar. With this water, all those who entered to take part in the sacrifices were sprinkled.

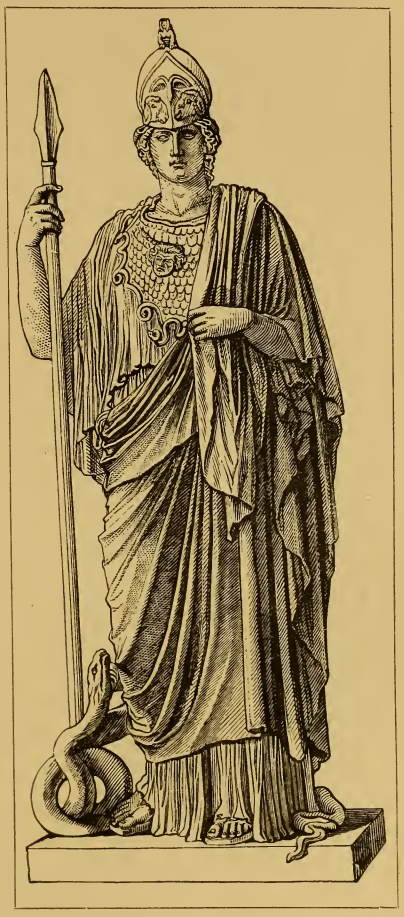


THE FARNESE HERCULES.

The altar was an indispensable part of the temple, and indeed existed before there were temples. The early Greek word for altar signifies any elevation, and then came to mean any elevation used for worship. Originally it was always in the open air; but when temples were built, the altar for burnt sacrifices continued in the open in front of the temple, while a smaller altar was placed in front of the statues of the gods in the cella. They might be made of earth, turf, or stones, and might be built anywhere on occasion, especially during war;

Altar.

but in the temples they were built of regular masonry, raised several feet, either of a round or of an oblong shape. They were decked with flowers and ornamented with appropriate sculpture, and either bore the name of the god or gods to whom they were devoted, or some representation of them. The inner altars were used for kneeling in prayer, and for the offering of incense and other non-living sacrifices. Altars were universally held to be places of refuge for criminals or unfortunate persons; the altars had horns, of which refugees took hold. Solemn oaths were also taken at altars. Some altars, as that of Zeus at Olympia, on which offerings of hundreds of animals were made, were of great size. The gods of the lower world, however, had no altars, the blood of the sacrifices made to them being received in ditches or trenches.



PALLAS-ATHENE.

No part of the Greek religion was more devoutly believed in than the oracular utterances delivered at many shrines. **Oracles.** The gods were believed to make communications to mankind through some medium, an inspired priestess or priest, or by dreams or signs. There were comparatively few oracles of Zeus, who was supposed to be too far from men's affairs to enter into close relations with them. Thus his will was revealed through Apollo and other gods, and even through heroes. Oracles of Zeus were given at Olympia from the inspection of victims, and at Dodona from sounds produced by the wind in a grove of trees.

The oracle of Apollo at Delphi so far outgrew all others in fame that it has become the typical example. Here, in the innermost sanctuary, in front of the statue of Apollo, was an altar fire always burning, and in the centre was a small opening in the ground, from which at times an intoxicating or sulphureous smoke arose. Over this was placed a tripod, upon which the prophetess, known as Pythia, took her seat. The **The Delphian oracle.**

smoke ascending produced a kind of delirium in the prophetess, who, while it lasted, uttered various sounds which were believed to contain revelations from Apollo. These being taken down by the priests were interpreted by them to the people, being often given in hexameters, and conveyed in language that admitted of more than one interpretation. Many oracles, however, were quite direct and plain, so that the modern meaning attached to "oracular utterances" is not quite just to the originals. The oracle was believed to give answers to every one of pure heart, but no answer could be obtained by a criminal until he had atoned for his crime. At first oracles were only given once a year; later, certain days were set apart every month, when the oracle could be consulted on payment of a fee, and sacrifice of a goat, an ox, or a sheep. The Pythia prepared for her function by fasting for three days, bathing, and sacrificing laurel leaves and barley flour to Apollo. The priests of this oracle belonged to certain noble families of Delphi, and were appointed for life. No doubt the credit of the oracle was principally due to them; they were of high birth, and had the most advantageous opportunities for gaining education and worldly wisdom, especially as Delphi was visited by embassies from every Greek city, as well as others; and there are grounds for believing that for a long period they were actuated by lofty ideas and constituted a means of elevation and of religious conservation. "In the earliest time we can trace the influence of the oracles discouraging the relentless blood-feud, distinguishing classes of murder, and allowing purification and expiation in certain cases. They make the sanctity of oaths between man and man a special duty; Apollo regards even hesitation to keep a pledge as already a sin. They are the centre of unions or amphictyonies which bind their members to observe certain duties, and show mercy to their fellow-members; and Delphi, as the oracle of an amphictyony including great part of Greece, had an important share in promoting the ideal unity of the whole country," (*Ency. Brit.*, "Oracle"). During the great struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta the Delphic oracle showed an increasing partiality towards Sparta, and gradually the Athenians and their allies lost their respect for it; but it continued to be consulted down to the time of the emperor Julian.

Various beliefs.

At an early time the spirits of the dead were believed to appear and give counsel; later the inquirer went to sleep over the grave of a hero, who appeared to him in a dream. At the oracle of Amphiaraus near Oropus, where the hero had risen from the earth to become a god, the inquirer slept in the temple on the skin of a ram which he had sacrificed, after abstaining from food for twenty-four hours. Oracles were also at one time believed to be given by Mother Earth, being the abode of the dead, who could still give counsel to their descendants. The conception that Themis and Apollo gave oracles at Delphi appears to have been later than this.

In addition to regular or occasional religious worship at the temples, the Greeks had a religious bond and influence of a yet more powerful nature, in the public festivals kept by every State of any importance, or by

OLYMPIA RESTORED.

numerous States in common. So far as their origin can be discerned, they are shared between celebrations of ancestral heroes and of the seasons or their successive phenomena, usually associated with a god or gods whose worship was specially appropriate to the season. There is evidence, however, that their number and splendour increased during the early historic period, and at last we find the Greeks of Tarentum keeping more festivals than working days. At Athens in the height of its prosperity fifty or sixty days were kept free from all business by magisterial order. The chief of these were the greater and the lesser Dionysiac, the Eleusinian, the Panathenaic, and the Thesmophorian. Thebes celebrated the Daphnephoria every ninth year. But the most influential of all the great meetings of the Greeks were the four pan-hellenic festivals, known as the Olympic, the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games. Whatever the origin of the Olympian festival might be, it was lost in obscurity, and at a very early date the games had assumed such importance that during their celebration all warfare was stayed for a month, and the territory of Elis was regarded as sacred for the time being. One great part of the festival consisted of sacrifices to the gods by the Eleans, by the conquerors in the games, by representatives of other States, and by private persons. We cannot here refer to the contests of strength and artistic skill which formed so celebrated a part of the festival, but note that they expressed the strong Greek feeling that men honoured Zeus best by the harmonious discipline of both body and mind; and consequently it is not surprising that the Olympic festival continued long after the Greeks had succumbed to Rome, the last being held in A.D. 393. The German excavations at Olympia in 1875–81 have made known the elaborate nature of the buildings and appliances, of the sculptures and works of art which existed in connection with these great games. The honours given to victors on their return home show how deeply these contests affected the national sentiment; some extolled their lot as divine. It is even recorded that altars were built and sacrifices offered to some victors.

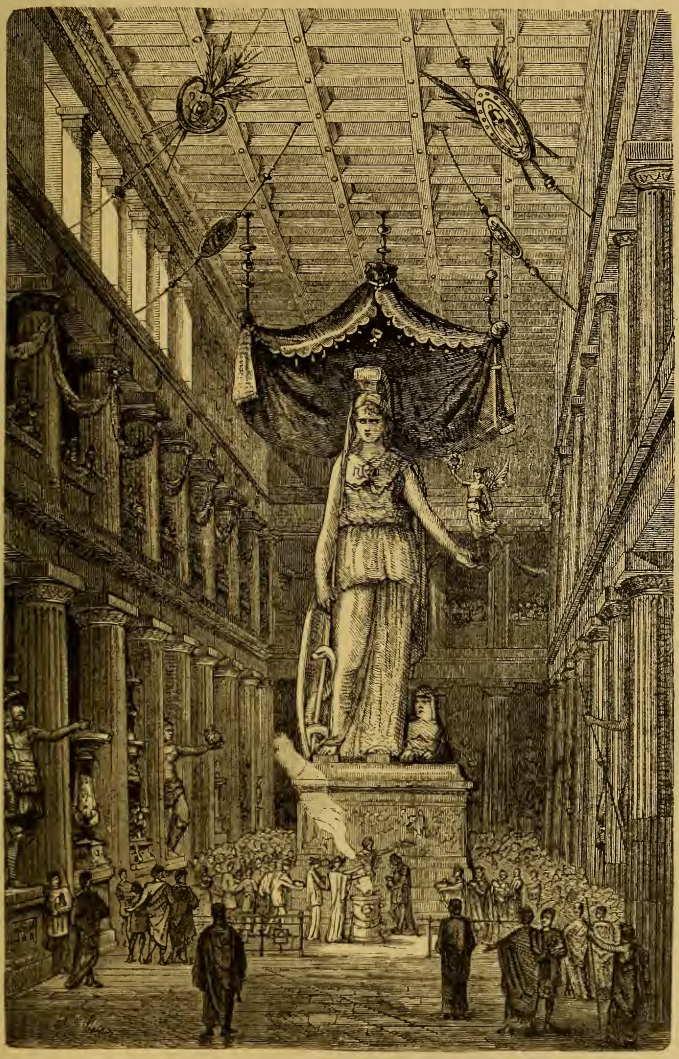
The great festivals.

Religious origin and purpose.

The Pythian games and numerous other festivals were of special interest from their including poetic recitations, often original, and from their connection with the rise of the drama. As Dr. Donaldson says, in his "Greek Theatre": "The susceptible Athenian, whose land was the dwelling-place of gods and ancestral heroes, to whom the clear blue sky, the swift-winged breezes, the river fountains, the Ægean gay with its countless smiles, and the teeming earth from which he believed his ancestors were immediately created, were alike instinct with an awe-pervading spirit of divinity; the Athenian, who loved the beautiful, but loved it because it was divine, who looked upon all that genius could invent, or art execute, as but the less unworthy offering to his pantheism; and considered all his festivals and all his amusements as only a means of withdrawing the soul from the world's business, and turning it to the love and worship of God,—how could he keep back from the object of his adoration the fairest and best of his works?" The dramatic features in the stories of

Rise of the drama.

the gods and heroes suggested most natural subjects for dramatic representation, and these were most conspicuous in the festivals of Apollo at Delphi,



INTERIOR OF PARTHENON,
As restored by Prof. H. Müller.

of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, and of Dionysos at Eleusis and Delphi. The Eleusinian mysteries were the most famous and popular of

all, and were specially marked by magnificence and by the secrecy of some rites, to which is owing our ignorance about them. Their importance does not seem to have depended upon any dogmatic instruction, but they were believed to educate the people in reverence for the deity. Silence, excitement, and rapt devotion were typical of the spectators, and the fasting, long ceremonies, and night wanderings which preceded the actual mysteries, heightened their effect. The touching and kissing of holy things, the hearing and repeating of traditional songs, the dramatic representation of incidents in the lives of the gods, appear to have formed important parts of the ceremonial. The worship of Dionysos had similar variations to that of the sun-god. His sufferings and misfortunes were dramatically bewailed, and his gifts of light and wine, etc., were celebrated with rites which, at first licentious, remained so, because of the conservatism of ritual. We cannot further follow this most interesting topic, and simply remark that we find in Greece, as in India, that everything, especially every invention, every art, every faculty, was under the patronage of, and intimately connected with, the popular religion. We must acknowledge that the Greeks, in their best periods, were true to their religious beliefs, and carried them out most thoroughly.

THE MUSES—CALLIOPE, CLIO, ERATO, EUTERPE, MELPOMENE.

We cannot trace the stages by which marriage came to be placed under religious sanctions: but we may believe that this process was almost simultaneous with the growth of belief in the relation of the gods to human conduct, and the necessity of pleasing them if good fortune were to attend a man. Cecrops was fabled to have instituted marriage in Athens, as well as the worship of the gods. Marriages between very near kin took place in early Greece, and dislike to such marriages was the growth of a later age, though it never proceeded so far as among Jews and Christians. Celibacy was decidedly frowned upon, and sometimes punished by Greek law; and one reason for marriage was that a succession

Marriage.

THE MUSES—POLYHYMNIA, TERPSICHORE, THALIA, AND URANIA.

of descendants might be kept up by every man, as worshippers or ministers of the godhead and of the family gods; indeed, they practically worshipped

THE GRACES—AGLAIA, THALIA, EUPHROSYNE.

THE FURIES—TISIPHONE, MEGÆRA, ALECTO.

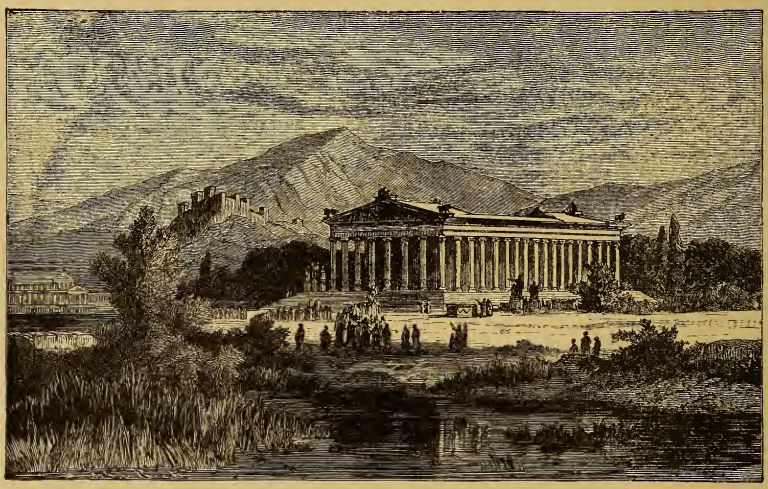
their ancestors. In connection with marriages (which did not take place till an adult age was reached), sacrifices or offerings were made to the gods presiding over marriage (Hera, Artemis, the Fates, and sometimes others), by the father of the bride; and after the marriage the husband offered a sacrifice. There was no religious ceremony which constituted the marriage; and wives occupied a comparatively low place in Greek estimation.

Death and the events succeeding it occupied a prominent place in the Greek mind. From Homer we gather that at death the spirit, occupying a shadowy outline of the body, was driven by Hades into his do- **Death and the future life.** minions in the lower world (Erebus); and we read that the shades occupied themselves in regretting lost pleasures, or past changes of fortune, but were only half conscious, except when roused by drinking the blood of sacrifices offered to them by living friends. The heroes enjoyed a more happy state, but longed for their former life. It was not till Egyptian ideas had influenced the Greeks that a doctrine of future rewards and punishments according to actions was taught. Hermes became recognised as the guide of mortals to the lower regions, where Hades received them hospitably; so that his kingdom ceased to be regarded as one of gloom. Three rivers had to be crossed by all, namely, Acheron (sorrow), Cocytus (lamentation), and Styx (intense darkness), the latter flowing nine times round Erebus. It was necessary to be ferried over the Styx by a grim boatman named Charon, who would take none but those who had received funeral rites, and brought with them a coin as toll; otherwise they must wander restlessly for a hundred years on the banks

THE FATES—CLOTHO, LACHESIS, ATROPOS.

of the river. On the other side of the Styx was the seat of Minos, who received confessions from and judged all shades, and announced their sentences, whether of happiness or misery. Cerberus, the three-headed dog, guarded his tribunal, and allowed no shade to emerge when once within the portals. The happy passed first into the palace of Hades and Persephone and received their greeting, and then set out for the Elysian fields, full of all delights, where they occupied themselves with their favourite pursuits, the hunter resuming his bow and arrows, the musician his lyre, the soldier his arms. According to the doctrine associated with the name of Pythagoras, after the shades had remained in Elysium for a thousand years, they returned to earth to occupy fresh bodies.

Those who had been condemned as guilty were conducted from Minos to the great judgment hall of Rhadamanthus, who announced in detail the



TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS (DIANA), EPHESUS.

punishments which each would receive in Tartarus, a gloomy region far below Hades. The Furies then seized the culprits, scourged them with whips, and hurled them down into Tartarus.

Naturally we find these ideas influencing the funeral rites of the Greeks. The greatest horror was felt at the idea of not receiving burial, and any passer who found a corpse felt it his duty at least to throw some earth upon it. Indeed, the deceased were regarded as having both a legal and moral right to burial. Burning was also in vogue among the Greeks, but probably not so much as burial in historic times. The body was anointed and decked with flowers and dressed in white; an obolus was put in its mouth for Charon, and a honey-cake by its side for Cerberus. When the body was laid out, painted vases were placed by the side of the bed, and afterwards buried with it. In early times, sacrifices (and some-

Funeral rites.

times captives) were offered previous to the burial; but these had ceased in Plato's time. The coffins for burial were usually of earthenware or baked clay. There were no specially consecrated grounds for burial, convenience and sometimes beauty of situation being the chief considerations. Those who had taken part in the funeral required purification before they could enter the temples. Sacrifices were offered on the third, ninth, and thirtieth days after the funeral, the latter ending the mourning. On certain days the tombs, which were often very handsome, were decked with flowers, and offerings of flowers and sometimes of food were made to the deceased.

Moral state of the Greeks.

We may now briefly endeavour to comprehend the moral state produced by, or co-existent with, the Greek religion. In the Homeric poems the cardinal virtue of truth does not appear to be in great esteem. "To deceive an enemy is meritorious, to deceive a stranger innocent, to deceive even a friend perfectly unobjectionable, if any object is to be gained." (M.) Most of the leading characters in the Iliad and Odyssey do not hesitate to lie, and the same is the case with the gods. "Zeus deceives both gods and men, the other gods deceive Zeus." The one check on deceit is the presence of the gods, who, if adjured by an oath, will certainly punish falsehood. Apollo and Menelaus are truthful characters, but even they have their defects. Might was practically right, and while Homer describes persons guilty of manslaughter or murder as going into exile or paying pecuniary compensation, it is not till after the Homeric period that a guilty person requires purification by special religious ceremonies. It would be easy to show that courage was really defective in the Homeric times, and could not readily be produced even by appeals to the gods. The sad condition of orphans, widows, and old people is graphically depicted in Homer, and the possession of women by the stronger and the conqueror is an acknowledged fact. The Homeric world, far from representing an early age of pure morality, is one of still rudimentary moral and religious ideas. The gods are but larger copies of men, and the best, if high in comparison with some conceptions of gods, are low when compared with the highest. The best character among the gods, Pallas-Athene, is, as Mr. Hayman, in his "Odyssey," says, without tenderness or tie of any sort, never owns obligation, is pitiless, unscrupulous in partisanship, and full of dissimulation; she whispers base motives of the good, beats down the strong, and mocks the weak, while true to a comrade or friend. Practically, the power of the chiefs, or of the aristocratic caste, was supreme in the Homeric and Hesiodic times, and their morals were on the whole selfish, and the common people followed their example. So there was every chance for the religious pretenders or believers who attributed troubles to the displeasure of the gods, and brought forward their prescriptions for appeasing or persuading them. Thus religion not based on morals grew in strength, and in time, and by the aid of importations from Egypt. the East, and Thrace became full of excitements and orgies, sensuality and immorality. At the same time, and even down to the time of Herodotus, there lingered in parts of Greece horrible customs of human sacrifice.

The age of the tyrants was to some extent favourable to morals, for the tyrants put down excesses of immorality and prepared the way for widespread improvements such as those introduced by Solon and Pisistratus. In some minds a higher morality arose; poets and philosophers began to doubt the old mythologies, and to rest in a general belief in the Deity, in divine virtue and justice, confessing themselves unable to reconcile this belief with the facts of life. Theognis says that no man works with a sure knowledge whether the result will be good or evil; and the general view of the moralists of the time was that although Providence rewarded virtue, the reward was often withheld, and it was therefore best to follow the stream, and to gratify the passions of love and revenge. The lower orders thus had no elevating influence to raise them. It was held to be a shame to remain sober among men who were drunk. Romantic friendships were however not uncommon, and women were perhaps better esteemed and treated than in the Homeric days. Avarice and selfishness were common, and pleasure was universally sought. In most places old age was little honoured, though Lycurgus's ordinance to honour the old stands out in marked contrast. Honesty was largely honoured in the breach, and from the times of Herodotus to that of Cicero we hear of Greek untruthfulness and want of fidelity to their word. At the same time there was much kindly care of and affection for the young, and honourable justice.

The great period of Athens was warlike, and led to a greater ferocity, cruelty, and unscrupulousness of feeling. Oaths and promises were less kept than ever; party and state were everything. The ideal of womanhood was lowered; but there was a greater kindliness towards slaves. Many of the richer Athenians, however, set all morality at defiance, and their example was sufficient to start and maintain a degradation of morality which led to the ruin of Greece. When the old mythology was undermined there was not enough that was solid in the Greek religion to keep morals pure. While the oracles were respected and managed by impartial priests who represented the best ideas current, the moral standard was much better than at a later period when they had become partial and subservient to state factions, and when the best minds of Greece were engaged in politics, art, poetry and philosophy. The philosophers were raising their heads, it is true, and seeking for the true good, and many of them gave systematic instruction in conduct; but meanwhile the people were going to ruin, and the philosophers had little as yet to communicate.

[Mahaffy, "Social Life in Greece," "Greek Life and Thought." (M.) C. T. Newton, "Greek Religion illustrated by Inscriptions," *Nineteenth Century*, vols. iii. and iv. Articles, "Mysteries," "Priest," "Sacrifices," "Temple," "Encyclopædia Britannica," Grote's, Curtius's, and Duncker's "Histories of Greece."]

CHAPTER III.

Socrates, Plato, and other Greek Philosophers.

Socrates—His mode of life—His discharge of religious duties—His sign or dæmon—Socrates not really a sceptic—Socrates and the Deity—His views of Providence—Socrates a teacher of morals—His ardour for knowledge—His personal appearance—Socrates before his judges—His condemnation—The death penalty—Socrates on the future life—His death—Plato—His view of the body as evil—Virtue the highest good—Morals and the State—Views of the Deity—Aristotle—The Megarians—The Cynics—The Cyrenaics—Epicurus—The Stoics—Morals—Greeks in other lands—Polybius.

BEFORE Socrates, Greek philosophers like Thales, Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Democritus, and Protagoras had vainly tried to get at the secret of the universe and the true basis of conduct, and Protagoras had arrived at the conclusion that the human consciousness is the only standard of what is and what is not. It was reserved for Socrates the Athenian (*circ.* 470–399 B.C.) to start a new era by exhaustively showing how little men really knew, especially about divine government. He rejected all the popular mythology, which represented the gods as having committed actions which would be disgraceful in the worst of men. But he was no despiser of the gods; in fact, his friends claimed that he was "so pious that he did nothing without taking counsel of the gods; so just that he never did an injury to any man, whilst he was the benefactor of his associates; so temperate that he never preferred pleasure to right; so wise that in judging of good and evil he was never at fault. His self-control was absolute; his powers of endurance were unfailing; he had so schooled himself to moderation that his scanty means satisfied all his wants. To want nothing, he said, is divine; to want as little as possible is the nearest possible approach to the divine life;" and he practised what he taught, yet knew how to enjoy himself heartily. Like almost all the greatest teachers and reformers we have written of, his teaching was mainly conversational, and he left no books; but like them, also, his memory impressed itself upon his pupils and friends, so that we have more than one striking record and picture of the greatest soul among the Greeks.

Socrates.

Highly educated in Greek learning and a sculptor in early life, Socrates soon gave up statuary for his public mission, believing that he had a divine commission to convict other men of their ignorance, and so help them to improve. His wife, Xanthippe, led him an unhappy life with her shrewish temper, and his sons appear to have been unworthy of him. He showed bravery as a soldier at Potidæa and elsewhere, and on several important occasions he manifested great public spirit and courage in withstanding popular and aristocratic sentiment or commands. But most of his life was spent in his sacred duty, that of showing men their ignorance and helping them to choose right paths in practical morality. As Xenophon

His mode of life.

represents him, he caused many to turn from evil ways by inducing them to seek after virtue. In every way he could discover to be beneficial, he disciplined both his mind and his body, and he refused all payments for his instruction. We shall perhaps best elucidate his character, so far as it relates to morals and religion, by referring to the accusation brought against him in B.C. 399, that he was guilty, first, of denying the gods recognised by the State and introducing new divinities, and secondly of corrupting the young. In answer to this, Xenophon alleges that he was frequently seen sacrificing both at his own house and on the public altars; and it appears that he accepted the established beliefs so far as they did not plainly conflict with his conscience, especially where they dealt with matters of which the gods seemed to have reserved all real knowledge to themselves. It was on human conduct and knowledge that he concentrated his attention. Yet he incurred opposition as being an innovator, for he sought to expunge from popular belief the fictions of the poets; and he avowed that he derived guidance from an inward "divinity," or "divine sign," often spoken of as the "dæmon" of Socrates, and sometimes as an intelligent spiritual companion or guardian spirit. But it is not correct to say that he regarded himself as possessed by a divinity or a guardian spirit. "According to Xenophon," says Dr. Henry Jackson (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed.), "the sign was a warning, either to do or not to do, which it would be folly to neglect, not superseding ordinary prudence, but dealing with those uncertainties in respect of which other men found guidance in oracles and tokens; Socrates believed in it profoundly, and never disobeyed it. According to Plato, the sign was a 'voice' which warned Socrates to refrain from some act which he contemplated; he heard it frequently and on the most trifling occasions; the phenomenon dated from his early years, and was, so far as he knew, peculiar to himself." It has been suggested, with considerable plausibility, by Mr. Jackson, that the rational suggestions of his own brain, exceptionally valuable in consequence of his accuracy and intelligence, appeared to be heard by him as a voice speaking to him; others see in the "divine sign" the voice of conscience and instinct combined; while some may regard it as a direct Divine voice. This difficulty we cannot solve; but Xenophon uses this phenomenon to show that Socrates had a personal sign which was parallel to the divination of the other Greeks by birds and voices and sacrifices. But Socrates declared those bereft of their senses who had recourse to divination with a view to solving questions upon which the gods had given men power to decide themselves.

His discharge of religious duties.

His sign or dæmon.

SOCRATES.

Socrates, seeming to his contemporaries to be a sceptic, was the most genuine believer of his time, so far as he thought he had grounds for belief. When the Delphian oracle pronounced him the wisest of men, he sought to discover some one wiser than himself, and succeeded only in finding people who thought they knew, whereas they were self-deluded. Still Socrates felt that he did not possess the wisdom with which he was credited, for, said he, God only is wise, and the oracle only meant to say, "He is the wisest who, like Socrates, knows that his wisdom is in truth worth nothing." About the Deity Socrates would put forward little that was dogmatic. He believed in a Supreme Being who was an intelligent and beneficent Creator of all things, and he prayed to the gods to grant him good gifts, believing that they best knew what was good. He gave as proofs of the existence of "the divine," the providential order of nature, the universality of the belief in it, and the revelations and warnings given to men by signs and oracles. He appealed very strongly to the argument from design, proclaiming that the evident purpose of vast numbers of things showed that they were produced by intelligence. The arguments of Socrates on these subjects have been made familiar to generations of schoolboys in Xenophon's "Memorabilia." We will quote part of one of his central arguments from Mr. Levien's translation.

Socrates not really a sceptic.

Socrates and the Deity.

"It did not, however, satisfy the Deity to take an interest in man's body only, but, what is the most important point of all, He also implanted in him that most excellent essence—his soul. But in the first place, of what other animal does the mind comprehend the fact of the existence of the gods as the organisers of so stupendous and excellent a system? and what other race except that of men offers service to the gods? or what intelligence exists more adapted than that of man to make provision against cold and heat, or hunger and thirst, or to alleviate disease, or to practise feats of strength, or to labour for instruction, or more capable of remembering what it may have heard or seen or learned? For is it not clearly manifest to you that men pass their lives like gods as compared with other creatures, and excel them in the nature both of their minds and bodies? For neither could a creature endowed with the body of an ox and the feelings of a man accomplish its wishes; nor do such animals as possess hands, but are devoid of intelligence, obtain any benefit thereby. But do you, who enjoy both these stupendous advantages, think that the gods have no regard for you?" Again, "You must not imagine that while your vision is capable of ranging over a distance of many furlongs, the eye of the Deity is unable to survey the universe at a glance. Nor should you suppose that while your mind can contemplate things that are taking place at home and in Egypt and Sicily, the Divine Intelligence is insufficient to regard all things simultaneously. . . . So with regard to the gods, you should make the experiment whether, if you cultivate them, they will not vouchsafe to you their guidance in matters which are unrevealed to mankind in general; and you may thus recognise the fact that the nature of the Deity is so stupendously constituted as to be able to see all things

His views of Providence.

at once, and to hear all things, and to be present everywhere, and to take cognisance of everything at the same time."

It will at once be evident that we here have a style and matter of teaching never reached by any of the religions we have previously spoken of, and perhaps only approached by that of Zoroaster. To speak of Socrates simply as the greatest of the heathens does him injustice, unless it is clearly understood that the term heathen simply means a non-Christian. We cannot but rank him as one of the greatest of men, pre-eminent as an original thinker and independent character, and as a teacher of divine things.

He was equally eminent as a moral teacher. Far from being a corrupter of youth, we have abundant testimony that he was a corrector of young men's morals, and always tried to raise them, to inspire in them a sense of duty, of responsibility for the use of their intellect and conscience, and to lead them to spend their lives usefully and nobly. His moral teachings, if followed out, would have saved many a king or state or parliament, in presumably more enlightened times, from disaster. He did not believe in appointing men who succumbed to gluttony, crime, sensuality, and other vices to posts of difficulty and danger; in committing the education of children or the care of property to intemperate men. He regarded temperance (in the broad sense) as the foundation of virtue, and any one who accepted money readily from others as setting up masters over himself and binding himself to a most degrading slavery; rather he preferred to live more humbly than a slave. He rejoiced especially in having estimable friends; and if he knew of any good thing, he thought it a great joy to impart it to them. To him justice and every kind of virtue was wisdom, and he had a belief, too sanguine, that those who recognised this would never prefer to do any but just and virtuous actions. For a man not to know himself, and to imagine he knew things of which he was ignorant, he considered to be a very near approach to insanity. And therefore he did his utmost to cure that kind of insanity, and to lead men not merely to like abstract goodness or intelligence or knowledge, but to be good inwardly and to gain acquirements which were of practical value. But this man who, chief among his fellows, sought to raise and benefit youth, was charged with being a corrupting influence.

Socrates a teacher of morals.

"In Socrates," says Professor Sidgwick, "for the first time, we find the combination of a genuine ardour for knowledge, and a paramount interest in conduct." By his dialectic art he brought home their ignorance to those who talked with him, and then hammered home his conviction that their ignorance of the good and evil in human life was the source of all practical error. He was above all practical, for "he knew no good that was not good for something in particular;" he taught that good is self-consistent, that the beautiful is also profitable and useful, and the virtuous also agreeable, in every instance. He demanded that every man should know what he was doing and why, should act on consistent principles, and should carry them out firmly and vigorously.

His ardour for knowledge.

This most trying of all demands, persistently enforced by criticism of those who acted contrariwise, was at last sufficient to bring about his ruin.

The great teacher was not of gainly or prepossessing appearance. Short, thick-necked, with prominent eyes, broad, upturned nostrils, large mouth and thick lips, he in fact embodied the opposite of beauty of form. He lived meanly that he might carry out his mission, and took a sort of delight in making himself out to be the dullest person, or the most ignoble, or the most vile, and thus blunted the force of any shafts that might be levelled against him. He was willing to be of no account, to be despised, to be misjudged, in order that he might win those who could rise by his teaching. And he was willing to die rather than give up truth and conscience or curry favour with his judges.

Socrates' personal appearance.

When brought before a dikastery (consisting of between 500 and 600 citizens), to answer a charge of which the penalty sought was death, Socrates delivered in his defence the noble speech of which we have the substance in the "Apology" of Plato. The accusers, he said, had hardly uttered a word of truth, and had been most shameless. He condescended so far as to expound his course of life and the reasons for it, as we have already partially detailed them. He would use no arts to secure an acquittal, but relied on truth alone. "For if, O men of Athens, by force of persuasion and entreaty, I could overpower your oaths, then I should be teaching you to believe that there are no gods, and convict myself, in my own defence, of not believing in them. But that is not the case; for I do believe that there are gods, and in a far higher sense than that in which any of my accusers believe in them. And to you and to God I commit my cause, to be determined by you as is best for you and me." He had refrained from preparing a set defence, believing that his just and blameless life were the best defence, and also because his divine sign had forbidden him. If he were condemned, he would be condemned unjustly, which would disgrace his judges, but not him; rather it would gain him sympathy and praise. He even seems to have thought that the fit end of his life, as divinely determined, had come. In any case he would not beseech his inferiors to let him live.

Socrates before his judges.

The die was cast, and by a majority of five Socrates was adjudged guilty. He disdained now to suggest any less penalty than the extreme one, a penalty which the majority would gladly have mitigated. Rather, he loftily expressed his belief that, inasmuch as he had been engaged for many years in conferring the greatest benefits on Athens and its people, he deserved a public maintenance in the Prytaneum at the cost of the State. At last, in compliance with his friends' entreaties, he proposed that he should be fined the small sum of thirty minæ.

His condemnation.

The conclusion of the "Apology," after his condemnation to death had been pronounced, is one of the most affecting and sublime of all speeches. "The difficulty, my friends," he says, "is not in avoiding death, but in avoiding unrighteousness; for that runs faster than death." *His accusers were condemned by the truth to suffer the penalty of*

The death penalty.

villainy and wrong. He supposed that these things were fated; and he thought that they were well. There was great reason to hope that death is a good; it was either a state of nothingness or a migration of the soul from this world to another. Even considered as a perfect, peaceful sleep, he said, "to die is gain, for eternity is then only a single night. But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? . . . Above all, I shall then be able to continue my search into true and false knowledge; and I shall find out who is wise, and who pretends to be wise and is not. . . . In another world they do not put a man to death for asking questions, assuredly not. For besides being happier in that world than in this, they will be immortal, if what is said is true. Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know of a certainty that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods; nor has my own approaching end happened by mere chance. But I see clearly that to die and be released was better for me. . . . I am not angry with my condemners, or with my accusers; they have done me no harm, although they did not mean to do me any good; and for this I may gently blame them. . . . The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways—I to die and you to live. Which is better, God only knows."

Socrates on the future life.

Having refused to take advantage of an opportunity which his friends had provided for his escape, especially because he will not break the laws of the State under which he has lived peaceably so long, on the last day of his life Socrates is represented, in Plato's dialogue entitled "Phædo," as having delivered his opinions on the future life. He disapproves of suicide; "a man should wait, and not take his own life until God summons him." Yet he acknowledges that he ought to be grieved at death, if he were not persuaded that he was going to gods who are wise and good, and to men departed who are better than those he would leave behind. By death the foolishness of the body would be cleared away, and those who loved wisdom and purity in this life would be pure and hold converse with other pure souls, and know the light of truth. The impure souls at death have to pay the penalty of their evil life, and he supposes that they wander among tombs and sepulchres, till finally they are born again in another body, probably of a fierce or evil animal. He believes indeed that the soul exists before the body, as proved he thinks by the apparent reminiscences of previous states. Hence that which pre-existed cannot be destroyed by the mere death of the body. The lesson is drawn that the greatest care should be taken of the soul, and that the danger of neglect is truly awful. There is no release or salvation from evil except the attainment of the highest virtue or wisdom. He accepts the essence of the current doctrine of Hades and Tartarus, and of the sentences of reward and punishment there awarded. Those who have duly purified themselves with philosophy "live henceforth altogether without the body in mansions fairer than these, which may not be described, and of which the time would fail me to tell."

He does not venture to say that his description is exactly true, but he thinks something of the kind is true, and the pure man who has arrayed the soul in her own proper jewels—temperance, justice, courage, nobility, and truth—is ready to journey to the other world. He would not have his friends sorrow at his hard lot, or say at his burial, "Thus we lay out Socrates," or "Thus we follow him to the grave or bury him;" they must say to themselves that they are burying his body only.

But their sorrow was not taken away by his words; they felt as if they were being bereaved of a father, and that they should spend the rest of their lives as orphans. The jailer coming in to tell him that the appointed time for drinking the cup of hemlock had come, called him the noblest and gentlest and best of all who ever came there, and burst into tears. "Then," said Socrates, "I may and must ask the gods to prosper my journey from this to that other world—even so—and so be it according to my prayer." Then he drank the poison quite cheerfully and readily. As the poison was taking effect, he said, "Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepios; will you remember to pay the debt?" "The debt shall be paid," answered Crito. Possibly the philosopher meant that he was now restored by death to health, and would make the usual offering to the god of health.

His death.

Thus died the man whom Plato terms the wisest, greatest, and best man he had ever known. Truly he, being dead, yet speaketh. The life and death of Socrates did not indeed produce a new religion in Greece, but as represented by Plato and Xenophon, he became the true founder of most of the greatest philosophies of life and mind, and the influence of his life and death can never die. Of no man can it more truly be said that he lived up to the light he had, gained all the light he could, conquered human evil and the fear of death, and fearlessly trusted the Divine.

Having thus given in outline an account of Socrates and his teaching, we can give much less space to Plato, whose significance as a religious teacher is far less than his importance as a philosopher. As the pupil and friend of Socrates, he is of the utmost value as a recorder, more or less literal, of his teachings. His life (427–347 B.C.) is of less special note because he lived very quietly and unobtrusively, teaching in the grove named after Academus, whence his school is known as the Academy, and in his own garden. In dealing with those portions of his extensive writings which belong most clearly to our subject, we must begin with the moral teachings, for with him religion and morals are one. Plato, seeing that earthly life can never be free from evil, says that we must flee away as quickly as possible to God, by making ourselves like Him through virtue and wisdom. The body is an evil, the grave of the higher life; unrighteousness, arising in the soul, allies itself to the lower elements of the body, and develops all kinds of evil. Every man must seek the highest good, which is virtue. The virtuous man alone is free. Only he who takes hold on the Eternal can be truly satisfied. True philosophy is one with perfect morality. Virtue

Plato.

His view of the body as evil.

Virtue, the highest good.

is its own reward, as vice is its own punishment. Virtue is rewarded in the life to come, and vice punished. The just man must do only good, even to his enemies; but the State, Plato held, might use untruth as a means of government. He also held views about marriage which were by no means lofty; he considered the question merely as a means of providing healthy youths to build up the State. Still he sought the elevation of women, both physically, mentally, and morally, and especially by making them share the training and pursuits of men to a considerable extent. In regard to another evil of the Greek social condition, he was little in advance of his time, for he upheld slavery, though he tried to improve the treatment of slaves. He had a low opinion of trade and agriculture as occupations for intelligent men. His political scheme ("*Republic*," "*Politicus*," "*Laws*") contained many elements related to morals, but they are too numerous to be detailed, and are seldom made to depend on his religious belief. The State, as an ideal, was the main object of his "Republic," and to obtain and maintain good citizens, he described conditions of communism in property, wives and children, and of exposure of sickly new-born infants, which we may doubt whether he would have soberly put into practice. Modern anthropology has taught us that numerous races have approached Plato's ideal in some of these respects, without securing the advantages he desired to gain; and we must remember that Plato's theoretical discussion justifies no one in doing for private ends what he imagined a State to ordain solely for the common good. It is unnecessary to occupy space in condemning what no civilised race is at all likely to enforce or sanction.

Morals and the State.

PLATO.

Plato recognises one Eternal and Invisible God, perfectly true and good, the highest ideal, the Maker and Father of all. He is unchangeable and perfect, and will never show Himself to man other than as He is. Thus he is absolutely against all mythological stories of the gods which fall below this ideal. God being pure and good can produce or originate no evil; He does anything that can be done; He has wisely adapted means to ends; He knows everything, cares and provides for all in the best way, rewards virtue and punishes vice. He recognises also certain created gods, who represent or are the universe and the heavenly bodies. He uses the name Zeus for the soul of the universe, and frequently when he speaks of gods, he is evidently describing the Supreme Deity. He again and again combats the popular beliefs. The gods are above pleasure and pain, and cannot be bribed and persuaded by prayers and offerings. Divine Providence looks after small as well as great things and persons, and all things conduce to the true welfare of those whom the gods love.

Views of the Deity.

According to Plato the worship of God consists especially in a desire to be good, and the strenuous endeavour to attain the ideal. God is good, and man must strive to be like Him. He would maintain the old forms of religious worship, made pure and moral; and he would not only reverence guardian spirits (dæmons), but would have distinguished men reverenced as such after their death. He would punish atheism and other offences against religion, but would allow the young to be taught by myths and stories which he did not himself believe, regarding such as necessary stages towards the truth.

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) is often regarded as the great practical and scientific philosopher as opposed to Plato the idealist; but it is necessary to remember that he was a pupil of Plato, and that much of their teaching is in agreement. We shall only refer to the teaching of Aristotle upon morals and religion, which forms but a small part of his works. He makes man's highest good to consist in the exercise of his reason, which he places above the exercise of the moral virtues. He describes the brave man consciously encountering death for a worthy object, because he feels that it is beautiful to do so; and this illustrates his somewhat artistic conception of the excellence of virtue. He maintains that slavery is based on nature, and that certain races are intended to be subject. Women are distinctly inferior to men, and he objects to Plato's scheme for their education and elevation. **Aristotle.**

As to the cause of all things, Aristotle is not very clear. He speaks of a personal mover of all things, enjoying bliss for ever, wrapt in lofty contemplation upon Himself. Man is too inferior to God for Him to concern Himself about his affairs; and thus Aristotle can give us no light upon a future life, immortality, Providence, and prayer.

The chief schools beside the Platonic, which owed their origin to the pupils of Socrates, were the Megarian, the Cynic, and the Cyrenaic. The former, of which Euclid (not the geometer) was the founder, held that what is not good has no real existence, and that God sums up all intelligence, reason, and goodness. The Cynics, of whom Antisthenes and Diogenes were the greatest, deprecated theory and glorified action and self-control. Virtuous conduct based on wisdom and prudence was the only thing to make men happy; pleasure was the greatest evil. Their virtue being sufficient for them, they became self-sufficient boasters. They lived as beggars, with no property at all, and were more arrogant than the rich and powerful; and in contempt for convention they despised much of ordinary morality. The Cyrenaics, represented first by Aristippus, made pleasure the chief good, but kept a mastery over the desires. To Aristippus no possession was more valuable than contentment, no disease worse than avarice; he valued freedom above everything. He cared nothing for the popular notions about the gods. Epicureanism was the natural successor of the Cyrenaic philosophy, as Stoicism was of the Cynic. **The Megarians.** **The Cynics.** **The Cyrenaics.**

Epicurus has too often been referred to as the type of the sensualist,

but he was far from being so. While he regarded pleasure as the need and end of every one, he lived a sparing and quiet life, preferring pleasures of the mind to those of the body, and making virtue his aim because it conferred the most permanent and truest pleasure. He however places the family at a discount. "The sage," he says, "will not marry and beget children, nor will he take part in State affairs. He will not form hard and fast judgments; he will not believe all sinners to be equally depraved, nor all sages equally wise." He gathered around him a society of intimates, who lived in simple community, eating barley bread and drinking chiefly water. A remarkable degree of attachment subsisted between him and his pupils, who were exceedingly numerous. After his death statues were erected in his honour at Athens, where he lived for thirty-six years. Epicurus does not figure as a religious teacher. He does not deny the existence of the gods, but believes that human affairs are beneath their ken, and that they do not interfere even in the grand phenomena of nature. His philosophy found a remarkable exponent in the Roman Lucretius, and had great influence at Rome for centuries.

Epicurus.

EPICURUS.

The Stoics, with Zeno at their head, took up the Cynic views of self-control as the means of regenerating the soul of man, and urged the discovery of the laws governing the world as indicating man's best path to perfect happiness. The whole world was under a Divine order or Providence, of which all the gods were but temporary or local manifestations. Passion was necessarily wrong, giving an erroneous judgment of what is desirable or to be shunned. Pain was not to disquiet a man, and all the causes that disturb man's spirit were not to ruffle the sage. Yet conformity to nature was their motto; and if desire, passion, and pain are not part of nature, what is? So the Stoics were as little consistent as many other schools; but they had a multitude of adherents. And well it might be so, for their views gave consolation to many an unfortunate or downtrodden man, by giving him a kingdom within himself, where no tyrant could control his thoughts or hinder him from having serene delights.

The Stoics.

Pyrrho, the Sceptic, is perhaps most interesting to us, since he taught what is practically a philosophy of feeling, the cultivation of good feelings, thus approaching somewhat to Christianity; at the same time he denied that any safe criterion of intellectual judgment had ever been found, though he did not go so far as to say there was none.

Up to and beyond the Christian era, the philosophic schools of Greece held sway, and attracted most of the best intellect of Greece and Rome. There arose a sharper distinction than ever between the learned, and the common people whom they contemned; and we have little to show that the latter were in any way elevated by the teachings or influ-

Morals.

ence of the former. The morals of the people continued to degenerate, or at least ceased to improve, with the decay of real faith in the gods; while the philosophic schools became more and more recognised and honoured by the great and powerful. At the same time the traditional beliefs were kept up. Public oaths were made in the names of many gods, and the comedians were styled priests of Dionysos.

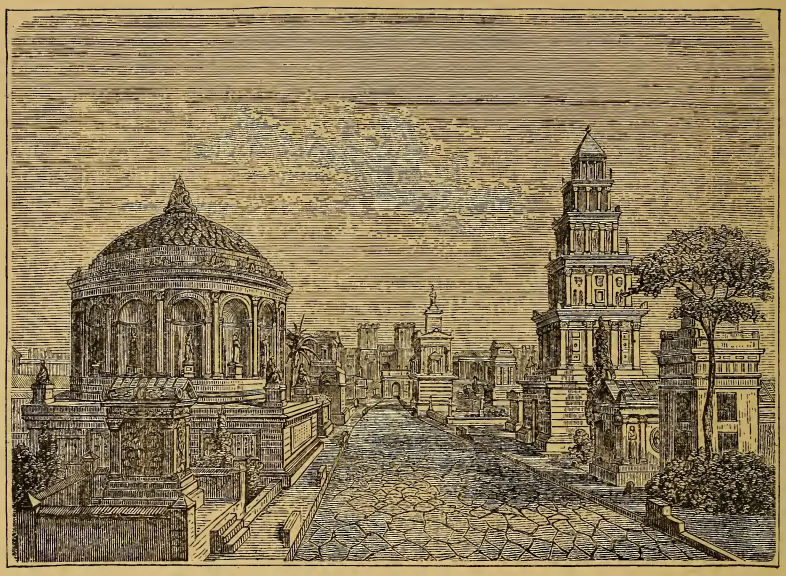
In the wider Greece developed after the death of Alexander are many interesting phenomena relating to Greek religion. Thus Zeus Hades was imported from Sinope to Alexandria, and identified with the Egyptian god Serapis. The Museum and the Library founded there by the same great Ptolemy (Soter) were alike precursors of the wide diffusion of Greek learning which was one day to have so great an influence on and through Christianity. We find hymns written to order for the Greek monarchs of Egypt, celebrating Greek feasts and lauding the kings as almost on a level with the gods, and expressing a commonplace view of the old Greek religion. Later, the Ptolemies learnt to build temples to the old Egyptian gods; but Greek did not by any means fuse with Egyptian religion.

Greeks in other lands.

We may conclude this chapter by an account of the views of Polybius, who lived through the greater part of the second century B.C., and the irretrievable subjugation of Greece by Rome. He may be taken as a type of the best Greeks of the time. He was devoted to truth, and believed in the moral government of the world, and in retributive providence. He hated meanness and lack of self-respect. But he had no great inspiration to regenerate his people; and his teaching of the lessons of history, while of much interest, roused no enthusiasm. Whether from a decay that was inevitable or not, in Greece religion and national life were dead.

Polybius.

[Xenophon's "Memorabilia"; Plato's works (Jowett's translation); Grote's "History of Greece," vols. iv. and vii.; Zeller's "Socrates and the Socratic Schools" and "Plato and the Older Academy."]



MONUMENTS ON THE APPIAN WAY NEAR ROME.

CHAPTER IV.

The Roman Religion.

Early Roman religion—Origin—The Latins—Etruscan religion—Jupiter—Festivals—Juno—Mars—Janus—Minerva—Vesta—Flora—Vertumnus—Pales—Terminus—Comus and Libitina—Other gods—Prophetic nymphs—The Greek gods Romanised—The Penates or household gods—The Lares—The Manes—The Lemures—The Genii—Roman temples—Priests—The Vestal virgins—The Flamens—The Pontiffs—Divination—The Augurs—Relation to the magistrates—Funeral ceremonies—The calendar of festivals—Abstract deities—Essence of the religion—Keepers of the Sibylline books—Moral character of early Romans—Hellenism—Cybele—Bacchus—Degradation of morals—The later republic—Decay of religion—Julius Cæsar—The Empire—Imperial apotheosis—New beliefs—Seneca—Moral state of the empire.

ALTHOUGH the Romans were akin in stock to the Greeks, and were originally, to some extent, similar in religion, the divergences in political history and in personal and civic temperament were so great as to develop concurrently a decidedly distinct type of religion. The disunion of Greece was contrasted with the gradual achievement of unity in Italy; the variety of Greek gods was represented in Rome by a compendious worship, tribal gods being retained by the combined people of early Rome, and later the Greek gods being either adopted *de novo*, or identified with some of the old Italian divinities. Many of the deities most familiar to us by Roman names were scarcely known, and certainly were not worshipped at Rome during the period when the little city was, by slow and stern discipline, rendering certain its future conquest of the world.

Early Roman religion.

Yet, to begin with, the Roman and the Greek religious notions were the same. Nature worship, personification of natural forces, hero and ancestor worship, were combined in various degrees. Spirits were imagined in every natural phenomenon, and concerned in the perpetual reproduction of creation and creatures; but from an early time the Romans viewed their religion more seriously than the Greeks, were less gay and confident, more gloomy and prudent. Their worship was much more marked by fear and awe, and they dared not handle the persons and names of their gods so freely. Consequently their mythology is very deficient in imagination, and there is almost an entire lack of those marvellous stories in which Greece was so prolific. Yet Rome in its way was prolific in regard to religion, for a special spirit was designated in relation to every action, every place, every object; each man, each family, each clan had its own guardian spirit; and for every State or city separate gods were recognised, who, however, might be admitted into the Roman worship by resolution of the people. One feature may be taken as common to the Roman religious ideas, that of naming them according to their qualities, and by abstract terms. The Roman gods do not marry and have children, and do not walk about unseen among mortals. Yet they unquestionably gained a powerful hold on the minds of the people who reverenced them, and we owe to them the most significant word Religion.

Origin.

That Alba was a more primitive religious and national centre than Rome was borne witness to even during the time of Rome's greatness by the continuation of the Latin festival on the Alban mount, when an ox was sacrificed to Jupiter as the god of the Latins, and cattle, milk, and cheese were contributed by various communities to a joint festival. It is impossible now to trace accurately the constituents which combined to form the Roman religion, but at least three tribes took part in it very early, and the oldest religious bodies consisted of a number divisible by three; and the earliest festivals, derived from times before the existence of towns, show the people as being pastoral and agricultural. We will not recite the familiar legend of Romulus, but we may note that it was on the Palatine Hill that various supernatural events connected with the founding of Rome were believed to have occurred; and there the priest of Jupiter lived, there was the sanctuary of Lupercus, and the meeting-place of the Leaping Priests of Mars; but there were no temples in early times. It is probable that the Quirinal Hill was at first the seat of a distinct community, later incorporated with the Palatine; and in its stronghold or Capitol was a sanctuary of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and of the goddess of Fidelity (later replaced by the new Capitol and its temples). Mars and Lupercus too had their bodies of priests on the Quirinal. Within recent years a discovery has been made of pre-historic remains on the Esquiline—tombs of the most primitive type, going back at least to the fifth century B.C.; this, then, was doubtless the seat of a third settlement.

The Latins.

At a later period, but still early as regards authentic history, the Romans incorporated much that had been Etruscan, or identified the gods they

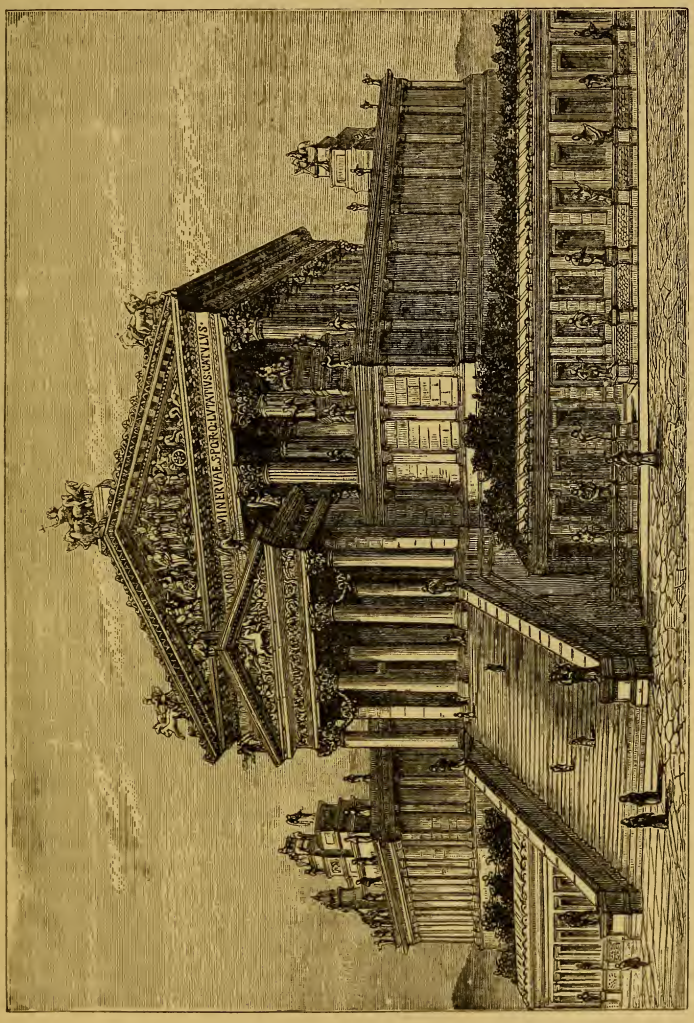
already had with Etruscan gods. We will not attempt to discuss the racial connection of the Etruscans; but there is little in their religious remains to negative their being Aryans like the Romans. They recognised two classes of gods—those who directly managed the affairs of the world (Dii consentes), and others who were nameless—but controlled the rest. The former included Tinia (identified with Jupiter by the Romans), Uni (Juno), Meurfa (Minerva); but we find that their functions differed in some respects from those of the corresponding Roman gods. Jupiter was their god of war, though he ruled over all during peace, and caused the fertility of the earth. Minerva was winged as well as armed, represented Fate, and was symbolised by a serpent. Venus was known as Turan, Bacchus as Phuphluns, Mercury as Turms, and many other Greek gods were adopted by the Etruscans. They had also Janus, Saturnus, Silvanus, Mantus, Voltumna among nature deities; and the Lares, Penates, etc., which figure prominently at Rome, appear to have been Etruscan. No doubt the reigns of the Tarquins had much to do with establishing these at Rome. We have no remains of their temples, but they appear to have approached a square shape. Many of their tombs have, however, been preserved, and the sculptures, inscriptions and paintings on them constitute our most important source of information as to their religious as well as other customs. Their religious rites, which were gloomy and fantastic, and abounded in repulsive practices, were described in certain lost books. Divination, from animals' entrails, from natural phenomena and lightning, was much practised under fixed rules. There were families charged with the interpretation of them, and constituting a priesthood. The Etruscans undoubtedly had a vast influence on Roman religion—in augury, teleology, and even the architecture of their temples.

Etruscan religion.

Commencing with Jupiter, we will now give an account of the Roman gods, and more particularly of those which are special to the Romans. The word Jupiter stands for *Jeu piter*, *Dieu piter*—the first part of the word being identical in root with divus and dyaus, heaven. Thus Jupiter means the heavenly father; and in keeping with this the Romans ascribed to him all changes in the heavens, rain, storms, thunder, etc., and indeed gave him a special name for each, as Jupiter Pluvius (Rainer), Fulgurator (Lightener), Tonans (Thunderer). He is termed best (*optimus*) and highest (*maximus*), Capitolinus from his dwelling on the Capitol, Imperator, Victor, Triumphator, etc., and he had temples under many of these distinctive names. His enthronement on the Capitoline Hill dates from the time of Tarquin; but long afterwards he continued to be the object of separate worship at various other shrines. One marked peculiarity of Jupiter was that of revealing his will by portents, which he sends to all who diligently seek them, especially by signs in the heavens and the flight of birds. He was originally the god both of the dead and the living; but, as in Greece, the former character dropped out of recognition. Jupiter was the patron and protector of human society, guarding the sanctity of oaths, the rights of strangers, the unity of the State, etc.

Jupiter.

Jupiter also led the people to war as Victor; and to him thanks and sacrifice were offered by the general on returning from battle. In concluding a treaty, the Romans took the symbols of Jupiter, a flint stone and a sceptre



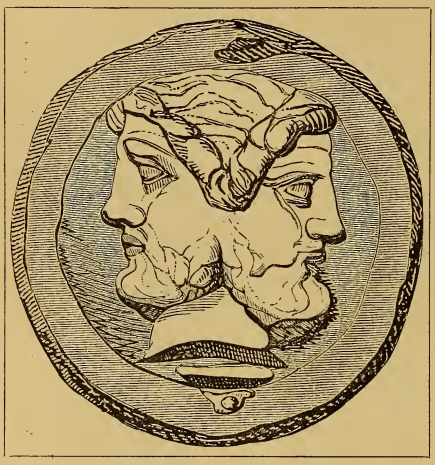
TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS, ROME (RESTORED).

and some grass from his temple. The consuls sacrificed to Jupiter on taking office, and young men did the same when they put on the *toga virilis*—the man's gown. He was invoked at the beginning of every undertaking.

The principal festivals to Jupiter were the Roman and the Great, the Capitoline and the Plebeian: all of these included a feast of the magistrates and senators in the Capitol. At these feasts seats were left for Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, as though they were family feasts of a tribe and its gods. There were numerous peculiar features attaching to the worship of Jupiter, which were derived from the Etruscans. The priest of Jupiter (called Flamen Dialis) was forbidden to touch a corpse; and if his wife died, he lost his office. He was the subject of many taboos; thus he must not see an army, nor leave the city for a night, nor take off his cap of office, nor touch a dog, etc.

Festivals.

As the god of light, the colour white was sacred to Jupiter; and white animals were sacrificed to him. The consuls wore white when they sacrificed to him, and his priests wore white caps. The god was represented as seated on an ivory throne, with a bundle of thunderbolts in his right hand and a sceptre in his left, an eagle standing beside his throne. We need not enlarge on the Greek aspect given to the god after the introduction of Greek learning to Rome.



JANUS.

Juno, identified later with the Greek Hera, was originally very unlike the wife of Zeus. She was introduced to Rome from Etruscan cities, where she was the goddess of the State and of society, and had no naturalistic functions. At Rome she was to the female sex what Jupiter was to the male, and was especially the goddess of everything connected with marriage, as well as of young girls; hence she was known as Juno Virginalis and Matrona, and also as Lucina, from the help she afforded in childbirth. A variety of other names, often associated with distinct shrines, were given to her. At her great festival, the Matronalia, on the Kalends of March, a grand procession of wives and maidens of spotless character was made to the temple of Lucina on the Esquiline Hill.

Juno.

It is probable that at an early period Mars was the chief god of at least one of the States which combined to form Rome. He was worshipped under the name of Marspiter (father Mars), or Maspiter, also Mavors or Maurs. Mamers was his name among the Sabines. It is questionable whether he was not at first purely an agricultural divinity, the god of spring, overcoming the evil effects of winter; but the necessity of war to preserve the fruits of agriculture no doubt aided in the transformation of

Mars.

Mars into the god of war, without his losing all his old characters. He was still god of heaven, giver of light, hurling thunder and sending rain. In olden times, there were propitiatory ceremonies to Mars, to ward off drought, pestilence, etc. At one festival a sheep and a reddish dog were sacrified by the flamen of Mars, to avert mildew from the crops. In times of calamity a "sacred spring" (*ver sacrum*) was consecrated to Mars, all things born then being sacrificed to him. Like Jupiter, he gave oracles and portents, and was a god of the dead and of death.

JUPITER.

The Palatine-priests of Mars, for many days after the first of March, were accustomed to dance in armour through parts of Rome, singing a certain song, mentioning all the gods of the city, but especially referring to Mamurius or Mamers. The name Quirinus (a Sabine word) was also applied to Mars, as reputed father of Romulus and Remus; and his sacred wolf was their foster-mother. The old goddess Bellona, goddess of war, was said to be sister, or daughter, or wife of Mars. As going to battle with his people, Mars was known as Gradivus; as an agricultural god, he was termed Silvanus. In late times the attributes of the Greek Ares were ascribed to Mars.

Janus.

With regard to Janus, undoubtedly one of the oldest of the Roman divinities, there is much doubt, both as to his origin and his true character. He is variously represented as a dual-god, personifying the sun and moon, and as simply a god of opening and beginning, typified in the old beginning of the year with January, and by the opening of the gates of Janus at the beginning of war, and closing them when peace prevailed. The earliest representations of the god were simply two-faced heads; later complete

MARS.

statues of him were made with four faces. Such a statue was placed under a double covered gateway, known as the temple of Janus: the open gates in war signified that the god had gone out with the people to battle. But Janus was also regarded as the god of the beginning of all occupations and actions; and it was a marked feature of the Romans to attribute ill-success to an ill-beginning, necessitating recommencement. As Jupiter by favourable augury gave his sanction and Janus blessed the beginning, these two gods were invoked first in every undertaking. New Year's Day was the special festival of Janus, on which the people were anxious that every word and action should be pure and favourable. Consequently they gave presents to one another, abstained from cursing and quarrelling, began some of their work for the year, etc. His appropriate sacrifices were cakes, barley, incense, and wine, which were offered to him at the beginning of every month. His name was always invoked, and a libation was poured out to him before sacrificing to the other gods. Possibly Janus represents a very early ruler of one of the Italian tribes, who showed such powers of memory and foresight that he came to be credited with full knowledge both of the past and the future, and was deified after death. This is confirmed by the story that the Greek Kronos, whom they identified with Saturnus, one of their own agricultural gods, took refuge, after his defeat by the Titans, with Janus, king of Italy, who shared his throne with him, and so introduced a golden age of prosperity. Saturnus had a temple at the bottom of the Capitoline Hill, in which the State laws and the public treasures were preserved. The name Saturnus is really derived from the word for sowing (*sero*, *sevi*, *satum*), and probably represents the introducer of agriculture, his character resembling that of Demeter rather than Kronos. His wife was Ops, goddess of plenty, afterwards identified with Rhea, wife of Kronos.

Minerva.

Minerva, the third of the early Roman triad (Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—derived from the same root as *mens*, mind), is the impersonation of thought and invention, or even, according to Varro, of all ideas. She is said to have invented numbers, and was the patroness of all arts and trades. She specially, as a virgin goddess, protected women, to whom she gave skill in sewing, spinning, weaving, etc. But she was also a war goddess, supplying the mental qualities,—cunning, prudence, courage, and perseverance,—needed for success; consequently she wore a helmet, shield, and coat of mail. As the inventor of musical instruments, especially of wind, she was of great importance to festival celebrations; and the instruments used in them were purified on the last day of Minerva's festival in March. She was the guardian of schools; and during her festival boys had holiday, and brought a special gift to their master, known as the Minerval.

Vesta.

Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, an early divinity at Rome, was very like the Greek Hestia in attributes. She was honoured at every Roman family meal, together with the Penates; but her great sanctuary was between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills, where, instead of a statue, there burned an eternal fire, kept up by her virgin priestesses, the Vestals. A great festival, the Vestalia, was celebrated in her honour on the 9th of June.

Numerous other gods may be mentioned as among the early objects of Roman worship, principally connected with agriculture; such as Flora, the goddess of flowers, represented as a beautiful girl decked with flowers, and honoured at a mirthful festival at the end of April; Pomona, the goddess of fruit-trees and representative of autumn; Vertumnus, god of garden and field produce, to whom gardeners offered the first produce, with garlands of budding flowers; he was also connected with various circumstances of change (*verto*, I turn), the change of

Flora. Pomona.

Vertumnus.

SACRIFICING TO THE LARES, OR GODS OF THE HEARTH.

seasons, purchase and sale, the return of rivers to their beds after floods; Pales, a god of flocks and shepherds, and also of husbandry. The name of the Palatine Hill is connected with this god. During his festival, on April 21st, shepherds ignited a quantity of straw and drove their flocks through it, themselves following, as a purification from sin.

Pales.

Terminus, the god of boundaries and landmarks; Consus, the god of secret counsel and of the infernal regions; Silvanus, the god of plantations and forests; Picus, the son of Saturnus, another divinity of the woods, possessing prophetic gifts; Comus, who presided over banquets and gay festivities generally; Libitina, the goddess of funerals, are

Terminus, Silvanus, etc.

other peculiarly Roman divinities. The temple of Libitina at Rome contained all necessaries for burials, and these could either be bought or hired there. Terminus was probably an appellation of Jupiter in his capacity of protector of property. Picumnus and Pilumnus were two brother deities protecting marriage and newborn children. Pilumnus warded off sufferings, while Picumnus gave the infant health and prosperity. It does not tend to raise our idea of the Roman character when we learn that an altar was suffered to exist at Rome to Laverna, the goddess of thieves and impostors, as well as a grove on the Salernian road. Robigus, the antagonist of Flora, is more intelligible. As he destroyed young plants by mildew, he was appropriately propitiated by prayers and sacrifices. The Camenæ were four prophetic nymphs, analogous to the Greek Muses. Carmenta, one of them, was also a healing divinity, with a temple at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. Egeria was the nymph who is said to have taught Numa Pompilius the form of public worship. We shall not detail the various beliefs introduced into Rome from Greece in the later ages of the Republic and the early time of the Empire. Ceres, Venus, Apollo, Neptune, Diana, Vulcan, Mercury, Bacchus, and other gods besides those we have mentioned were considerably recognised and worshipped in this later period; and the characteristics of their Greek representatives were ascribed to them.

Comus and Libitina.

Other gods.

Prophetic Nymphs.

The Greek gods Romanised.

The Penates, or household gods of the Romans, were connected with inner or private matters (*penus*), and perhaps originally were gods of the hearth and kitchen. They were always spoken of as plural, and two images of them were placed on the hearth, but no specific name was given to them. In late times they were identified with various gods; but they are more probably derived from primitive animism, resembling the early Teutonic household gods, and the Chinese god of the kitchen. The close connection of the Penates with domestic life is evident from the fact that their name became synonymous with "home." The old Romans used to have a morning family gathering (including the slaves), to offer sacrifice and prayer to the Penates. Their blessing was asked before meals, and after the meal part of the food was burned upon the hearth. Sometimes the images were brought in and set upon the table. On the Kalends (1st), Nones (5th or 7th), and Ides (13th or 15th) of the month a special family worship took place, when the images were decorated and crowned, and offerings of cakes, honey, wine, and incense were made to them; and birthdays, marriages and safe returnings from journeys were similarly celebrated. There were also public or national Penates, with a temple at Lavinium and another at Rome, in which were two images of youths holding spears.

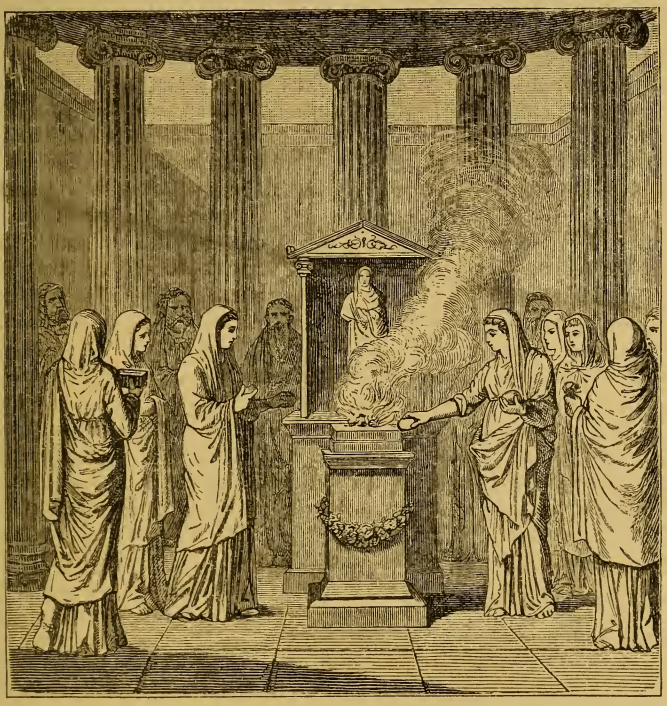
The Penates, or household gods.

The Lares were the ancestral spirits of the family, regarded as still capable of protecting it and giving its inmates prosperity. One special Lar, the founder of the family, was worshipped in each house, and honoured by an image beside those of the Penates. A part of

The Lares.

every meal was offered to it; and on every important occasion the head and members of the household saluted these images; and a bride's first duty on entering her husband's house was to sacrifice to the Lar. The name *Lar*, which is possibly Etruscan, signifies lord, king, or hero. There were public Lares, with temples and public worship at Rome and in all Roman towns; and there were also Lares of the country, the high roads, and the sea.

The Lares were but special instances of the Manes or spirits of the departed. The tendency to think of the departed as good and favourable,



VESTALS OFFERING SACRIFICE.

led to the frequent interchange of the words; they are also spoken of as the *Dii Manes* and worshipped with divine honours. At certain seasons sacrifices were offered to the spirits of the departed, and there was an annual festival to them. The Larvæ, or Lemures, were the shades of the dead considered as unfavourable, and as wandering upon earth in hideous shapes, seeking to harm their relatives. On three nights in May the Lemuralia were observed, in order to propitiate the Lemurs. At midnight the head of the family went outside the door of the house, making signs with his hand, which were supposed to keep the Lemurs away. After three times washing his hands in spring-

The Manes.

The Lemures.

water, he turned round, and placed some black beans in his mouth, which he afterwards threw behind him. It was believed that the spectres collected these beans. After some further ablutions, the father cried out nine times, "Begone, you spectres of the house!" and then they were harmless.

JANUS.

The Genii.

Associated in thought with the Lares and Penates, and sometimes confused with them, were the Genii, or protecting spirits; indeed, they were supposed to preside at the origin of, or to produce each living creature, and to accompany it through life. As to mankind, the genius was supposed to stimulate each person to noble deeds, to comfort him in sorrow, and generally to act as guide and guardian angel. Some held the belief that the genius could change character, and now be a good and now an evil genius; while another belief was, that an evil as well as a good genius accompanied each soul and struggled together for mastery. On various occasions, as birthdays, sacrifices of wine, cakes, and incense were offered to a man's genius; and merry meetings were regarded as pleasures given to the genius. Each State and town was supposed to have its peculiar genius. They are generally represented as winged beings.

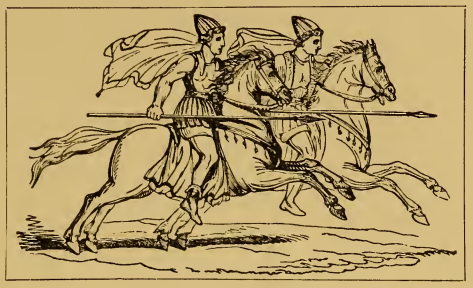
Roman temples.

While the Romans borrowed much of their architecture from the Greeks, they added to the elements thence derived, one of first-class importance, namely the round arch; yet they had not sufficient skill to make with the aid of the latter graceful buildings; and it was not till after the conquest of Greece that fine temples were built by the Romans. Then, however, they built them on a splendid scale, and with some new developments, but never reached the perfection of Greece. In early times there were but few and small temples in Rome; and the altar was the earlier and more important structure. Usually the temples were built facing the west, with the images of the god similarly placed, so that worshippers entering faced the east. The temples were also as far as possible so arranged that passers-by could readily look into them and salute the god.

VESTA.

Owing to the absence or fragmentary nature of the remains of Roman temples, it is difficult to give a satisfactory account of them. There are no remains by which we can certainly reconstruct the temple of the Capitoline Jove. The great Pantheon, with its magnificent dome, is the finest example of Roman originality in architecture; but it dates from

the time of the early emperors, and it is not certain that it was ever used for public worship.



CASTOR AND POLLUX.

The earliest distinct mention of a priest at Rome is in connection with Mars — the flamen Martialis, accompanied by twelve leapers (the *salii*) who danced and sang at the annual festival of Mars. The organisation of early Roman worship seems to have included in some cases single priests of certain gods, and in others colleges of priests, often twelve in number, to celebrate worship on behalf of the people. The priest of Jupiter (flamen Dialis) with the flamen Martialis and the flamen Quirinalis, formed the chief trio of priests. The worship of Vesta, attended to by the six vestal virgins, was possibly the most sacred of all. The virgins were chosen between the ages of six and ten years, and were of perfect form and intelligence and honourable family. They were compelled to serve for thirty years, ten of which were the novitiate; but mostly the vestals remained priestesses for life. Neglect to watch and maintain the sacred fire being deemed a heinous offence, endangering the existence of the city, the priestess in fault was severely scourged. The vestals had also to present offerings to the goddess, to cleanse and purify the shrine, to assist at all the great public festivals, and to guard the supposed sacred pledge and guarantee of the permanence of Roman power, which was kept in the inmost sanctum, and the nature of which is not known. If a vestal broke her vow of chastity, death was the penalty, at first by stoning, but later by burial alive with many of the ceremonies of a funeral. The Vestals were maintained at the public cost, and endowed with considerable funds, and they received many honours. The construction of the House of the Vestals shows many arrangements suited rather to a cold climate than to Italy—which may be survivals from the practices of the Romans' ancestors.

Roman priests.

The vestal virgins.

FLORA.

There were altogether fifteen flamens, who held office for life, unless they committed a breach of duty. They wore a special woollen cloak, and a round or conical cap called the apex, fastened by strings, and terminated by a pointed piece of olive-wood, the base of which was surrounded by a lock of wool. The flamen Dialis, though highly honoured,

The flamens.

was subject to many restrictions. He might never be absent from the city for one night; the legs of his bed were smeared with earth, perhaps an indication that he once slept on the ground; he might not touch a horse, a dog, a she-goat, ivy, beans, or raw flesh; in early times he could not hold a magistracy, though this was relaxed later. Thus he was compelled to be always devoted to his duties. His wife, called *flaminica*, gave essential service in certain ceremonies, and had a special costume.

The priestly colleges were more important than the individual priests. The pontiffs (*pontifices*) formed an order or college to which supreme religious authority was given by the State. They were originally five in number, including their chief, the *pontifex maximus;* but the number was raised to nine in B.C. 300, and in 81 B.C. to fifteen. They were elected by different methods at different periods; but on the whole they were pretty successful in retaining the right to nominate their own candidates when vacancies occurred. They had control over all the flamens of particular deities, and directed all State ceremonies. They kept the books which laid down the order of public and private worship, and they were bound to give information to any one who consulted them about religious matters. They determined the proper forms for burials and for appeasing the Manes. When any deficiency was observed in regulations already existing, they made new ones, generally, however, being guided by what was in accordance with established custom. Without being responsible to the Senate or to any court of law, they had the power of punishing any one who disobeyed their commands. They arranged and proclaimed the State calendar, containing the dates of the various festivals, of new and full moon, etc., and thus undoubtedly we must regard them as embodying much of the historical and scientific knowledge of the time; in fact, they themselves described their sphere as "the science of things divine and human." In general the Pontifex Maximus was a distinguished person; and in the later years of the republic he was often at the same time consul, though the pontifex never left Italy till the time of Crassus. Under the emperors their power was greatly weakened, the emperors exercising the right to nominate any persons pontiffs when they liked, and always appointing themselves chief pontiffs.

The pontiffs.

Divination, or the ascertainment of the will of the gods, was represented at Rome by the augurs, a word at first applied to men skilled only in divining by birds, but later extended very considerably. Their art was known as augury or *auspicium;* and our use of the words auspicious and inauguration testifies to the deep impress which this mode of divination has left. According to Livy, at Rome everything was done according to auspices. The Romans were distinguished from numerous other nations by their small regard to astrology, prophecy, and oracles (excepting under Greek influence); but they paid great attention to unusual natural events, especially unfavourable ones, which they termed prodigies—to thunder and lightning, the flight of birds, the feeding of chickens, etc. A remarkable account of divination is given by Cicero,

Divination.

The augurs.

who was himself an augur, in his two books on that subject. The regard given to the flight of birds at Rome was founded on the belief that birds were the messengers of Jove; they derived from studying them intimations of what they were to do or not to do. Thus, whenever it was reported by an augur that Jupiter thundered or lightened, the public comitia could not be held.

Birds gave auguries by flight or by voice. The eagle (known especially as Jove's bird) and vulture were among the chief birds whose flight was studied, while the raven, crow, hen, and owl afforded signs by voice, a special meaning being given to every sound they uttered, varying according to the circumstances, the time of the year, etc. The feeding of special chickens, especially on military expeditions, was noted; if they ate greedily, it was a favourable sign; if they refused their food, and beat their wings, etc., the omen was unfavourable. Auspices from quadrupeds were only used in private divination; a fox, wolf, dog, horse, or any quadruped unexpectedly crossing any one's path, gave an indication, varying according to circumstances. Sneezing, stumbling, and other personal matters were also considered to be means whereby the gods indicated their will.

In taking the auspices, the augur first marked off with a wand a certain portion of the heavens which he was to observe for the flight of birds and other phenomena, and set up a tent with an opening in that direction. Then he watched from this observatory, amid silence and quiet, until some indication appeared by which he could interpret the will of the gods.

Originally the augurs were persons appointed to assist the king or chief magistrate, and for a long period only patricians were eligible for the office. Any patrician could take private auspices. The chief magistrates continued to be the possessors of the right to take and declare the auspices; but the augurs were the continuous representatives of the art of augury; and as they acquired the right of pronouncing whether the indications were favourable or unfavourable, they really had a veto upon all important public business. Up to B.C. 300 there were four augurs; then they were increased to nine. Sulla added six more, and Julius Cæsar made the number sixteen. New members were elected by the surviving augurs, till B.C. 103, when they were elected by popular vote, after which there were variations of law. Finally the emperors assumed the right of appointing augurs at pleasure. By this time augury had become a mere farce.

Relation to the magistrates.

We have little knowledge of early Roman marriage. In the later Republic the only form of marriage celebrated with religious rites was that known as *confarreatio*, when a sheep was sacrificed, and the bride and bridegroom sat down upon its skin, spread over two chairs. Then a solemn prayer was pronounced, followed by another sacrifice. Many of the other forms observed are of great significance in anthropology.

Roman funeral ceremonies were not specially religious in character; but a coin was placed in the mouth of the corpse to pay Charon, as in Greece. In early times burial was in vogue; in the later Republic burning

took its place, and continued in general use till Christianity had gained great influence. In early times captives and slaves were killed at the funeral pile; later, animals took their place, and gladiators fought around the burning pile. The ashes were deposited in funeral urns, which, in the case of rich people, were placed in fine monuments of different forms, which occupied long distances by the side of public roads, such as the Via Appia. All persons who attended a funeral were rendered impure, and required purifying by a priest, who sprinkled them with pure water from an olive or laurel branch. Tombs were held sacred, and those who violated them were liable to heavy punishment. The mourning and various ceremonies after a funeral lasted for nine days, after which another sacrifice was offered, and a feast was given in honour of the dead. The tombs were visited at certain periods, and sacrifices and gifts were offered to the dead. In particular there was an annual festival (*Feralia*) at which food was carried to the tombs.

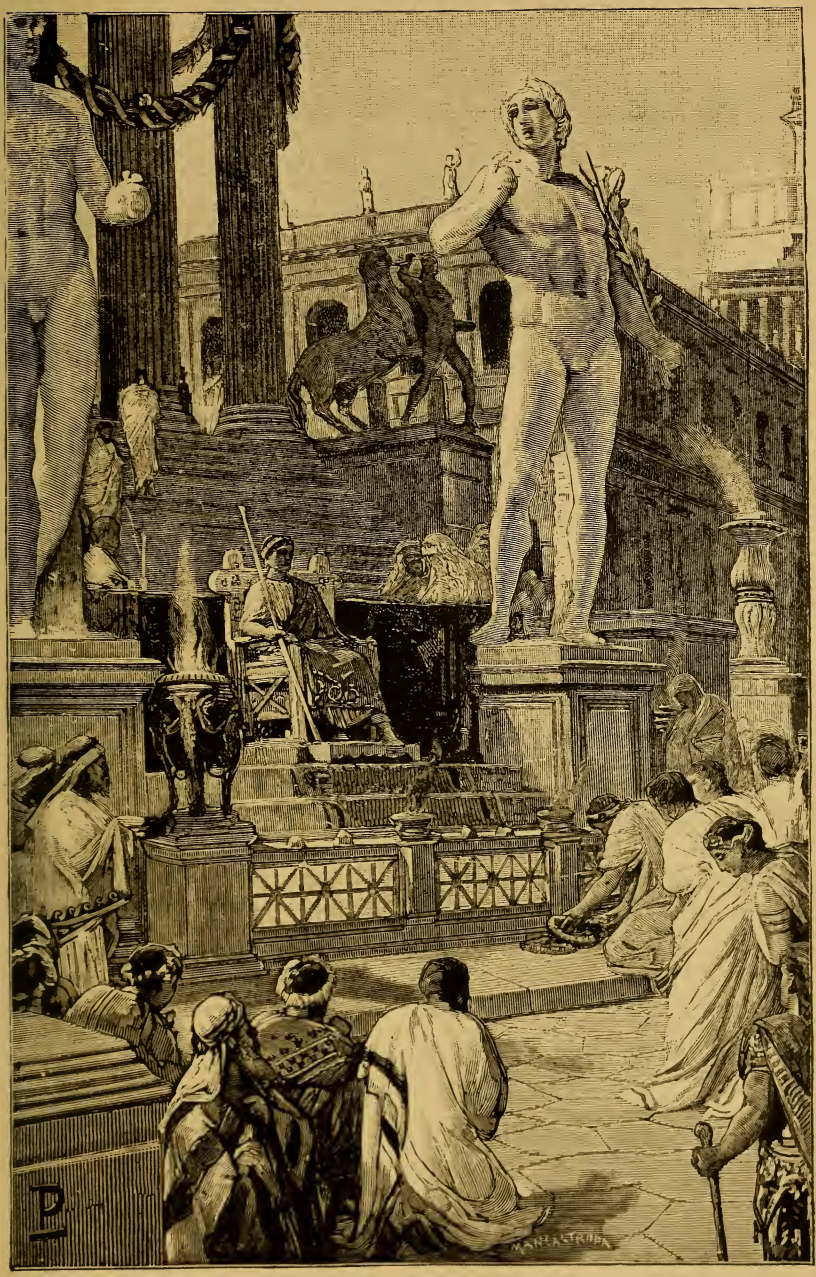
Funeral ceremonies.

We gain considerable insight into early Roman religion from the very early calendar of public festivals which has come down to us. There we see Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus in the leading places. Jupiter was celebrated on all the days of full moon (Ides) and on various wine festivals and other days; Mars on the 1st of March and the great festivals of March, as well as in autumn after campaigns were over. In April there were festivals to Tellus, the earth, to Ceres, to Pales, goddess of flocks, and Jupiter as protector of vines, and to Robigus, the enemy of the crops. Consus and Ops were celebrated in harvest time and in December, in which month also the Saturnalia took place as a festival of seed-sowing. In February took place the wolf festival of the shepherds (*Lupercalia*), and the boundary festival of the husbandmen. Vulcan's was almost the only handicraft festival, in August; but there was a second festival to him in May, the consecration of trumpets. The *Neptunalia* in July, the *Portunalia* (the harbour festival), and that of the Tiber in August, represented sea divinities. Vesta and the Penates were honoured in June; the *Matralia* in the same month celebrated the goddess of birth, and the *Liberalia* was a festival of childbirth. Departed spirits were honoured on February 21st, and the ghosts or Lemures had a three days' festival in May. The flight of King Tarquin was kept in mind on February 29th, while the peoples' flight was noted on July 5th, though it is doubtful what event it commemorated. Several other festival days seem scarcely intelligible.

The calendar of festivals.

The abstractness of Roman worship is one of its most noteworthy features. Unlike the Greeks, with their warm imaginations, they did not give elaborate personal histories to their gods; they were rather names for qualities or ideals. Their festivals had reference mainly to practical wants and considerations. The frugal, legal, and commercial spirit of the people is well seen in their early religion. They were particularly interested in the departed spirits because of the benefits they thought they could render to the living; and no doubt many of their gods, like those of the Greeks, represented deified heroes who had conferred great

Abstract deities.



THE EMPEROR CALIGULA WORSHIPPED BEFORE THE STATUES OF CASTOR AND POLLUX.

benefits on the people. In all things the kings or magistrates were supreme. The priests never acquired the supremacy the Brahmans gained in India; and when the magistrates were priests also, it was rather a sign of the temporal power controlling the spiritual than the reverse.

We have received no verbal ritual, no celebrated sacred book from the Romans; and clearly their genius did not go in this direction. Mommsen says that their religion depended only in a minor degree on fear of natural forces, and consisted especially in songs of joy, in games and dances, and in banquets. Yet all extravagant expense was strictly forbidden. "At the very core of the Latin religion," he says, "there lay that profound moral impulse which leads men to bring earthly guilt and earthly punishment into relation with the world of the gods. . . . The execution of the criminal was as much an expiatory sacrifice offered to the divinity as was the killing of an enemy in just war. . . . The profound and fearful idea of substitution also meets us here; when the gods of the community were angry, and nobody could be laid hold of as definitely guilty, they might be appeased by one who voluntarily gave himself up; noxious chasms in the ground were closed, and battles half lost were converted into victories, when a brave burgess threw himself as an expiatory offering into the abyss or upon the foe. The sacred spring was based on a similar view; all the offspring, whether of cattle or of men, within a specified period were presented to the gods." This was no doubt a sacrifice in view of the removal of a calamity, and at first, no doubt, all infants born within the assigned periods (March and April) were sacrificed. In later times the infants were allowed to grow up to the age of twenty, and then were marched out of the State, to go where they would. Thus, no doubt, many colonies were formed; and the Mamertines of Sicily in particular derived their descent from such an exodus.

Essence of the religion.

Such a religion, in the hands of a commercial and legal people, became very formal. "The gods confronted man just as a creditor confronted his debtor—each of them had a right to certain performances and payments; and as the number of the gods was as great as the number of the incidents in earthly life, and the neglect or wrong performance of the worship of each god revenged itself in the corresponding incident, it was a laborious and difficult task even to gain a knowledge of one's religious obligations," and the priests gained a corresponding influence. Yet the individual man had to discharge his religious obligations himself; and no doubt through this there came to be various ceremonies in which a sham or a literal fulfilment of an obligation at little expense was substituted for something more genuine. "They presented to the lord of the sky heads of onions and poppies, that he might launch his lightnings at these rather than at the heads of men. In payment of the offering annually demanded by father Tiber, thirty puppets plaited of rushes were annually thrown into the stream." Legality, not genuine devotion, zeal for the State and its progress, not for the righteousness of the individual, were the keynotes of Roman religion. It was on the whole a religion easy to understand; it

Its formality and unreality.

powerfully aided the State in its growth and in maintaining its stability; but it did not tend to give rise to great works of imagination, of poetry, of art, or even to great religious books. Hence it died, while Hinduism and Buddhism have lived.

Greek influence may be credited with the origin of the third college at Rome, of men skilled in interpreting oracles, originally the keepers and interpreters of the Sibylline books, which contained prophetic utterances and oracles in Greek. At first two men were charged with this function, who had two slaves skilled in Greek; later there were ten and then fifteen members in this college, who consulted the books only by special command of the Senate. The books were destroyed when the temple of Capitoline Jove was burnt, in B.C. 82; but new ones were collected and compiled in later times. The Delphian Apollo was also consulted by the Romans in comparatively early days of the Republic; and Hercules was adopted into current conceptions as a god of gain by special adventure or good fortune. Generals gave a tenth of their spoil, and merchants a tenth of their property, to Hercules at the altar in the cattle market, and business agreements were confirmed at the same altar. His altars were everywhere to be seen in the streets and on country roads. Castor and Pollux, Hermes as Mercury, and Æsculapius were also among the Greek gods early adopted by the Romans.

Keepers of the Sibylline books.

We must view the moral character of the Romans by the light of the conquests they achieved as well as the religion they believed in. Justice to equals, sternness to inferiors, to women, to children, were among its characters. The religion was certainly a binding force, but not one of affection. Morals were cherished, such at least as could be seen to affect the welfare of the State; but any questions of conduct which did not affect the State or the father's rule were most probably decided on selfish principles; and the aristocrat and the rich man did largely as they liked, within the limits of State welfare. Extravagance was sternly repressed, however; rich men were heavily taxed; and we may view Roman morals under the earlier Republic as the most advanced the world had yet seen in general practice. A more than Chinese rule of the father over his family gave him power to kill or to sell his son; and this discipline, loveless and stern, carried out in State and army, enabled the Romans to conquer the world.

Moral character of early Romans.

In the third and second centuries B.C. the State religion, Hellenised, became more expensive; and in 196 B.C. a new college of three banquet masters was added to the other three. The priests gained more privileges, and were more highly endowed; and it was rare for an estate to descend without a heavy sacrificial obligation as a perpetual charge. A tenth of a man's property was often given to religion, and with the proceeds a public feast was given twice a month at Rome. More money was spent, and more pedantry was displayed in every department of religion, and insensibly the old beliefs were being undermined. The consuls began to arrange the auguries to suit their own views; and poets and philosophers

Hellenism.

began to explain away the gods, leading to belief in no gods. Then superstitions, conjuring, charms, and astrology from the East began to make way.

Cybele. In B.C. 204 the Phrygian goddess Cybele, mother of the gods, was publicly admitted among the Roman divinities, and a rough stone was imported as the real Mother Cybele with great rejoicing; and her eunuch priests in Oriental costume marched through the streets with foreign music and begged from door to door. A few years afterwards Bacchus

Bacchus. worship was introduced, and corrupt orgies were celebrated, leading rapidly to widespread crime and immorality. Though many thousands were sentenced to death for these crimes, the evil was not suppressed. Against it the pure, well-governed life of the type of Cato the Elder had little chance of permanence. With him may be said to have disappeared that grand morality which was a reality in ancient Rome, that zealous industry for State and family which made Rome great. Crime, im-

Degradation of morals. morality, and luxury spread, as vividly described in Mommsen (Book iii. chap. xiii.); and the festivals of the gods were made the occasion for extravagant banquets and display, women taking a more and more prominent part. Grand spectacles and gladiatorial games became common. Money and pleasure were the new gods. "All shifts seemed allowable to attain rapidly to riches—plundering and begging, cheating on the part of contractors and swindling on the part of speculators, usurious trading in money and in grain, even the turning of purely moral relations such as friendship and marriage to economic account. Marriage especially became on both sides a matter of mercantile speculation; marriages for money were common."

Are we reading the description of rich Rome only? Cannot the same things be said to a large extent of England in the nineteenth century; and if so, are we so much better than the Romans?

Later still, from 150 to 100 B.C., extravagance and immorality increased at Rome to a frightful extent. Luxury and Hellenism, with scepticism

The later Republic. about the national gods, were almost universal among the educated classes, though there are signs that the uneducated were not so bad, at any rate in many parts of Italy outside Rome. Yet the example of the leaders was most evil in its effects. There was in progress a combination of Greek and Roman civilisation in which the old faith and the stern morality were largely lost. Instead there were unbelief, state-ceremonial, and the Greek gods, popular superstition, and the introduction of Asiatic and Egyptian sects. Not being original in philosophy, the Romans became bad imitators only; and the schools we described in the last chapter gave their names if not their thoughts to those Romans who cared to think at all seriously on such subjects. The Stoics were the most influential, for their toleration of popular and State religion, their view of every phenomenon as

Decay of religion. in its degree divine, their honour for deceased heroes, their casuistical morality, suited the intelligent Roman very well. Many said, that while the intelligent had no need of religion, the populace must be fed and controlled by signs and wonders; and religious rites and grand

festivals were kept up more than ever. Indeed, the providing of expensive sacrifices and games came to be a qualification for magistracy, which none but the rich could afford. We need not detail the foreign elements which found their way to Rome; it must suffice to say that they were abundant, varied, and not in any way an improvement on the beliefs which Rome had now laid aside.

These evils grew, and were exaggerated up to the time of the Cæsars. Julius Cæsar, at least in some respects, endeavoured to stem the torrent of evil, making regulations against extravagance, and, to a considerable extent, enforced them. Morality and virtue had almost become unknown; crimes of all kinds, including murder, were frequent. Cæsar's police at least checked this open licence. As he tolerated the Egyptian gods in Rome, so he permitted the Jews to worship freely there, and so established at Rome the germ of the mighty Christian revolution. But the spirit of the people is shown by the introduction at the gladiatorial games of the practice of deciding as to the fate of the vanquished by the will of the spectators. Men of strength and courage were so far without a field for their labour, that free men were known to sell themselves to be gladiators. Nothing new arose in Rome itself to purify morals and religion, except so far as the rise of imperialism led to the adoption of measures needed to secure military unity. The Epicureans and Cynics extended their influence.

Julius Cæsar.

Under the Empire some renewal of life came to the old religion, with its Greek transformation. The Emperor Augustus discerned that religion might be made use of to strengthen his empire; and his superstition about many things is well established. His very title embodied an idea of sacredness allied to divinity. He rebuilt old temples and restored ancient customs; and he added three important new worships and temples, those of Venus Genitrix, Mars Ultor (the avenger), and Apollo Palatinus. The latter he particularly affected, often wearing the attributes of his favourite deity. He also endeavoured to reform public morals as to expenses, marriage, and the behaviour of women. He restored (in B.C. 16) the "secular games," which had previously included expiatory sacrifices to the deities of the lower world, Pluto and Proserpine, but which he replaced by Apollo and Diana. It was for this occasion that Horace's "Carmen Sæculare" was composed, in magnification of Rome and Augustus. The Emperor was made a member of all the priestly colleges, and supreme pontiff; the latter title was held by the Emperors up to the reign of Gratian, that is, for nearly four centuries. The Emperors were supreme in matters of religion. This supremacy was recognised in many quarters of the Roman Empire by the introduction of the Emperor's name into the old festivals, and the celebration of many new ones in his honour. Augustus, in the latter part of his life, built a new temple to Vesta adjoining his temple of Apollo; and his own palace assumed many of the characters of a temple. The people, who had already acquiesced in the deification of Julius Cæsar, made Augustus a god during his lifetime;

The Empire.

Augustus.

and we can trace in the history of early Roman Emperors the process by which many at least of the ancient gods came to be worshipped. Temples of Augustus, of Rome, and of the living Roman Emperor were rapidly built in many cities, served by priests of Augustus and of Rome. These became in each province the heads of the national religion, and, as such, played a great part in endeavouring to put down Christianity. Space does not permit us to follow here the history of the downfall of the Roman religion before the advance of Christianity. We can but note the singular accord between some of the teachings and beliefs of Seneca (died A.D. 65) and several of the Christian doctrines, such as the forgiveness of injuries and the overcoming of evil with good; and the lofty moral tone of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (121–180), whose practical wisdom, control of bodily passions, and belief in the necessity of obeying conscience, make him very remarkable among Roman Emperors.

Seneca, though far from offering a bright example of moral conduct,—for he was the confidential adviser of the notorious Agrippina, and his having been the tutor of Nero does not redound to his credit as a successful inculcator of moral precepts,—must be judged in the light of his evil surroundings. Though he made happiness the main object of life, his statement of his aim is not an ignoble one: "True happiness is to be free from perturbations, to understand our duties toward God and man; to enjoy the present, without any anxious dependence upon the future; not to amuse ourselves with either hopes or fears, but to rest satisfied with what we have, which is abundantly sufficient; for he that is so wants nothing." But, he adds, there is no condition of life that excludes a wise man from discharging his duty: and in everything a man is to be honest and conscientious. Seneca has a comfortable belief in Providence, saying that God deals with us as a good father does by his children; tries us, hardens us, fits us for himself; chastises some under the appearance of blessing, and blesses some when appearing to chastise them. He teaches that men ought to live for others, and be kind to slaves; and that the mind ought to rule the body. He strenuously denounced gladiatorial exhibitions. Marcus Aurelius, as Emperor, was an upholder of the Roman State religion and a persecutor of the Christians who denied it, and who especially denied the deity of the Roman Emperor. Yet he did many noble acts, and regarded mankind as a brotherhood, bound to strive for the common good. "No man," he says, "can do me a real injury, because no man can force me to misbehave myself; nor can I find it in my heart to hate or be angry with one of my own nature and family." He had not such a particular belief in Providence as Seneca, though he thought the gods directed all for the best; and neither he nor Seneca had a very confident faith in a future life.

[Mommsen's "Rome"; Boissier's "Roman Religion from Augustus to the Antonines"; Smith's Dictionaries; "Encyclopædia Britannica," under names of gods.]

CHAPTER V.

The Religion of the Teutons (including Scandinavians).

Imperfect materials—Grimm's Teutonic mythology—Animism and ancestor worship—Woden, or Odin—His attributes—Frigg, or Frigga—Thor, or Donar—His hammer—His worship in Norway—Tiu, or Ziu—Fro, or Frey—His temple at Trondheim—Freyja—Njord—Æger—Balder—His death—Explanations of the Balder myth—Heimdal—Bragi—Goddesses—Erda or Nerthus—Loki—Hel and her domain—The Teuton cosmogony—Origin of the gods—Valhalla—Its influence—The ash-tree Ygdrasil—The Supreme Deity—Prayer and sacrifice—Human and animal victims—Fruit and drink offerings—Worship in woods—The temple Tanfana—Images of the gods—Destruction of Irminsul—The priests—Beliefs in spirits, etc.—Ragnarok, or the end of the world—Doubtful points—Moral condition.

ALTHOUGH the native religion of the Teutons,—including in that name Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons, as well as Germans,—was practised much later than that of the Greeks and Romans, we know far less about it, because the Teutons were less literary and cultivated than the Mediterranean peoples, and because, apparently, the northern religion was less fully and definitely developed. Yet we have in the collections of old myths known as the Eddas,—the older believed to have been compiled in the twelfth century in the Orkney or Shetland Islands by an Icelander, the younger in the thirteenth, by Snorre Sturlason, the Icelandic historian,—and in the writings of Are, an Icelandic priest who wrote in the early part of the twelfth century, in the "Historia Danica" of Saxo Grammaticus, written in Latin, and in various writings of Tacitus, Dis, Marullinus, etc., extremely valuable materials for study.[1]

Imperfect materials.

But it remained for the nineteenth century to furnish us with a most important contribution to the elucidation of Teutonic religion in the gigantic work of Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), "Teutonic Mythology,"[2] in which philosophy, folk-tales, old customs, and antiquarian remains were combined with the old literature to reconstruct a system of ideas and practices which had long vanished from general recognition. He demonstrated the close affinity of speech and mythology between the Scandinavian and the German divisions of the Teuton race, the joint possession by all Teutonic languages of many terms relating to religious worship, and similar changes of gods into devils, of old festivals into Christian ones, and the remains of old beliefs about the gods in folk-tales and common phrases. Consequently Grimm is a great source from which knowledge on the subject must be drawn, although there is still much to be done in tracing the relations between the Teutonic and other Aryan mythologies.

Grimm's "Teutonic Mythology."

[1] See the works of Are (ed. Vigfusson and F. York Powell); the Elder and the Younger Edda; Saxo's "Historia Danica"; Jacob Grimm, "Teutonic Mythology"; Rydberg's "Teutonic Mythology"; Rasmus B. Anderson's "Norse Mythology."

[2] First published in 1835; now obtainable in an excellent English translation.

Mr. York Powell ascribes to the Teutons animistic and anthropomorphic beliefs, as well as ancestor worship. They believed that all inanimate objects and animate beings had spirits akin to their own. The wizard and medicine-man flourished among them, and dreams were greatly regarded. Thus all the main primitive elements or types of religion existed among them. In addition, certain gods had attained prominence under cognate names in many tribes; but each had more or less its own special gods and observances. Consequently we find many variations of the same myths, and many tales related of different personages in different localities; but on the whole the general cast of the religion of the Teutonic peoples was the same.

Animism and ancestor worship.

The highest deity, by general consent, among the Teutons, was Woden, Wodan, or Wuotan, otherwise Odin (the Norse form). The word means all-powerful, all-penetrating; Woden bestows shape and beauty on man and things, gives song, victory in war, the fertility of soil, and the highest blessings. With such a warlike people, he was prominently the arranger of wars and battles, and thus he was sometimes confused with Tiu, the god of war. He is sometimes described as looking down on the earth through a window, and having Frigga sitting by his side. He took up the heroes who fell in fight into his heavenly dwelling. In the North, faring to Odin, visiting Odin, meant simply dying.

Woden, or Odin.

The Norse Odin is represented as one-eyed, wearing a broad hat and wide mantle. He has a wonderful spear, which he lent to heroes. To him were attached two wolves and two ravens, following the fight and seizing on corpses.

Just as in Gaulish mythology there is a god who represents several Greek and Roman types, so we find Woden also as a water-spirit or god, answering to Neptune. Others of his attributes are more like Hermes and Apollo. Severe pestilences spring from him, and also their cure. There are multitudinous details about the wanderings and journeys of Woden, or Odin, and his visits to giants and men. The sun is his eye. To him are traced up all the races of heroes and kings. The number of place-names in various countries compounded with his name shows the extent over which places were sacred to him or named after him. In England may be named Wednesbury and Wednesfield. The association of the name with Wednesday (=Woden's-day) is another evidence of his importance. In Southern Germany his worship died out sooner than in the North, while the Gotlanders and Danes worshipped him more than the Swedes and Norwegians. In the Norse sagas Thor usually took precedence of Odin. The so-called historical Odin, the leader of the migration of the original Teutons or Asas from a land near the Black Sea a century before Christ, appears to be mythical.

His attributes.

Frigg (Frigga) is the wife of Odin (distinct from Freyja, the sister of Freyr), and represents the inhabited earth, free, beautiful, lovable. It is doubtful which of the two gives the name to Friday. Frigg, as consort of Odin, takes highest rank among the goddesses; she

Frigg, or Frigga.

ODIN AND THE VALKYRIES WELCOMING A WARRIOR TO VALHALLA.

knows the fates of men, is consulted by Odin, presides over marriages, and is prayed to by the childless. Balder is her son, whose fate she and Odin mourn together.

Returning to the great gods, Thor, Thunar, or Donar occupies the chief place after Odin. He rules over clouds and rain, lightning and thunder; yet he is a fatherly god, though a punishing one, and frequently angry. This conception answers well to that of Jupiter Tonans. Inasmuch as crops are greatly influenced by rains and thunderstorms, the control of them is attributed to Thor; so also Thor, like Odin, presides over the events of war, and receives his share of the spoils. Indeed, in the Norse mythology the warlike exploits of Thor greatly predominate over his peaceful achievements.

Thor, or Donar.

Thor is represented as enormously strong, with a long red beard, fiery eyes, girt with a belt of strength, swinging a hammer in his hand, wearing a crown of stars on his head. He rides in a chariot drawn by two goats. He is terrible when angry, but naturally good-natured. His hammer (mjolner) can split the mountains; the belt of strength redoubles his divine strength; he always wears an iron gauntlet when wielding the hammer. Longfellow, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn," has vigorously represented some of the characteristics of Thor:—

His hammer.

"The light thou beholdest
Stream through the heavens,
In flashes of crimson,
Is but my red beard
Blown by the night-wind,
Affrighting the nations.

* * * * * *

Mine eyes are the lightning;
The wheels of my chariot
Roll in the thunder,
The blows of my hammer
Ring in the earthquake."

Thor's wife, Sif, is a symbol of the earth, and gold is termed her hair, Loki having cut off her hair and having caused dwarfs to make golden hair for her.

Thor is the true national god of the Norwegians; and his temples and statues were the most numerous in Norway and Sweden. Even into comparatively modern times there was special observance of Thursday or Thorsday; and the Esthonians thought Thursday more sacred than Sunday. According to Grimm, his sturdy strength recommended him specially to certain peoples; and "prayers, oaths, curses retained his memory oftener and longer than that of any other god." The numerous adventures and achievements recorded of him in the myths we have not space to refer to.

His worship in Norway.

As showing how intensely the old Teutons valued military prowess, we find their third great god, Tiu, Tyr, or Ziu, associated with warlike deeds,

though his sphere is wider than that; and it is here that we find a name as well as a signification closely like that of Zeus and Dyaus, the cases of which word are very parallel with the Gothic forms of Tiu. Although represented in the Edda as Odin's son, he becomes equal with him as a war god. He is the god of martial honour, the most daring of all gods, the giver of valour. The Romans identified Tiu with their Mars from the prominence of the martial character. The name Tuesday, widespread among the Teutonic peoples, is paralleled by the Latin *Martis dies*, French, *mardi*.

Tiu, or Ziu.

Fro, or Frey, was a divine being (son of Njord) presiding over rain and sunshine and the fruits of the earth, and dispensing wealth and good harvests. He had a ship Skidbladner, made by the dwarfs, and capable of containing all the gods, with their weapons and war stores. Grimm connects him with the Roman Liber. The Edda ascribes to him a sword of surpassing powers, which could put itself in motion against the giants.

Fro, or Frey.

THOR.

In Trondheim, during the reign of Olaf Tryggvason (king 995–1000 A.D.) there still existed a temple of Frey, in which he was zealously worshipped. The king overthrew the wooden statue of the god, and scolded the peasants for their foolish idolatry; whereupon they replied that Frey had often talked with them, foretold them the future, and given them good seasons and peace. There are numerous records of temples of Frey, sanctioned by wonders and miracles, in Iceland and Scandinavia. At Upsala, Frey was worshipped in conjunction with Odin and Thor.

His temple at Trondheim.

Freyja, sister of Frey, as a goddess ranks next to Frigg, already mentioned. She is the Teuton Venus, and was invoked by lovers. The elder Edda thus describes Freyja and her abode in heaven :—

Freyja.

"Folkvang 'tis called
Where Freyja has right
To dispose of the hall-seats.
Every day of the slain
She chooses the half
And leaves half to Odin."

Her husband, Oder, left her, and travelled into far countries, since which Freyja continually seeks him, weeping tears of pure gold. Hence gold is in poetry termed Freyja's tears. Women after death go to Freyja. All the varied emotions of love are exemplified by her. The name of her abode, "Folkvang," signifies the human dwellings, since no human being escapes her influence.

The father of Frey or Freyja, Njord, is a water deity, ruling over the winds and controlling the sea, in its relation to man. Hence he was invoked by fishermen and sailors. Over the raging ocean outside, Æger (the terrible) reigns, far from land. He is rather a giant than a god. He marries Rau, who has a net that catches those who venture out to sea. The nine daughters of Æger and Rau represent the varying aspects of the waves.

Njord.

Æger.

The story of Balder (Paltar), though there are fewer traces of his worship than of that of the superior gods, is perhaps the most attractive in Scandinavian mythology. Balder is the son of Odin and Frigg, and is the favourite of gods and men. He is rich in physical beauty, and rays of light issue from him. He is mild, wise, and eloquent; and his judgments, once pronounced, are unchangeable. Into his heavenly mansion nothing unclean can enter. The critical point in his history is reached when he has terrible dreams threatening his life. On his relating them to the gods, Frigg took an oath from everything not to harm Balder, but forgot the mistletoe. Then the gods wrestled with and struck Balder with darts and stones, but nothing could harm him. But the evil spirit Loki found out the power of the mistletoe, and guided the hand of blind Other (a god of war) to throw it at Balder, who was pierced to the heart and died. The gods were smitten with utter grief, and at last besought Hermod the nimble to ride into the lower world to ask Hel, the goddess of the grave, to release Balder. Meanwhile Balder's dead body was burned on a great ship, amid great commotions of the elements; and Nanna, Balder's wife, died on the same pyre. This is told with great elaboration in the Eddas. Finally Hermod found Balder occupying the most distinguished seat in Hel's kingdom. Hel granted Balder the right to return to the gods, if all things living as well as lifeless would weep for him. Everything wept except the witch-giantess Thok, the step-daughter of Loki. The general explanation of this myth is, that Balder represents summer, which is finally overcome by darkness which long pervades all nature, till the thaw after frosts makes everything weep, and then summer returns. But a still deeper significance is read in it by some. So long as Balder, the best and wisest of the gods, lived, evil could not prevail. Loki, and the powers of evil, at last, after fierce contests, kill Balder, and it is only after this that the world can be renovated and purified, and Balder can return to the upper world to recommence a reign of happiness and peace. He is believed to represent also the heavenly light of the soul and the mind, purity, innocence, and piety.

Balder.

His death.

Explanations of the Balder myth.

Most of the gods treated of after this are peculiar, or almost so, to the

Scandinavian mythology. Heimdal, a son of Odin, is a bright and gracious god, and a powerful deity of strange origin, of whom the elder Edda says,— Heimdal.

"Born was I of mothers nine,
Son am I of sisters nine."

He is watchman of the gods, with a powerful horn; and one of his functions is to keep the gods from forcing their way out of heaven. No sound escapes him; he sees by night as well as by day, etc., etc.

Bragi is another son of Odin, and the god of wisdom, poetry, and eloquence. At the Scandinavian sacrificial feasts a horn consecrated to Bragi was often drunk from by the guests, who at the same time promised to perform some great deed, to furnish matter for song. Bragi.

THE GODDESS FREYA.

Several of the goddesses have already been mentioned, together with their husbands or sisters. "They are," says Grimm, "thought of chiefly as divine mothers, who travel round and visit houses, from whom the human race learns the occupations and arts of housekeeping and husbandry, spinning, weaving, tending the hearth, sowing, and reaping. These labours bring with them peace and quiet in the land; and the memory of them abides in charming traditions." Goddesses.

Erda, the earth, appears under many appellations among the Teutons, as the fruitful, teeming mother. Tacitus relates that numerous Teutonic peoples worshipped Nerthus, who was mother Earth. She was said to be worshipped in an island at a great festival, during which the priest communed with the goddess, and then performed a secret Erda, or Nerthus.

bathing of the goddess and her vestments and vehicle in a lake. The other goddesses, numerous enough, are too indistinct, or too considerably derived from Roman sources, to be dealt with at length here.

Loke, or Loki, the spirit of evil, appears among the gods in various seductive guises, and he pervades all nature as a corrupting influence. Originally he appears as the companion and relative of Odin, and in the Elder Edda he says,—

Loki.

> "Do thou mind, Odin,
> That we in time's morning
> Mixed blood together!
> Then thou pretendedst
> That thou never wouldst ask a drink
> Unless it was offered to both of us."

He was fabled to have taken part in the creation of man, contributing the senses and passions, the sources of evil desires. He became sly and treacherous, beautiful in appearance, but inconstant and evil, the slanderer of the gods and the contriver of deceit and fraud. Thus nobody honours him as a god. His name is variously derived from air and flame. In union with a giantess he begot the wolf Fenrer; Hel, who presides over the land of death, is his daughter. He is represented as leading the gods into all kinds of predicaments and calamities, though often extricating them by his artifices. Through his devices gold was cursed and became the source of many calamities to mortals, as related in the Edda, in the songs about Sigurd, Brynhild, Gudrun. The whole constitutes in effect a great epic, which may be read in the Volsunga Saga, as translated by Eirikr Magnusson and William Morris.

The goddess or giantess Hel has a gloomy domain under one of the roots of Ygdrasil, surrounded by a fence, and watered by rivers. A dog stands outside of a cave and loudly howls. Hel binds the dying man with chains which cannot be broken. She has a nethermost place for the wicked, with a palace named Anguish, a table, Famine, and a bed, Care.

Hel and her domain.

We must now turn to the cosmogony current among the Teutons. Originally there existed nothing where the world is; there was simply a space or gap between the two poles, cloud and fire. In the cloud was a spring, out of which twelve rivers flowed. By a mysterious process, by the might of him who sent the heat (i.e. the Supreme Being), out of thawing drops of water Ymer was formed, a giant and evil principle: from him arose the race of the giants. Later a cow arose, from whose milk Ymer was nourished. The cow fed by licking stones, and after much licking there was born from the spot a man, Bor or Buri, who became the father of Odin, Vili, and Ve, the gods and rulers of heaven and earth. There is much more of this fanciful mythology, which we cannot go into; and moreover, it is by no means certain how far it was believed in by the people as a part of their religion. The giant Ymer being killed, his huge body supplied material out of which the gods formed all the world, while

The Teuton cosmogony.

mankind were formed out of two trees on the seashore, to which the gods gave breath. In this mythology the gods, *ass* (plural *æsir*), appear as a higher product, after an imperfect first creation. They dwell together in Asgard, with higher heavens above them. Twelve gods were reckoned, and twenty-six goddesses. Odin dwelt in a great hall, Valhal or Valhalla, its ceiling supported by spears, its roof formed of shields. To it Odin invited all those who were wounded or fell in battle; there they were fetched and waited upon by the Valkyries, Odin's waiting-maids. Similarly distinct abodes are assigned to the gods and goddesses.

Origin of the gods.

Valhalla.

The belief in Valhalla exercised a great influence on the Norsemen. The warrior was cheered when dying by the thought that the Valkyries had been sent to invite him to Valhalla; only by true courage could he win Odin's welcome. The cowards he would despise and drive away, and thus it was misery to the Norseman not to die valiantly in battle. In Valhalla there is a perpetual food, a miraculous boar, cooked every day, but becoming whole again every night; and perpetual supplies of mead and water furnish them with drink.

Influence of Valhalla.

One of the most interesting Norse conceptions was that of the ash-tree Ygdrasil, whose branches furnish bodies for mankind, whose roots extend through all worlds, whose branches reach through the heavens, and which fosters all living things. One of the three great roots of Ygdrasil stretches to the giants, and under this is Mimer's fountain, in which wisdom and wit are hidden. Under the root which extended to the asa-gods is a holy fountain, where the gods sit in judgment. By this fountain there dwell three maidens, Urd, Verdande, and Skuld (Present, Past, and Future), called norns, who fix the lifetime of men, and dispense good destinies; while other evil norns give men bad destinies or misfortunes.

The ash-tree Ygdrasil.

The Supreme Deity cannot be identified with any of the Norse gods, but rather with that "him who sent it," who was before the beginning of creation. And the word "God," which is a very old Teutonic word, is not identified with any particular named god, whence we may possibly derive the conclusion that the named gods are mainly ancestors or hero gods, or personifications of powers or departments of nature.

The Supreme Deity.

Both prayer and sacrifice to the gods date from the earliest times we can discern among the Teutonic peoples. Sacrifices were not necessarily, though frequently, of animals. The gods were invited to take their share of human food, and later, separate offerings were made to them. They were frequently thank-offerings, a share of the gift or gifts bestowed by a god being offered to him. Other sacrifices were expiatory, and offered on occasions of disaster, famine, pestilence, etc. Human victims were, no doubt, occasionally offered, in circumstances of special gravity; frequently they were captured enemies, or slaves or criminals. Horses were favourite animals for sacrifice, horseflesh being very generally eaten by the Teutons. The head was not

Prayer and sacrifice.

Human and animal victims.

eaten, but specially consecrated to the gods. Oxen, boars, pigs, rams, and goats were also offered; white being a favourite colour for sacrificial animals. Among the Norse peoples the animal was killed on a sacrificial stone, and the blood caught in a trench or in vessels; with it the sacred vessels were smeared and the worshippers were sprinkled. A great part of the meat was eaten by the priests and people.

Fruit offerings occupy but a small space in the Teutonic records; but drink is more prominent. On any festal occasion some of the food would be laid aside for the household spirits, and some drink would be poured out to the gods; and at great festivals and sacrifices the gods were separately honoured, and horns drunk to them. This was called drinking their *minne*, or memorial draught; it was also the custom to bemoan absent or deceased friends in this way.

Fruit and drink offerings.

The old Teuton words for temple also mean "wood," indicating that primitive Teuton worship was conducted in woods or groves. "There dwelt the deity," says Grimm, "veiling his form in the foliage; there the hunter must present to him the game he has killed, and the herdsman his horses and oxen and rams." There are scantier traces of worship of the gods on hill-tops, in caves, or by the river side. In the groves no images are mentioned as being set up, and no temple walls appear to have enclosed the sacred space. But altars and sacred vessels were erected there, and heads of animals were hung from boughs. The proper name of Holy Wood, common in many parts of Germany, probably is a relic of this ancient worship.

Worship in woods.

There are, however, traces of the existence of built temples among the Teutons. Tacitus gives an account of the destruction of a celebrated temple of the Marsi called Tanfana, in A.D. 14; and he also describes a worship of Mother Earth, the carrying about of her image, and its return to the "temple." But descriptions of these temples are very scanty and imperfect. As soon as Christianity gained headway, we have records of their burning and destroying both sacred groves and temples, and often of the Christians building a church on the same sites. We hear of an important temple of Frey, at Upsala, where was a famous oracle and place of sacrifice. Heligoland was once a noted Teuton place of assembly, with a temple. The temples had the usual sacred character, and no improper action (that is, censured by the god or his priests,) must be done within their precincts.

The temple Tanfana.

Images of the gods, of some kind, were no doubt made; they were of wood, stone, and metal, but to what extent they were made in human forms we do not know, as none have come down to us. They may often have been but rude symbols, bearing some form associated with the gods. In some cases they had covered carriages, analogous to the Hindu idol-cars, in which the images were dragged about over the fields, to give them fertility. Sometimes we hear of three images of gods seated side by side; that of Thor was the most common in Norway.

Images of the gods.

From the Frankish annals we learn that Charlemagne destroyed a

principal seat of Saxon heathendom in Westphalia, called Irminsal, or Ermensul; and the accounts give us to understand that there was a celebrated worshipped pillar designated by this name. It appears to have been a great wooden pillar in the open air, as a symbol of the supreme god. **Destruction of Irminsal.**

The early German priests were generally chiefs or leaders as well, and exercised a powerful influence, being judges as well as priests, controlling discipline in war, to which they carried such images of the gods as they possessed. But details about them are very scanty, and the same is the case as regards the Norse priesthood. They no doubt exercised the functions of divination, as well as of sacrifice and prayer. Prophetesses were in high repute among the Teutons, and they were much occupied in divination. **The priests.**

We have not space to describe the crowds of spirits of various kinds, heroes, giants, elves, dwarfs, etc., with which the Teutons peopled the unseen world. They belong to the domain of animism, which can be studied abundantly in the pages of Grimm, and in the folk-lore of the Teutonic peoples, but which cannot be framed into any body of doctrine definitely taught as a religion. There is a vast body of mythology too, relating to magic, ghosts, devils, animals, and plants, which it is impossible to enter on here, which would be of great importance if we were endeavouring to trace the nature, or growth, or varied forms of the religious sentiment. **Belief in spirits, etc.**

We must briefly refer, in conclusion, to the ideas associated with the name Ragnarok, which signifies the final catastrophe of the world, and the death of the gods. Throughout the mythology, events happening to the gods foreshadow their final destruction. The growing depravity of the world precedes this, attended with frightful calamities, akin to those described in the Christian Apocalypse. Strange miracles and phenomena will abound. The great contests between the evil spirits and the good, and the final destruction of all are grandly described in the elder Edda; but it is difficult to be certain that parts of it are not a reflection from the Apocalypse, and therefore we do not go into details. When the earth and the heavens have all been consumed by flames, a new heaven and a new earth arise. "The fields unsown yield their growth. All ills cease: Balder comes." There are halls for the good and virtuous, in some of which all who delight in drinking good drink will find plenty. A terrible hell also is imagined for the evil, built entirely of the backs of serpents, with heads turned inwards, vomiting venom. **Ragnarok, or the end of the world.**

"Then comes the Mighty One
To the great judgment;
From heaven he comes,
He who guides all things:
Judgments he utters;
Strifes he appeases,
Laws he ordains
To flourish for ever."

It should be borne in mind, as a qualification of any too confident conclusion on the Teutonic religion, that scholars vary in their estimate as to the degree in which Christianity influenced what we know of the religions it superseded in the North. But in this account the elaborations found in the later Edda are very largely omitted. We have made no attempt, also, to trace the influence of totemism in Teuton countries, which was no doubt considerable.

Doubtful points.

The moral principles of the Teutons may be summed up briefly thus: honour and kindness among kin and tribesmen, deceit, violence, and enmity to all outside. Bravery was a cardinal virtue, and sincerity and generosity were appreciated towards kinsfolk and friends. Reverence certainly existed both towards gods, superiors, and the old, but was liable to be overborne by passion and self-seeking. Great cruelty was often shown towards slaves, strangers, and enemies; and the witchcraft and superstitions believed in indicated a comparatively low intellectual elevation.

Moral condition.

HERTHA LAKE, ISLAND OF RÜGEN.

CHAPTER VI.

The Religion of the Slavonians.

Nature and ancestor worship—Svarog—Dazhbog—Perun, or Perkunos—His great image at Kief—Its destruction—The sacred oak—Other gods—Svantovit—Temple at Rügen—Four-headed image—Great expense of service—The horse of Svantovit—Great harvest festival—The horn of mead—Zernabog—Lado and Lada—Inferior spirits—The journey after death—Heaven and hell—Haunting spirits—The house spirit—Witches, charms, and spells—Priesthoods and temples—Imperfect remains.

AS the latest race to enter into civilised ranks, it is not to be wondered at that the religion of the Slavs[1] was less elaborate than that of the Teutons. It is doubtful whether there ever existed a Slavonic collection of poems at all comparable to the Eddas, still less to the Vedas; but there still remain isolated songs and fragments, which illustrate the popular ideas, even if they fall far short of what we might desire. We find reason to believe that they combined, like other Aryan peoples, worship of the forces of nature with that of the spirits of deceased ancestors. While they worshipped the sun, moon, stars, and elements, or their spiritual governors or actuating powers, they most deeply reverenced the forces producing storms, and had a thunder-god Perun, who may be compared with the Teutonic Thor, and who ultimately became the supreme god.

Nature and ancestor worship.

There appears, however, as in the Vedic religion, to have been a gradual transference of the supremacy from one to another series of gods. Thus it is believed that the earliest great god was Svarog, said to mean "shining one," and to correspond to the Vedic god

Svarog.

[1] W. R. S. Ralston: "Songs of the Russian People," and "Russian Folk-Tales;" G. F. Maclear: "The Slavs" (Conversion of the West).

Varuna, and the Greek Ouranos. Both the sun (Dazhbog) and fire (Ogon) are described as his children, to whom he deputes the work of creation, and the actual rule over creation. The word Dazhbog appears to mean Day-god, the last syllable signifying god.

Dazhbog.

Perun, or Perkunos, who afterwards became the chief deity, has been identified with the Vedic god Parganja (supposed by some to be another name for Indra), the thunderer, the showerer, the beautiful. In Lithuania we read of a statue of him, which held in its hand "a precious stone like fire, shaped in the image of the lightning." Before it a fire of oak-wood was constantly kept burning. His name still lingers in popular expressions about thunder. The following is said to be a prayer formerly said in Livonia at a feast in the beginning of spring, "Perkons! Father! thy children lead this faultless victim to thy altar. Bestow, O father, thy blessing on the plough and on the corn. May golden straw, with great well-filled ears, rise abundantly as rushes. Drive away all black, haily clouds to the great moors, forests, and large deserts, where they will not frighten mankind, and give sunshine and rain, gentle falling rain, in order that the crops may thrive." In one of the Lettish songs we are told that "Father Perkons has nine sons; three strike, three thunder, three lighten." Among the White Russians Perun is described as tall and well-shaped, with black hair, and a long golden beard. He rides in a flaming car, grasping in his left hand a quiver full of arrows, and in his right a fiery bow, and sometimes he flies abroad on a great millstone, which is supported by the mountain spirits who are in subjection to him, and who by their flight give rise to storms. In the spring Perun goes forth in his fiery car, and crushes with his blazing darts the demons, from whose wounds the blood is sometimes described as streaming forth. (Ralston.)

Perun, or Perkunos.

The great image of Perun at Kief, set up on rising ground, had a trunk of wood, a head of silver, and moustaches of gold, and held a mace. Near the end of the tenth century this was still worshipped until Vladimir, who reigned over the Russians at Kief, was converted to Christianity, and had the statue pulled down, dragged across the hills at a horse's tail, flogged all the while, and finally flung into the Dnieper. The people called on their god to show his power, but nothing happened, and the conversion of the Russians was rapid. Similarly the image of Perun at Novgorod was thrown into the Volga.

His great image at Kief.

Its destruction.

Perun's bow has been identified with the rainbow, and his flaming dart has been represented as a golden key, with which he unlocked the earth, brought to light its concealed treasures, and locked away fugitives from the reach of wizards. His golden key is also interpreted as the lightning with which he breaks up the frost-bound earth in spring, or pierces the clouds and lets loose the rains.

As among numerous other Aryan peoples, the oak was a sacred tree among the Slavonians; and it was connected with the worship of Perkunos by the oak-fire already mentioned.

The sacred oak.

Together with the statue of Perun at Kief, there were the images of

other gods. Khors and Dazhbog, probably different forms of the Sun-god, Stribog, god of the winds, Simargla and Mokosh, the latter two being otherwise unknown. Other gods.

Svantovit is the name given to the chief god of the Baltic Slavonians within the historic period. This as well as Radegast, the god of war, and Yarovil have been interpreted as forms of the Sun-god. At Arcona, the capital of the island of Rügen, the Danish Christian missionaries, as related by Saxo Grammaticus, found a beautiful wooden temple with inner and outer courts, the latter with a roof painted red. The inner court was draped with tapestry, and contained numerous paintings. But the image itself was of Oriental strangeness. It had four heads and necks, two chests, and two backs, but only two arms, it would seem. The great right hand held a horn of several metals, which was once a year filled with mead. The left arm was bent in the shape of a bow, and the lower limbs were covered. Beside the statue lay a bridle and a sword with silver hilt and scabbard. Svantovit. Temple at Rügen. Four-headed image.

In honour of the deity thus represented, expensive worship was maintained, partly devoted to the priests and partly to the ornamentation of the temple. Besides the proceeds of a yearly tax, one-third of the booty taken in war was given to the temple; and in addition it received large offerings from the chiefs. A special body of horse-soldiers, said to number three hundred, fought in the name of the god, and gave all their spoils of war to the priests for the ornamentation of the temple. Great expense of service.

The white horse of Svantovit was an animal sacred to the god, on which he was believed to accompany his people to war, of course invisibly. Only priests might feed him or ride upon him, and it was a serious offence to do the slightest injury to him. The horse was regarded as an oracle in case of war. He was led out, after prayer to the god, to step over three rows of spears; and if, in stepping, he lifted his right foreleg first, that was regarded as a favourable omen for the success of the war: any other proceeding was unfavourable. The horse of Svantovit.

A grand harvest festival was held at the close of the harvest in Rügen. Considerable sacrifices of cattle were first offered, followed by a feast. An old priest, with hair and beard uncut, then entered the innermost sacred enclosure of the temple, to sweep it carefully. During this operation he was strictly required to hold his breath, in order not to defile the presence of the god; each time when he was compelled to breathe he must emerge from the temple precincts. When this was over, he took the horn of mead from the hand of the image and carried it out to the assembly, proclaiming whether it had decreased or increased since the last festival. If the former, scarcity was imminent; if the latter, plenty was in store. It was then poured out as a libation to the god, and the horn was refilled by the priest, with a prayer for a prosperous year and for success in war. This horn-full was next drunk by himself at a draught, and the horn again filled, to remain untouched (it was supposed) Great harvest festival. The horn of mead.

till the succeeding year. Offerings of sweet cakes made of honey and flour were then presented, and finally the priest, representing the god, blessed the people, exhorting them to sacrifice continually to the god, who in that case would give them victory over their enemies. An abundant feast followed. It appears that there were other images of gods in Rügen, one. named Porenut, presided over the seasons, and had five faces, one being upon his chest. Another, Rhugevit, had seven faces and eight swords; possibly he is identical with Radegast, already mentioned. Triglav was another god, whose image was destroyed at Stettin, and the triple head sent to the Pope. Among the evil or cruel deities feared by the Slavonians must be included Zernabog, to whom human sacrifices were offered with frightful rites.

Zernabog.

Lado and Lada are two names of gods about whom there is some doubt. They have been compared to Frey and Freyja, and Lada is called the goddess of love and pleasure. Lithuanian songs are quoted, in which Lada appears as "our great goddess," and Lado is coupled with the sun. An old chronicle describes Lado as the god of marriage, of mirth, of pleasure, and of general happiness, to whom intending brides and bridegrooms offered sacrifices, to secure prosperity in their married life. In Russian songs *lado* and *lada* are commonly used as equivalents for bridegroom, lover, husband, and bride, mistress, wife. Kupala was a god of the fruits of the earth, and Koleda, a god of festivals. The name Koleda has been transferred to Christmas in various parts of Russia; while in some districts the midsummer festival of St. John's eve is called St. John Kupala.

Lado and Lada.

Besides gods, the Slavonians peopled their outer world with numerous inferior spirits, such as dwarfs, wood-spirits, water-sprites, house-spirits, etc.; and beliefs about them are still common among the Russian peasants. In fact, animism, combined with reverence for the spirits of deceased ancestors, was in full vogue among them, and it still lingers.

Inferior Spirits.

The Slavs thought that after death the soul had to begin a long journey, either in a boat across a sea, or on foot. One view was, that a steep hillside had to be climbed, at the top of which paradise was situated. One word for the abode of the dead, Rai, meant the abode of the sun, in the East, always warm and light. Similarly, another name for it, Peklo, means a place of warmth; but it is now used as a name for hell. But there are other views which consider the grave itself as the abode of the spirits of the dead. The old Slavs seem to have had no idea of a future state of reward and punishment, of redress or compensation for evils suffered in this life. Rather did they consider death only the preliminary to a similar life to the present.

The journey after death.

Heaven and hell.

Before burial, the spirit was supposed to remain near the body, sometimes haunting the old home for six weeks, during which they watch the behaviour of the bereaved. No doubt it was a very general belief, that the souls of parents watched over their children and grandchildren, and that ancestors ought always to be reverenced. How

Haunting spirits.

this belief came to be associated with the domestic fire, and how the stove became associated with the house-spirit is not clear. The house-spirit is believed to live behind the stove; formerly he was more closely connected with the fire. Even now Russian families are known, when removing from one house to another, to rake out the fire from the old stove into a jar and carry it to the new house, the words "Welcome, grandfather, to the new home!" being pronounced when it arrives there. On the 28th of January, Afanasief says, the Russian peasants after supper leave out a pot of stewed grain, for the house-spirit. This pot is placed on the hearth in front of the stove, and surrounded with hot embers. Very generally the hearths are believed to be haunted by the spirits of deceased ancestors. There are many superstitions connected with beliefs or fears as to these household spirits, which are often believed to be at times malicious or mischievous. It is scarcely necessary to say that the old Slavonians had their witches and wizards, and believed in charms and spells, were-wolves and vampires; to a considerable extent their descendants do so still.

The House-spirit.

Witches, charms, and spells.

There are many other features of Slavonian belief and custom that it would be interesting to dwell upon; but it is so doubtful to what extent they belonged to the developed Slavonic religion, or to previous states of belief, and to what extent they have originated or been transformed in Christian times, that we must not venture farther into regions of hypothesis and doubt.

We know comparatively little, too, about the priesthoods and administration of the Slavonian religion. The Eastern Slavs, indeed, appear to have had no regular priesthood, religious rites and ceremonies being performed by the heads of families or communities; and no doubt the chief of a community or tribe was also its priest. Sacrifices were simply offered under a tree, preferably an oak, or beside a stream, and regular temples were not built. Among the Western Slavonians the priesthood assumed a more definite character, though even here associated largely with civil or warlike functions; and references to temples have already been several times made. On the whole, the Slavonic religion appears to have been as little developed as that of any Aryan people, though its beliefs were firmly held, and have left marked traces even to the present day. But the lack of anything like Scriptures, or even a mythology of distinct and elevated type, diminishes its general interest and value very considerably.

Priesthoods and temples.

Imperfect remains.

DRUID.

CHAPTER VII.

Celtic Religion.

Rhys's Hibbert Lectures—Julius Cæsar—Roman names of Celtic gods—Ogmios, the Gaulish Mercury—Maponos, the Gaulish Apollo—Caturix, the Gaulish Mars—Camulos—Baginates and Esus—The Welsh duw—Nodens—Stonehenge—The mistletoe—Aryan affinity of myths—The Druids probably pre-Aryan in origin—Cæsar's account.

WE are extraordinarily ignorant as to the religious ideas of the early Celts, and their origin. We have but scanty or unsatisfactory literary or other remains to help us, and their decipherment and reconstruction have only recently been undertaken. Professor Rhys, in his "Celtic Heathendom" (Hibbert Lectures, 1886), has made by far the most important contribution to the question; but

Rhys's Hibbert Lectures.

much that he puts forward is merely tentative, and thus it will not be profitable to dwell at any great length on the subject.

Julius Cæsar, as on so many other subjects, has left us the most important information as to the religion of the Gallic Celts ("De Bello Gallico," vi. 17). He learned much from the Druid Divitiacus; and although he identifies and names the chief Gallic gods in accordance with Roman beliefs, at any rate we are in contact with an authority contemporary with the actual existence of the religious ideas set down. Julius Cæsar.

Cæsar tells us that a god he names Mercury was worshipped above all others, and under many images. He was regarded as the inventor of the arts, the patron of roads and journeys, of commerce and money-making. Apollo was regarded as driving away diseases, Minerva as the teacher of various trades and arts, Jupiter as the ruler of the sky, and Mars as the director of wars, to whom all spoils of battle were dedicated, the animals being sacrificed and the other booty being collected and dedicated in sacred places. Most of our information from inscriptions dates from Gaulo-Roman days, when the Romans following Augustus had taken the Celtic gods into their pantheon, and included the Gaulish divinities among the Roman Lares and Penates, as Lares Augusti; and thus the evidence is imperfect. Roman names of Celtic gods.

In a single district like that of the Allobroges (mostly east of the Rhone and south of Lake Geneva, with Vienne as capital) there were twenty-six temples dedicated to the Gaulish "Mercury;" and there were many others in the department of the Puy de Dôme, on the summit of which was a great temple of the Arverni, which Pliny describes as having an image of Mercury 120 feet high, which was not destroyed till the middle of the third century A.D. The native name of this god appears to have been Ogmios (also represented as Hercules), god of speech, eloquence, and wisdom; and this name, Ogmios, Professor Rhys identifies with the Welsh ovyd or ofydd, a teacher or leader; while in Irish Ogma is one of the gods, the inventor of writing and of the Ogam alphabet, to provide for secret speech known only to the learned. Ogmios, the Gaulish Mercury.

The Gaulish "Apollo" bore among others the names, Maponos, Grannos, and Toutiorix. The first name has been found in three inscriptions in the north of England; it means boy, or male child. Grannus, the name used among the Belgæ, suggests "shining," "glow," "sunshine." Several of his inscriptions are found near medicinal springs, as those of Aix-la-Chapelle, Granheim, etc. A female divinity associated with this Apollo Grannus was Sirona, represented as a matron holding in one hand a bunch of fruit, in another some ears of corn. Maponos, the Gaulish Apollo.

The Roman Mars was identified with a Gaulish god Caturix, meaning king of war, or lord of battle. Other names assigned to him are Segomo and Dunates. Mars Vintios is yet another name, suggesting the wind as associated with the war-god. Again, the name Camulos is met with in association with the war-god; it is the name found in Camulodunum (Colchester); and Camulos is supposed to mean the sky, Caturix, the Gaulish Mars. Camulos.

and he has been compared to Jupiter as god of the heavens. And numerous facts point to the war-god having been in early times the supreme Celtic divinity, though reckoned lower in Cæsar's time.

A god named Baginates has been identified with Jupiter, but very little is known about him. Esus, or Hesus, who may possibly be connected with this god, was identified by the Gauls with the Roman Silvanus; and he is represented as felling a tree with an axe, and probably presided over woodlands and the interests of shepherds. But all these gods are very dim and shadowy as yet. There appears to be more certainty about the ascription of a genius or divinity to each locality, to whom libations were annually made; and about the worship of matron goddesses, or matres, who enjoyed a large share of Gaulish worship; besides which the land was regarded as having an indefinite number of evil spirits, goblins, witches, etc. They, as well as the good spirits, are often represented in threes.

Baginates and Esus.

Coming to the gods of the insular Celts, while the Sanskrit *deva* and the Greek Zeus are represented by the Welsh *duw*, the latter means any god, and the word never appears to have become used of one supreme god by the early Celts. There are facts which suggest that the Irish Nuada of the Silver Hand represented Zeus and Jupiter. He was said to have been the king of the mythical colony that took possession of Erin more than 3000 years B.C. In Wales we find this name Nodens, remains of whose temple have been found at Lydney, on the west bank of the Severn, in the country of the Silures. In both countries he appears to have been a leader in war, and there are symptoms of his being the king of the gods, giver of wealth and lord both of land and sea; he appears to be a relic of a time when the sharing of domains among the gods was by no means so far advanced as among classic Greeks and Romans. Other gods are even less definite, and we can gain more vivid notions about the demigods or deified heroes of the Celts than about the nature-gods. According to Mr. Rhys, Stonehenge was believed to be the work of Merlin the enchanter working under the orders of the Celtic Zeus, and thus it would be a temple of this god; but we have no evidence as to the precise way in which it was used for worship. Merlin, though an enchanter, was believed to be immortal; and even when his body is killed, his living spirit abides with it, though no longer able to render it active.

The Welsh duw.

Nodens.

Stonehenge.

Leaving till a little later such descriptions of the Druids as we can find, what can we say of the god they worshipped? What is the meaning of the intimate association of the Druids with the oak? This is, in fact, a part of the common heritage of the Aryans, who associated the grand growth of the oak with their supreme god. Pliny says the Gaulish Druids hold nothing more sacred than the mistletoe and the tree it grows on, provided it be an oak. They selected groves of oak, and performed no sacred rites without its leaves. Maximus Tyrius says the Celts worshipped Zeus under the image of a lofty oak.

The mistletoe.

Prof. Rhys infers that the early mythology and beliefs of the Celts were substantially similar to those of the Greeks and Hindus, but that the form

STONEHENGE, SALISBURY PLAIN, A SUPPOSED CELTIC TEMPLE.

in which we have the narratives handed down to us is so modified by the influence of Christianity, that it is difficult to disentangle the ancient elements. He lays stress upon the traces of a sun-

Aryan affinity of myths.

hero, a culture-hero, and dawn goddesses; but the precise conclusions which should be drawn are very uncertain.

We must place the Druids here, though no doubt their occupation dated from pre-Aryan times, and perhaps was more rooted in pre-Aryan than in Aryan thought. Cæsar gives the fullest and apparently the most authentic description of the Druids, though of course allowance must be made for his Roman education. We quote the following from the "Gallic War" (Book vi., c. 13, etc.). "They attend to sacred things, perform public and private sacrifices, and interpret all matters of religion. A great number of youths resort to them for the sake of instruction, and they enjoy the highest honour in that nation; for nearly all public and private quarrels come under their jurisdiction; and when any crime has been committed, when a murder has been perpetrated, when a controversy arises about an inheritance or about landmarks, they are the judges too. They decree rewards and punishments; and should any one, whether a private individual or a public man, disobey the decrees, then they exclude him from their sacrifices. This is with them the severest punishment. The persons who are thus laid under interdict are regarded as injurious and wicked people; everybody recoils from them, and shuns their society and conversation, lest he should be injured by associating with them; nor is justice administered to them when seeking it, nor is any dignity bestowed on them.

The Druids probably pre-Aryan in origin.

Cæsar's account.

"All these Druids have one chief, who enjoys the highest authority among them. When he dies, he is succeeded by the member of the order who is most prominent; . . . if there are many equal, the successor is elected by the Druids. Sometimes they even contend in arms for the supremacy. At a certain time of the year, the Druids assemble on the territory of the Carnutes, which is believed to be the centre of all Gaul, in a sacred place. To that spot are gathered from everywhere all persons that have quarrels, and they abide by their judgments and decrees. It is believed that this institution was founded in Britannia, and thence transplanted into Gaul. Even now-a-days, those who wish to become more intimately acquainted with the institution generally go to Britannia for instruction's sake.

"The Druids take no part in war; nor do they pay tribute like the rest of the people; they are exempt from military service, and from all public burdens. Attracted by such advantages, many come to be instructed by their own choice, while others are sent by their parents. They are reported to learn in the school a great number of verses, so that some remain there twenty years. . . . Beyond all things, they are desirous to inspire a belief that men's souls do not become extinct, but pass after death from one body to another; and they hold that people are thereby more strongly urged to bravery, the fear of death being disregarded. Besides, they hold a great many discourses about the stars and their motion, about the size of the world and of various countries, about the nature of things, about the power and might of the immortal gods; and they instruct the youths in these subjects."

"The nation of all the Gauls is extremely devoted to superstitious rites; and on that account they who are troubled with unusually severe diseases, and they who are engaged in battles and dangers, either sacrifice men as victims, or vow that they will sacrifice them, and employ the Druids as the performers of those sacrifices; because they think that unless the life of a man be offered for the life of a man, the mind of the immortal gods cannot be rendered propitious, and they have sacrifices of that kind ordained for national purposes. Others have figures of vast size, the limbs of which, formed of osiers, they fill with living men, which being set on fire, the men perish enveloped in the flames. They consider that the oblation of such as have been taken in theft, or in robbery, or any other offence, is more acceptable to the immortal gods; but when a supply of that class is wanting, they have recourse to the oblation of even the innocent."

Nothing really more satisfactory than this can be ascertained about the Druids; and we must leave readers to derive from it what notions they can. To us it appears that the Druids were the descendants of old magicians and medicine-men, who adopted to a great extent the ideas about the gods which the invading Celts introduced: but at best this is conjecture.

PILLARED HALL OF THE TEMPLE AT PHILÆ, IN EGYPT.

BOOK V.

EGYPTIAN AND SEMITIC RELIGIONS.

CHAPTER I.

The Egyptian Religion.

Modern discoveries—Local deities—Tendency to monotheism—Hymn to Amen-ra—The Egyptian a nature-religion—Ra, the sun-god—Shu and Tefnut—The worship at On—Osiris—Apis—Serapis—Isis—Horus—Hathor—Thoth—Ptah—Anubis and Neith—Amun-ra—Animal worship—Animism—Deification of kings—Temples—The priests—Orders of priests—Festivals and processions—Invocation of the Nile—Animal sacrifices—Oracles—Astrology—Life after death—A funeral song—Osiris, the judge of the dead—"The Book of the Dead"—Other Egyptian Books—Proceedings at the sacred lake—Objects buried with the dead—Egyptian morals—High esteem of truth and charity—Singular custom at banquets.

NOT less astonishing than the religions of India, and probably more ancient in its advanced development, is the religion of the early Egyptians[1] as it has been slowly recovered and pieced together in the present century. Many monuments and records have unfortunately perished, many are still buried and unexplored, but those which have been rescued and explained furnish us with undoubted facts sufficient to give rise to ideas of a highly-developed form of religion, in many respects worthy to rank beside that revealed in the Vedas. And geological facts show that the human race has inhabited the Nile valley for a number of

Modern discoveries.

[1] See Sir Gardner Wilkinson, "Manners and Customs of the Early Egyptians," Birch's edition (W.); Renouf, "Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of Ancient Egypt" (R.); Tiele's "Egyptian Religion" (T.); "Memoirs of Egypt Exploration Fund"; Murray's "Handbook for Egypt"; "Records of the Past" (R.P.).

centuries far surpassing all ordinary chronology, and abundantly sufficing to account for the growth of the art, architecture, religion, and other evidences of civilisation, which culminated at least two or three thousand years B.C. The religion which grew with this civilisation was in one sense still more polytheistic than the early Vedic, and it was more thoroughly local and tribal. Each locality, each town and village worshipped local deities. But there are extant texts which indicate that at some early date the priests recognised that there was but one God, and that all the various forms of deity that were worshipped were but the manifestations of different aspects of the same Being, which they identified with the universe. We have abundant evidence that the earlier periods of the Egyptian religion were purer, and that its best features were older than the absurdities and inconsistencies which formed so large a part of later worship. This is but like the contrast between ancient Vedism and much of modern Hinduism. But it cannot be proved that anything like a pure monotheism existed primitively, which only developed later into polytheism. It is evident that the belief in one God and in many gods was held by the same men without the thought of inconsistency. Thus we find many expressions in which the almighty Power is referred to as one and supreme. "If thou art a wise man, bring up thy son in the love of God." "God loveth the obedient, and hateth the disobedient." "Praised be God for all His gifts." "The God of the world is in the light above the firmament; His emblems are upon earth; it is to them that worship is rendered daily." And on the walls of the oasis-temple of El-Khargeh is an inscription from which the following recognition of the identity of this supreme God with all the gods is derived: "The gods salute his royal majesty (Amun-ra, the sun-god) as their Lord, who revealeth himself in all that is, and hath names in everything, from mountain to stream. That which persisteth in all things is Amon. This lordly god was from the very beginning. He is Ptah, the greatest of the gods. . . . Each god has assumed thy aspect. . . . To thee all things that are give praise when thou returnest to the nether world at even. Thou raisest up Osiris by the radiance of thy beams. To thee those give praise who lie in their tombs. . . . The gods are in thine hand, and men are at thy feet. What god is like to thee? Thou hast made the double world, as Ptah. Thou hast placed thy throne in the life of the double world, as Amon. . . . Thy form emanated at first whilst thou shinest as Amon, Rā, and Ptah. . . . Thou art Mentu Rā. Thou art Sekar; thy transformations are into the Nile. Thou art Youth and Age. Thou givest life to the earth by thy stream. Thou art heaven, thou art earth, thou art fire, thou art water, thou art air, and whatever is in the midst of them." (R.)

Local deities.

Tendency to monotheism.

The following extract from a hymn to Amen-ra still further exemplifies the idea of unity or supremacy among the gods: "The One in his works, single among the gods; the beautiful bull in the cycle of gods, chief of all the gods, Lord of truth, Father of the gods, Maker of men, Creator of beasts, Lord of existences, Creator of fruitful trees, Maker

Hymn to Amen-ra.

of herbs, Feeder of cattle—good Being, begotten of Ptah, beautiful youth beloved: to whom the gods give honour; Maker of things below and above, Enlightener of the Earth, sailing in heaven in tranquillity," . . . and the hymn continues through a long series of most elevated phrases. In one

EGYPTIAN DEITIES (*a few out of many divine representations*).

part Ra is addressed as "Athom, maker of men, supporting their works, giving them life, distinguishing the colour of one from another, listening to the poor in distress, gentle of heart when one cries to him, deliverer of the timid man from the violent, judging the poor, the poor and the oppressed" (R.P., vol. ii.); and one almost imagines he is reading one of the Hebrew Psalms of blessing. Many such splendid compositions have been found; and we must realise that the people who had such conceptions stood at a high level, poetic and spiritual, and that there must have been many

CONVEYANCE OF A MUMMY TO THE TOMB.

besides the composers who reverenced their inspiration, and carefully preserved and valued its products.

It is evident that this religion is, like the Vedic, at bottom a nature-religion. Their mythology concentrated itself mainly upon the daily

recurring phenomena, especially of sunrise and sunset, and had a large number of different stories about these events, often mutually inconsistent. Perhaps the oldest form under which the sun was worshipped was Rā, that being the common word for sun. The

The Egyptian a nature-religion.

AMMON, THE ALL-CREATING. PTAH, THE ALL-ACCOMPLISHING. OSIRIS, JUDGE OF THE DEAD. ISIS, ALL-BOUNTEOUS NATURE.

HORUS, SON OF OSIRIS. NEBT-HA, A SUBTERRANEAN DEITY. ANUBIS, THE ESCORT OF THE DEAD. THOTH, THE MOON-GOD.

EGYPTIAN DEITIES.

sky was imagined as a watery expanse, across which the sun-god travelled in a boat. Like the Aryan gods, he had to fight with the demon of darkness, Apap, a serpent, who is pierced by the weapons of the god. He has many names, among which may be mentioned Harmachis,

Rā, the sun god.

as rising sun, and Tum, as the setting sun. He is generally represented as a hawk-headed man, with the solar disc on his head. The sun's disc was termed his emblem, but he was said to journey in it across the sky. The following quotation from the "Book of the Dead" will give an idea of the worship addressed to him: "Hail, thou who art come as Tum, and who hast been the creator of the gods! Hail, thou who art come as soul of the holy souls in Amenti! Hail, supreme among the gods, who by thy beauties dost illumine the kingdom of the dead! Hail, thou who comest in radiance and travellest in thy disc! Hail, greatest of all the gods, bearing rule in the highest, reigning in the nethermost heaven! . . . Hail, renowned and glorified god! Thy enemies fall upon their scaffold! Hail! thou hast slain the guilty, thou hast destroyed Apap." (T.)

Shu, the son of Rā, without a mother, represents the air, and also the principle of heat and light, and as such is called the abode of the sun. But he is also said to be uncreated, the principle of creation, the life-giver, the young old, and by him righteousness and truth reign. Later he was made a sun-god, in union with Rā, and is then represented as a male cat; but his ordinary figure is human. Tefnut, representing dew, foam, and ocean, is the wife of Shu, by whom the birth of all things is brought about. She is represented as a lioness.

Shu and Tefnut.

These three gods formed the central objects of worship at On (known to the Greeks as Heliopolis, the city of the sun). Its priests were notable for their learning; and it was an especial distinction for Joseph to be married to a priest's daughter. This worship continued influential, and was widely spread throughout Egypt to a late period. It was closely associated with the belief in resurrection and immortality.

The worship at On.

Osiris was the chief god worshipped at Thinis and Abydos; his parents were said to be Seb (earth) and Nut (heaven). The myth of Osiris given by Plutarch, describing him as an Egyptian king, is but a late explanation; but it seems that Osiris represents the good principle, and the Creator, always at war with evil, and especially with Seb, the destroyer, his brother, who is darkness. The myth, as given in the "Book of the Dead" in various places, appears to show forth the sun's daily course, as well as the daily round of human life, both combating darkness and evil, continually succumbing and reviving. The aspect in which Osiris was most thought of was that in which he is hidden; and thus the dead were placed under his guardianship, and nearly all the inscriptions on tombs are addressed to him. As typifying the good principle, Osiris also represents Egypt and the Nile. As his worship spread widely, many local legends were adapted to him, and we find in one chapter of the "Book of the Dead," a hundred names ascribed to him. "It would appear," says Tiele, "that so soon as his worship had established itself in any one place, Osiris took the form of the deity whose ancient seat it was, and the sacred animal of that particular town or district was consecrated to him." Thus, at On and at Abydos, he was represented as the migratory bird Bennu, at Memphis as a species of ape and as a lofty pillar, surmounted by his

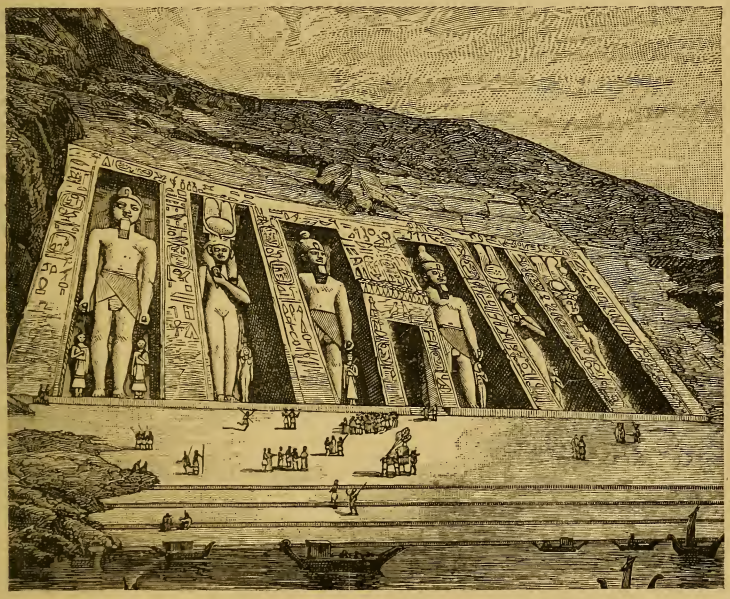
Osiris.

complete headdress and emblems, indicating his abode in the highest heaven.

Perhaps the most remarkable of the emblems of Osiris was the living bull, Apis, worshipped as an incarnation of the god in the temple of Ptah at Memphis. His movements and varying appetites were carefully observed, and indeed regarded as giving oracular indications. His life was not to extend beyond twenty-five years; at this age he was put to death, and his successor sought for and recognised by certain markings. Thus the succession of these bulls fixed periods of chronology. When dead he was termed Serapis or

Apis.

Serapis.



RESTORATION OF FAÇADE OF ROCK TEMPLE OF HATHOR, ABU SIMBEL, NUBIA.

Osarapis (Apis who has become Osiris) and lord of the under world. The Mendesian goat, termed the Ram, was an emblem of Rā as well as of Osiris, worshipped at Mendes.

Isis, the wife of Osiris, had temples in early Egypt, and had something in common with the Greek Demeter and Persephone. In later Egypt, especially under the Ptolemies, she became elevated to a most prominent position. Originally she represented chiefly festivity, and was mistress of heaven and daughter of Rā. She appears with a cow's head instead of a human one, or with a vulture-headdress, and also in the form of a female hippopotamus. All these symbols show how completely

Isis.

the early Egyptians recognised natural phenomena and animals as living manifestations of the gods.

Horus is the son of Osiris and Isis, and his avenger; thus he was identified with the rising sun. His name was associated with a whole group of gods representing the visible sun, and very like Rā in some forms. There are many myths about him which we cannot detail. He is always represented with the head of a hawk.

Horus.

Hathor, described both as the mother and wife of Horus, was very like Isis, and was worshipped throughout Egypt, as the female counterpart of Osiris. She was queen of the heavens, both by day and by night, the giver of great gifts to Egypt.

Hathor.

Thoth was the Egyptian moon-god, wearing the moon upon his head as crescent or full disc, but often represented with the head of an ibis. From the moon being the measure of time, he becomes patron of all measurement, and hence of all science and letters, and of priestly culture. His influence steadily increased as the kingdom advanced in culture.

Thoth.

Phtha, or Ptah, was the chief god of Memphis, representing creative power, but not the sun distinctively. He was worshipped in a human form, and sometimes as a pigmy. The gods were said to have come out of his mouth, and men from his eye. He was the god of justice and of beneficence to man. The frog-headed deity, Ka, is also a form of Ptah.

Ptah.

Among other gods whom we can only briefly mention were Anubis, son of Osiris, the god presiding over mummification, with four attendant subordinate divinities; and Neith, or Nit, a goddess worshipped specially at Saïs, described as "the mother who bore the sun, the first-born, but not begotten."

Anubis and Neith.

We must also briefly mention the god Amen or Ammon (hidden or unrevealed deity), whose worship assumed such great proportions during later Egyptian history. Amen, his wife, Mut (the mother), and his son, Khonsu, formed the chief triad of gods worshipped at Thebes, especially from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasties. At this period he was identified with Rā, the sun-god, and named Amun-Rā. Later, he was regarded as the god of oracles; and his oracle, in the oasis in the Libyan desert, was consulted by many foreign rulers and nations. Amen was often figured as a man seated on a throne, holding a sceptre in his right hand and a small cross with a handle in his left. His headdress frequently had two huge feathers.

Amun-ra.

Animal worship became more marked in Egyptian religion than in Indian; and there were fables representing that the spirits of the principal animals were supposed to be embodied in the kings. In later times every important place had its sacred animal; and it was a great part of the local religion to tend it, and to embalm and bury it with honour when dead; and their mummies have been found in many places. The dog-headed ape (cynocephalus) at Thebes, the jackal at Kynopolis, mice

Animal worship.

and sparrowhawks at Butos, the ibis at Hermopolis, Memphis, and Thebes, the cat, the ram, the vulture, the ichneumon, the hippopotamus, the crocodile, at other places were waited on with the utmost care. Herodotus relates that the crocodile at Krokodilopolis, on Lake Moeris, had golden earrings, and rings on its forefeet, was fed with meat and meal, and embalmed after death.

RUINS OF TEMPLE OF AMUN-RĀ, KARNAK, EGYPT.

No doubt the Egyptian animal worship represents an extreme form of animism. The Egyptians regarded animals, especially those most conspicuous for strength, power, or beauty, as incarnations of spirits, whose favour might be gained or displeasure averted by worship. This may have been originally quite apart from conceptions of gods; but as the latter became more developed, it was imagined that the gods themselves

Animism.

were symbolised or were inhabited by the animals. Later, these ideas grew and varied in different ways, and new animals were worshipped, because their names resembled more or less closely those of the gods.

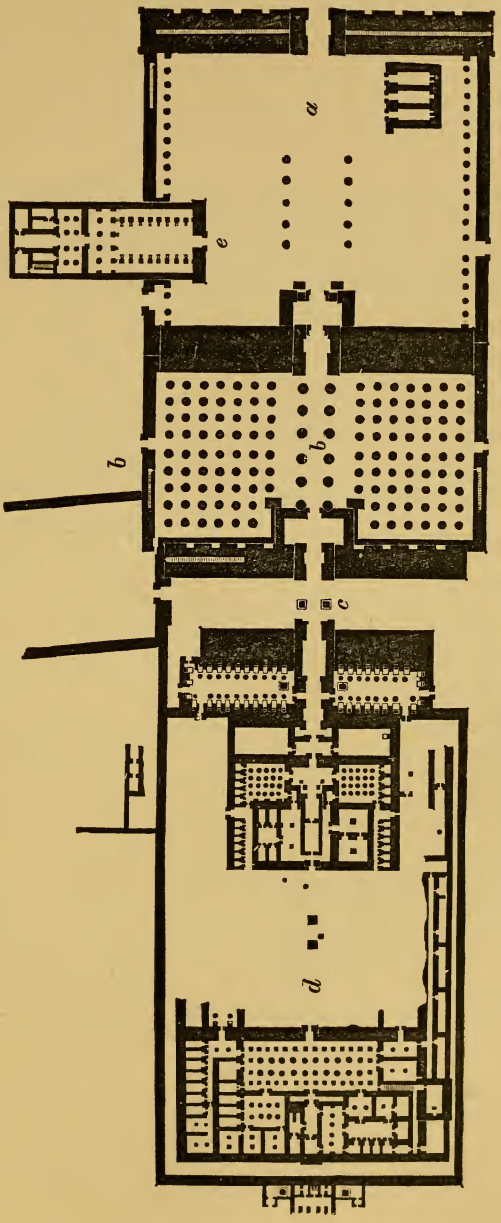
As the Egyptians worshipped animals, they also, at an early date, worshipped their kings. At first they were only so worshipped after death, priests being appointed for their service; but later, they were worshipped while alive, and temples were built for them by the side of their pyramids. This worship grew very expensive, so that Una, a high official in the fifth dynasty, boasts that he had built four sanctuaries in connection with great levies for public works, in order that the spirits of the living king, Merenra, might be invoked "more than all the gods"; and the succession of priests of the several kings was kept up till a late date. The divine right of kings was never more zealously believed in or more devoutly expressed than by the Egyptians. What we should term, now-a-days, the most abject servility, was an unquestioned commonplace among them; and it by no means appears to have been first imposed by the kings themselves. Indeed, if an animal was regarded as an incarnation of a god, how much more a king? Thus we find a disgraced servant imploring his king in this fashion: "Let god be gracious to him whom he has removed, whom he has banished to another land, let him be mild as Rā." When restored to favour, he cannot sufficiently express his adoration of the king. "The great god, the equal of the sun-god, mocks me! thy majesty is as Horus, the power of thy arm extends over all lands." When admitted once more to his presence, he says: "The god spoke amicably to me. I was like one brought out of the darkness into the light. My tongue was dumb, my limbs refused their office, my heart was no longer in my body, so that I knew not whether I lived or if I was dead." (T.) When such opinions prevailed, even among the common people, it is not surprising that the kings accepted with complacency the adoration offered to them. The China of to-day was outdone by ancient Egypt, and the king alone was fully competent to approach the gods in the temples with the priests. In many an inscription the king claims the empire over all nations and the whole world. Even the gods are represented as worshipping the living king. The god says to Rameses II., "I am thy father; by me are begotten all thy members as divine. . . . Thou art lord like the majesty of Rā; the gods and goddesses are praising thy benefits, adoring and sacrificing before thine image." And the king was said to possess the seven souls and the fourteen Rās, or spirits of Rā. Yet the divinity assigned to the kings did not prevent them from worshipping the gods in the humblest attitudes. Perhaps the kings so utterly flattered really had some notion of their own insignificance before the Divine power.

Deification of kings.

It would be as impossible to describe within our limits the Egyptian as the Indian or the Greek temples. They were erected, to a large extent, on a uniform plan, though differing considerably in details. Each was built by a king in honour of some god or triad of gods; and the motive was not that the people might worship the gods, but that

Temples.

the king might pay honour to them, and secure their future favours. The temples are always massive stone structures, surrounded by lofty brick walls, with fine entrances, sometimes flanked by huge broad towers sculptured with representations of the king's doings, either in war or peace. Within was an avenue of sphinxes; images wherein the body of a lion was conjoined with a human head, denoting the combined excellence of mind and body of the king; this might be interrupted by one or more portals, flanked by huge side towers. Then came a portico opening into one or more forecourts, through which a roofed enclosure was reached, adjoining the sacred sanctuary, which was low and comparatively small, and contained a sort of ark or chest, half covered by a veil or curtain, and contained in a boat. Both these were decorated with symbols of life, light, and fertility. The ark contained a small image of the god, never seen, and supposed to have never been seen. Everywhere in the temple the deeds of the



PLAN OF TEMPLE OF AMUN-RĀ, KARNAK: *a*, forecourt; *b*, pillared hall; *c*, court with two obelisks; *d*, later building; *e*, smaller temple.

great king were celebrated in pictures and sculptures of various kinds, and records of them were engraved upon the walls. To the right and left of, or all round the central sanctuary, might be smaller courts in which special kinds of offerings were made. Huge statues of the kings, obelisks, and other special Egyptian features were abundant. As a specimen of the greater temples we may mention that that of El-Karnak, Thebes, has a front 360 feet wide; the first court is 275 feet long; the great roofed hall is 170 feet long by 329 feet wide, and its roof is supported by 134 columns, of which the twelve tallest are seventy feet high, and about 40 feet in diameter, and form an avenue through the middle, the smaller columns forming groups on either side. Thus a marvellous effect, as of a forest of columns, is produced. It does not appear that the people performed their worship at any time in the temples; they, if they had any special place of worship, probably had private chapels.

The priests.

The Egyptian priests were not a definite hereditary order, and were not absolutely confined to their priestly office. "The priest of a god was often a military or naval commander, exercised the office of scribe, and was invested with the supervision of public works or local government. A general in the army could marry the daughter of a priest, and his children could be scribes, priests, or public functionaries." (W.) All this emphasised the power of the king, who was fully initiated as a priest, and was the head of the national religion. In fact, upon great occasions, the king himself offered the sacrifices; he appointed and superintended the great festivals and regulated the sacrifices. But the extent to which the priests were employed in all the great offices of the State, and their function of expounding to the king his moral duties, gave them an aggregate influence transcending that of any other class. In fact, viewing the king as priest also, it must be acknowledged that, as in China, India, Greece, and Rome, the priests of Egypt practically ruled the country.

Orders of priests.

The priests were very numerous, and formed many colleges, classed according to the god they specially served, and their various functions. Thus, there were the prophets, who were the chief priests, four being attached to each principal god; the divine fathers, who might become prophets; the purifiers or washers, the incense-bearers, the funeral attendants, the bards, and others. There were also priestesses, divine wives and divine handmaids, singers, etc.; and in the early Empire there were prophetesses, and these offices were held by queens, princesses, and members of the noblest families. The priests and their families had great privileges, were free from taxes, and received as a body one-third of the land, besides being provided for out of the public stores. The prophets had the greatest amount of learning about all religious matters, they also managed the priestly revenues, and they had a conspicuous place in religious processions. They kept their mysteries as secret as some of the Greek priesthoods, and only admitted to them those who had satisfied them of their high character and learning. They paid great attention to

the education of their children in all the science of the time, and kept up a strict discipline and severity of outward demeanour. They were strict as to the quantity and quality of their food—fish and the flesh of swine, pulse, etc., being strictly forbidden. They bathed twice in the day and twice in the night; and they shaved the entire body every third day.

EGYPTIAN KING WORSHIPPING IN A TEMPLE.

Fasts of great length, from seven to forty-two days, were observed by them, preceded by a period of purification. They were circumcised at initiation (though this was very general among the people). Their ordinary garments were of linen, but the high priests wore an entire leopard's skin on great occasions; they wore sandals of papyrus and palm leaves, and they

lay either on skins on the ground, or on wickerwork beds of palm branches, the head being raised on a semi-cylinder of wood.

Festivals and processions.

The great occasions of Egyptian religion were the festivals and processions; among these were the processions of shrines, the dedication of temples; the conveyance of the royal offerings to the gods; the king's coronation, and his triumphs on returning from war. The procession of shrines included a variable number of arks and their boats, carried by priests, by means of long staves passed through metal rings at the sides. A shrine of the reigning king might also be included in the procession, as well as the statue of the principal deity, of the king and of his ancestors. The shrine or shrines were brought into the temple, placed on a table, and decked with fresh flowers. Many offerings were made, on several altars, and the king offered incense and made a libation. The anointing of the king at his coronation was performed by the high priest in a similar manner to the anointing of the Jewish high priest; but such anointing was an ordinary expression of welcome in Egypt. Many other ceremonies showed the intimate connection of the kings with the national religion; the king represented the whole nation and was everything in himself.

Invocation of the Nile.

The annual invocation of the Nile was one of the most important festivals. If this were not duly celebrated, the people believed the Nile would not rise and inundate the land. People assembled in the towns from all the villages around to take part in this festival, which was marked by hymns, music, and dancing, as well as feasting. A wooden statue of the Nile-god was carried through the villages. A remarkable hymn or invocation to the Nile has been preserved, in which it is credited with divine honours. "O inundation of the Nile," it is said, "offerings are made to thee, oxen are slain to thee, great festivals are kept for thee . . . unknown is his Name in heaven, he doth not manifest his forms, vain are all representations." (R.P. iv.) Many other festivals were held in celebration of the various qualities of the gods and of the recurring seasons. The festivals of Isis and Osiris were numerous and magnificent, and so many details are known that it is impossible here to give even an outline of them; but yet Sir Gardner Wilkinson remarks that "the greater part of the fêtes and religious rites of the Egyptians are totally unknown to us." How thoroughly, therefore, the religious element entered into Egyptian as into Indian and Chinese life!

Animal sacrifices.

The Egyptians offered animal sacrifices to all their gods, as well as cakes and wine, incense, flowers, and herbs. Oxen were prominent among the victims, which also included gazelles, ibexes, geese, and wild fowl, but not sheep. The right shoulder was generally the part first offered on the altar. The king was present at the daily sacrifices, when the people prayed for him, and the priests praised him and warned him against the faults of other kings, caused by ill advice having been given to them. The king himself inspected the entrails of the victim and performed some of the ceremonies of sacrifice. There is no distinct

evidence that human sacrifices were ever made in Egypt within historic times; and indeed, at the earliest time we can clearly read, they seem to have advanced beyond the idea that human victims are required by the gods.

We have already seen how important a place oracles came to occupy in Greece; but the Greeks themselves confessed that they were of late institution among themselves, and had been derived from Egypt. The most famous oracles were those of Thebes, of Buto, of Heliopolis, and of Ammon in Libya, the giving of oracles being a function of some gods only. In some temples questions were taken to the temple in writing, and sealed; and answers were given in the same fashion, and supposed to have been inspired or given by the god. The oracle of Ammon was highly celebrated in foreign countries. In some cases oracles were spontaneously sent, to warn, censure, or command prominent persons or States. Astrology was also largely cultivated in connection with the temples; and future events were predicted by the indications of the stars. These predictions gained high repute in the ancient world through their frequent accuracy.

Oracles.

Astrology.

WORSHIP OF SUN BY AN EGYPTIAN KING.

It is in the funeral rites and literature of the Egyptians that we come upon some of the most interesting features of their religion. That they very early had a belief in a continuous life after the death of the body, is indubitable. Every human soul being supposed to have a divine part which returned to the deity after death, the good were believed to attain reunion with the deity, and consequently received the name Osiris. The deceased person's body was bound up so as to bear a resemblance to Osiris; and offerings were made to Osiris after the burial, in the deceased's name. Sacrifices and liturgies were offered to Osiris by the priests in the presence of the mourners; and these were repeated on a greater or less scale as long and as frequently as the family were willing to pay for them.

Life after death.

Sometimes the special funeral songs composed for a festival or anniversary attained great beauty. Thus, when we read such a song as this of the harper, dating from the eighteenth dynasty, we are irresistibly reminded

of passages in the Bible; and this is older than a large proportion if not all of the Hebrew Psalms. "The great one is truly at rest, the good charge is fulfilled. Men pass away since the time of Rā, and the youths come in their stead. Like as Rā reappears every morning, and Tum sets in the horizon, men are begetting and women are conceiving. Every nostril inhaleth once the breezes of dawn, but all born of women go down to their places. . . . No works of buildings in Egypt could avail; his resting-place is all his wealth. Let me return to know what remaineth of him. Not the least moment could be added to his life. Those who have magazines full of bread to spend, even they shall encounter the hour of a last end. . . . Mind thee of the day when thou too shalt start for the land to which one goeth to return not thence. Good for thee, then, will have been an honest life, therefore be just and hate transgressions. . . . The coward and the bold, neither can fly the grave, the friendless and proud are alike." (R.P. vi.)

A funeral song.

The treatment of the deceased after death and the general practices of the Egyptians in regard to death showed that, as Diodorus says, they regarded the tombs as "eternal dwelling-places," and this idea goes very far back in the records. Only the evil are spoken of as actually dead. The greatest importance was attached to the permanence of the religious ceremonies for the dead, just as among the Chinese, and the motive of building the Great Pyramids was to perpetuate the dwelling-place of the dead kings for ever.

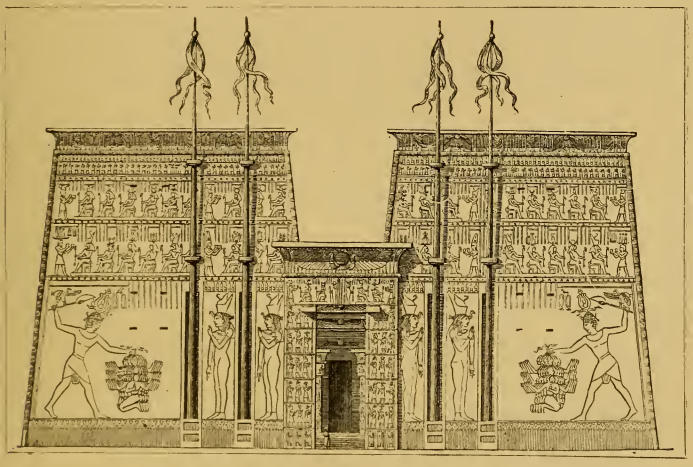
The supposed fate of the dead, as related by Herodotus, quite corresponds with the sculptures, pictures, and inscriptions. He describes the principal office of Osiris as being that of judging the dead in the underworld (Amenti); seated on his throne, he received an account of the actions of the dead as recorded by Thoth, his actions having first been weighed in the scales of Truth by Anubis, who, assisted by Horus, placed the heart, as typifying virtuous actions of the deceased, in the balance against the figure of the twofold goddess of Truth and Justice. Sometimes the deceased are represented as wearing round their necks the emblem which appears in the scales, signifying their acceptance. Those who had done evil were supposed to pass in succession into the bodies of different animals, the number and kinds of the animals depending upon their guilt; it is however a disputed point whether this view was really held by the Egyptians.

Osiris the judge of the dead.

These views are borne out by the manuscript and inscribed writings found in Egyptian tombs and known as "The Book of the Dead," or the "Ritual of the Dead," containing prayers mostly supposed to be recited by the deceased in the underworld, but always recited in his name by those present at the funeral ceremonies. In many cases however there is great difficulty in ascertaining the precise meaning of expressions, owing to the carelessness of copyists, and to different readings. Much of it dates from the early dynasties, and implies a complete knowledge of the early mythology. In it the happy dead are represented as leading a

"The Book of the Dead."

life like that on earth; the gods provide their food and admit them to their tables. Even agricultural employments are attributed to them. But they were believed also to be able to traverse the whole universe in every desired shape and form. Through their identification with Osiris and their utterance of "words of power," they can pass unhurt in any direction. In some chapters of the Ritual the limbs of the deceased are each separately identified with a distinct god. In one chapter it is said that "Whom men know not" (a mode of referring to a god without naming his revered name) is his name. The "yesterday which sees endless years is his name. The deceased is the lord of eternity." (R.) His soul, his Rā or genius, and his shadow are all given back to him; he overcomes in combat crocodiles, serpents, etc., and successfully surmounts all kinds of difficulties and dangers, to which evidently those of evil life or not protected by the gods would succumb.



FRONT OF TEMPLE AT EDFU.

The recitals made by the deceased to the gods indicate the virtues which were highly esteemed. Thus: "I am not a doer of fraud and iniquity against men. I am not a doer of that which is crooked in place of that which is right. . . . I do not force a labouring man to do more than his daily task. . . . I do not calumniate a servant to his master; I do not cause hunger; I do not cause weeping; I am not a murderer; I do not give order to murder privily; I am not guilty of fraud against any one; I am not a falsifier of the measures in the temples." Even inward faults or crimes are referred to in this way by implication, such as causing pain of mind to another, turning a deaf ear to the words of truth and justice; and sins against chastity are included in the list of sins disclaimed. These quotations are contained in the 125th chapter of "the Book of the Dead," and are believed to represent the oldest known code of

Recitals to the gods for the dead.

morals. It is entitled: "Book of entering into the Hall of the twofold Maat: the person parts from his sins that he may see the divine faces." The twofold Maat is the twofold god of Truth and Justice, represented by a double figure.

Other Egyptian books.

There are other ancient Egyptian books of great interest, which we cannot detail. Such are the book which describes the course of the sun through the night, the twelve divisions of his journey, and the names of the gods of each locality; the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, supposed to be recited by the two sisters of Osiris in order to bring about his resurrection, and actually recited by priests over the dead; "the Book of glorifying Osiris," "the Book of the Breaths of Life," etc., etc.

Proceedings at the sacred lake.

The influence of the Egyptian ideas about the future state was markedly shown in the preliminary proceedings at the sacred lake which was constructed near or in every city or centre. The body of a deceased person was brought to the borders of the lake, and a number of judges were assembled to hear any accusation of evil life that might be brought against the deceased. On sufficient proof, ceremonial burial and transport across the sacred lake were denied; while a false accusation subjected the accuser to heavy penalties. If no accuser appeared, or if accusations were disproved, the relations praised the dead person, enlarging on his virtues, and begging the gods below to receive him as a companion of the pious; and if the family already possessed special tombs, the funeral then proceeded. But the denial of honourable burial was considered an extreme disgrace, foreshadowing the terrible fate which overtook the deceased in Hades; and no little share in this feeling was due to the triumph enjoyed by the enemies of the family. There appears however to have been a way of escape; crimes might be thus punishable for limited periods; and thus when the priests had been sufficiently paid to make continuous prayers for them, and the sorrowing relatives showed sufficient religious devotion, it was believed that the evil destiny could finally be removed from the deceased. Many persons of course had no money to go through this ceremony of the sacred lake at all, or to be embalmed, and such had to be buried on the shores of the lake, or in the houses of their relatives. Even kings had to go through the ordeal of possible accusation and judgment, and in several cases a public honourable funeral was refused to them.

Objects buried with the dead.

The descriptions of mummies and embalming, besides being very well known, would lead us too far from our main subject. We may note that the tombs of rich persons had various objects of value placed in them, such as vases, some with the heads of the genii of Amen-ti, and small images of the deceased, papyri with sacred or other writings upon them, tablets of stone or wood decorated with funeral subjects or narratives relating to the deceased, and many objects connected with the deceased's profession. Some of the little figures, in all kinds of materials, had their arms crossed like Osiris, with whom the dead became identified,

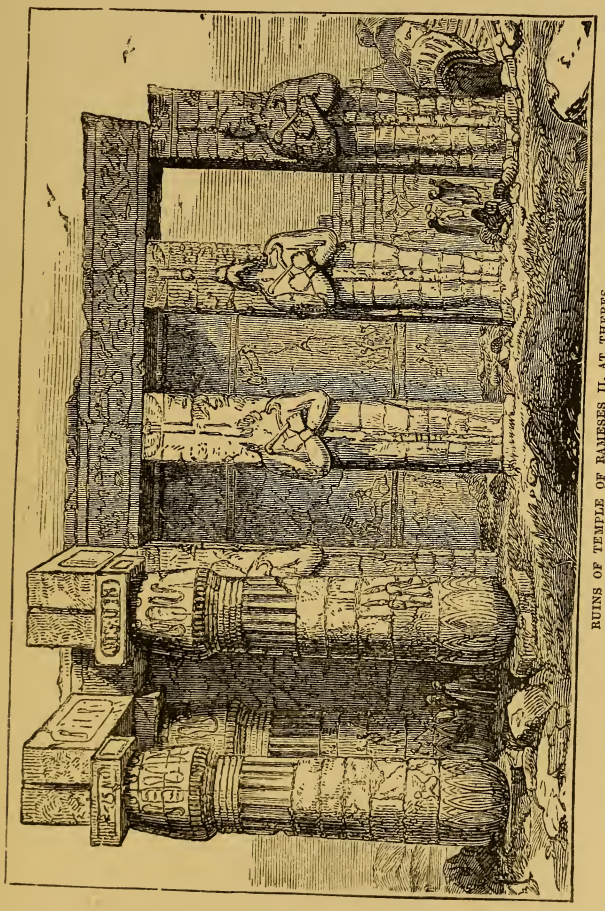
FUNERAL OF AN EGYPTIAN KING.

and bearing hieroglyphics containing the deceased's name and rank and the formulæ of presentation of his soul to Osiris. These figures, which only commence in the eighteenth dynasty, were called "respondents" in the "Ritual of the Dead," being imagined to answer the deceased's call for aid to do various agricultural work for him in the other world. One of these has engraved on it a chapter of the ritual, entitled "Avoiding," or "How not to do Work in Hades," showing that in that degenerate period the Egyptians were greatly concerned to avoid the toils of the future.

Egyptian morals.

In some respects Egyptian morals present a favourable picture; in others, the kings appear as trying varied experiments in social legislation and regulation; in others, morals fared but badly. Truth and justice were sought to be attained, but sometimes by primitive methods. False oaths were even punished with death; and a man who slandered the dead was severely punished; whilst a false accuser was condemned to the same punishment as the accused would have deserved if guilty. Wilful murder, even of a slave, was punishable with death; and the witness who did not try to prevent the crime was similarly punished. Parricide was punished with torture before death. Child-murder was visited, not with death, but with the strange punishment of spending three days and nights with the dead body fastened to the neck of the culprit, under a public guard. Adultery in a woman was punished by loss of the nose; forgery and falsification of weights and measures by loss of the hands. Many offences which are now visited with imprisonment were visited with the bastinado. Usury was condemned, and interest was never allowed to increase beyond double the original sum. Only goods, not persons, could be seized for debt, the person being the property of the king or of the State. At an early period people were required to give in pledge for borrowed money the mummy of a father or near relative, a deposit certain to be redeemed if at all possible, for if it were not redeemed the debtor could not be buried with the usual ceremonies, or in any honourable place. Luxury and vice had their place in Egypt as in every other rich country; but we do not find evidence that Egypt was worse than other nations, if so bad. Women occupied a considerable place in society and in politics, and were by no means kept as secluded as in modern Oriental life. One wife was the rule, but not the limit; and the kings had as many wives as they pleased; the marriage of brothers and sisters was however allowed. All children, by whatever mother, shared in the inheritance. Sons were required to pay great deference to their parents and to serve them much as in China. Their respect for old age and for elder strangers, reverence for ancestors and for the monarch, remind one of marked features in the Chinese, and suggest that if the Egyptians and the Chinese did not derive their religion from a common source in a far-distant past, they were at least founded on such deeply-implanted instincts or such naturally-growing perceptions that strikingly similar results appeared in widely different nations. Whether Egypt was the original home or not of the divine right of kings, it was there very early and markedly believed in; and the king's actions,

unless flagrantly injurious, were celebrated as great benefits to the nation, and his funeral was marked by extreme magnificence and by prolonged fasting and mourning. The whole country, in fact, belonged to the gods, who regarded it with special affection, and conferred on it all its great institutions. It was not wonderful that the Israelites should have been



RUINS OF TEMPLE OF RAMESES II. AT THEBES.

powerfully influenced by what they saw in Egypt, or that they should cast longing eyes back to its gorgeous forms and objects of worship, and seek to introduce some of them among or in addition to the features more peculiarly their own.

It is noteworthy how frequently the Egyptian inscriptions praise the

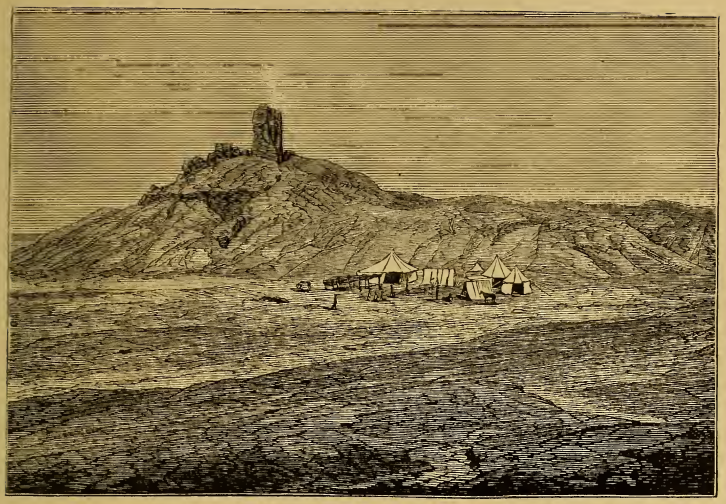
strictest truthfulness and works of charity. Thus we read of one man: "Doing that which is right, and hating that which is wrong, I was bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, a refuge to him that was in want; that which I did to him, the great God hath done to me." Again, "I was one who did that which was pleasing to his father and his mother; the joy of his brethren, the friend of his companions, noble-hearted to all those of his city. I gave bread to the hungry; my doors were open to those who came from without, and I gave them wherewith to refresh themselves. And God hath inclined his countenance to me for what I have done; he hath given me old age upon earth, in long and pleasant duration, with many children at my feet." (R.) It must be remembered that these commendations, though put in the mouth of the deceased, were the work of his survivors; even if they are not strictly accurate, they show what features of conduct were considered worthy of praise in view of the eternal world, and therefore they have a wide-reaching significance in our estimate of the character of the ancient Egyptians.

High esteem of truth and charity.

It is singular to find, in a song of a king so early as the eleventh dynasty, ideas which are familiar to us in the much later book of Ecclesiastes. Herodotus describes a custom which may be connected with the recitation of some song. He says: "At the entertainments of the rich, just as the company is about to rise from the repast, a small coffin is carried round, containing a perfect representation of a dead body, . . . as it is shown to the guests in rotation, the bearer exclaims, 'Cast your eyes on this figure: after death you yourself will resemble it; drink then, and be happy.'" The song, after reciting that the body passes away, goes on, "After all, what is prosperity? Their fenced walls are dilapidated. Their houses are as that which has never existed. No man comes from thence who tells of their sayings, who tells of their affairs, who encourages their hearts. Ye go to the place whence they return not. Strengthen thy heart to forget how thou hast enjoyed thyself, fulfil thy desire whilst thou livest. . . . The day will come to thee, when one hears not the voice, when the one who is at rest hears not their voices. Lamentations deliver not him who is in the tomb. Feast in tranquillity, seeing that there is no one who carries away his goods with him. Yea, behold, none who goes thither comes back again." (R. P. iv.)

Singular custom at banquets.

Altogether, in considering the moral nature of Egyptian religious teaching, we cannot but give it a high place. The standard set up was high, an ideal excellence was aimed at and praised; and if the people failed ultimately to keep up to that level, it was scarcely for want of knowledge or opportunity. All the systems of religion we have yet surveyed seem to have gone through stages of development and degeneracy, as if human religions were in themselves endowed with bodily or mental life which they were compelled to imitate by decay and death, as well as by stages of growth, assimilation, and differentiation.



GREAT MOUND ON SITE OF BABYLON.

CHAPTER II.

The Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phœnician Religions.

Early magical texts—Exorcists—Heaven and earth as creative powers—Local religions—Ea, the god of the deep—Dav-kina, the lady of the earth—Hymn to Ea—Mul-lil, lord of the ghost-world—The moon-god of Ur—The sun-god Samas or Tammuz—Istar—The fire-god—Nergal—Matu—Bel-Merodach—His temple at Babylon—Nebo—Assur—Rimmon—Hymns to the gods—Penitential hymns—Future existence—Star-worship and astrology—Early cosmogony—Mr. George Smith's discoveries—Bel and the dragon—The tower of Babel—The epic of Izdubar—The Chaldæan deluge—Priests—Festivals and sacred days—Sacrifices—Images—Monotheism—Religious character of people—Phœnician religion—Baal—Melkarth—Ashtoreth—Adonis—Nature-gods—The Kabiri—Human and other sacrifices—Moloch—Chemosh—The Philistine gods—Dagon.

BABYLONIA and Assyria, like Egypt, in varying degrees and through long periods, influenced the Israelites and were influenced by them; and consequently the study of their religious development is of high importance. Though much remains to be known about Mesopotamian religion, much is already known.[1]

In Chaldæa, as in China, we come near to primitive animism and its development into an advanced polytheism. The magical texts which form the earliest Chaldæan sacred literature probably date from a time as early as the earliest Egyptian records, when there was no distinct idea of gods, and when the world around the Accadian was peopled by supernatural powers and spirits of living things. This state of mind

Early magical texts.

[1] Sayce: "Hibbert Lectures" (Religion of Ancient Babylonians), (S.). Sayce's edition of Smith's Chaldæan Account of Genesis; Rawlinson's "Five Great Monarchies," and "Religions of the Ancient world"; Sayce's "Ancient Empires of the East." St. Chad. Boscawen, in "Religious Systems of the World," 1890. "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia." Published by Trustees of British Museum (I.).

was dealt with by shamanists or exorcists who can hardly be called priests, but who rank rather with the medicine-men of the American Indians. They undertook to cure or prevent all kinds of diseases, and to cause the spirits of evil things to depart; and this was effected especially by incantations such as the following: "The evil god (or spirit), the evil demon, the demon of the field, the demon of the mountain, the demon of the sea, the demon of the tomb, the evil spirit, the dazzling fiend, the evil wind, the assaulting wind, which strips off the clothing of the body as an evil demon, conjure, O spirit of heaven! conjure, O spirit of earth!" "The painful fever, the potent fever, the fever which quits not a man, the fever-demon who departs not, the fever unremovable, the evil fever, conjure, O spirit of heaven! conjure, O spirit of earth!" (I.) These texts which have come down to us, probably do not represent the earliest form of exorcism, but rather the highest level attained by the system; and they show in a most interesting way, that, in connection with these early incantations, the idea of the spirit of heaven and the spirit of earth, as representing the essence of the higher powers, was impressed upon the early Accadians and their successors the Babylonians and Assyrians. The belief in these great powers as beneficent grew stronger as the cures wrought by medicines, by natural recovery, or by mental faith were noted; and the idea of the good powers as antagonistic to and stronger than the evil demons rose into prominence.

Exorcists.

Heaven and earth as creative powers.

It was conceived that the heaven and earth, and the deep sea, were the creative powers, and were especially the creators of man, and of all good things. Strangely enough, these powers, Ana or Anu, the sky, Mul-lil, the earth, Ea, the deep, were represented as themselves having a spirit, like all living or moving objects. These gods might assume human forms, and then their spirits corresponded to those of men; they are represented as inhabiting animals, which were worshipped as totems. Thus Ea appeared as antelope, fish, and serpent, and we find divine bulls, storm-birds, dogs, etc. So, according to Prof. Sayce, innumerable spirits were believed in, controlled by creative gods representing the order and law of the universe. In opposition to them were the malevolent spirits of darkness and disease, and there were also spirits neither good nor bad. All these were supposed to be controlled by the sorcerer-priest, using spells and exorcisms, and communicating with, and practically influencing, the gods by his ritual. The forms of worship became enlarged with this higher belief, and true supplication appears in the Penitential Psalms, such as this:—

"Accept the prostration of the face of the living creature. I, thy servant, ask thee for rest. To the heart of him who has sinned thou utterest words of blessing. Thou lookest on the man, and the man lives, O potentate of the world, mistress of mankind! Compassionate one, whose forgiveness is ready, who acceptest the prayer. (*Priest*) O God and mother goddess that art angry with him, he calls upon thee! Turn thy face towards him and take his hand!" (I.) In this prayer, as well as in others, we see an invocation of more gods than one, as being in combination

or alliance. Of course while this elevation was proceeding, the incantations and exorcisms remained largely in use among those less enlightened, but were gradually lowered in esteem, like charms in modern days; while the religious development went on to produce the hymns to the gods. But these were due partly no doubt to the early Semitic influence which largely altered the character of Mesopotamian religion.

As in Egypt, the national religion grew upon the basis of local religions, adopting and adapting local gods of cities and tribes. Thus, Ea was originally the god of the city Eridu, at the then mouth of the Euphrates. Under the name of Oannes, he is said by Berosus, the late Chaldæan historian, to have come out of the water of the gulf, to have passed his days among men, and to have given them insight into letters and sciences, and arts of every kind. "He taught them to construct houses, to found temples, to compile laws, and explained to them the principles of geometrical knowledge. He made them distinguish the seeds of the earth, and showed them how to collect the fruits; in short, he instructed them in everything which could tend to soften manners and humanise their lives." Thus he was the god of wisdom of early Babylonia, and was represented as partly man and partly fish.

Local religions.

Ea, the god of the deep.

In conjunction with Ea was worshipped his consort Dav-kina, the lady of the earth, which she personified; and this relationship accords with the old Chaldæan idea of the origin of the world from the deep, upon which the earth lay. Through Dav-kina the words of Ea were conveyed to men, as heard in the roar of the waves. The attributes of Ea may be gathered from a hymn addressed to him. He is "the god of pure life, who stretches out the bright firmament, the god of good winds, the lord of hearing and obedience, creator of the pure and the impure, establisher of fertility, who brings to greatness him that is of small estate. . . . May he command, may he glorify, may he hearken to his worshippers. . . . May he establish, and never may his word be forgotten in the mouth of the black-headed race, whom his hands created. As god of the pure incantation may he further be invoked, before whose pure approach may the evil trouble be overthrown; by whose pure spell the siege of the foe is removed." A later part of the same hymn is occupied with recognising the identity of the Bel of Northern Babylonia with Ea, showing the process of fusion by which different local deities became amalgamated, and regarded as practically the same. Ea is represented as saying, "Since he (Bel) has made his men strong by his name, let him, like myself, have the name of Ea. May he bear (to them) the bond of all my commands, and may he communicate all my secret knowledge through the fifty names of the great gods." The hymn goes on, "His fifty names he has pronounced, his ways he has restored. . . . May father to son repeat and hand them down." (S.) This emphasis on the "name" is intelligible when we remember that the name signified the essential nature of the deity, as in the Old Testament and in Egyptian religion.

Dav-kina, the lady of the earth.

Hymn to Ea.

We find a son also ascribed to Ea, namely Mardugga, the holy son, the same name being traceable in Marduk, or Merodach. He was supposed to visit mankind as a mediator and healer. Between Ea and Merodach, as good gods, and the powers of evil typified by a serpent with seven heads and seven tails, there was continual warfare. There is doubtless some connection between this belief and that recorded in the early chapters of Genesis.

Marduk, or Merodach.

Another of the gods dating back to Accadian times is Mul-lil, the lord of the ghost-world, of the earth, and of the spirits of the earth, originally a local god of Nipur (now Niffer) in nothern Babylonia. Here the belief in ghosts and demons and spirits of disease was strong, and hence it spread to other parts. Adar (a name possibly read wrongly) was the son of Mul-lil, a sun-god, represented as issuing from night, as typified by the god of the lower world; and his wife was the lady of the dawn. Adar was especially the meridian sun, the warrior and champion of the gods, the messenger of his father.

Mul-lil, lord of the ghost-world.

It is strange to find the moon-god represented as masculine, and the sun-god as his offspring. There was apparently a local moon-god in every Babylonian town; Ur seems to have been a great centre of his worship, and the moon-gods of Ur and Nipur were early identified. At Ur the moon-god, known as Nannak or Nannar, became the father of the gods. Part of an old hymn to him runs thus: "Lord and prince of the gods, who in heaven and earth alone is supreme. . . . Father Nannar, lord of heaven, lord of the moon, prince of the gods. Father, long-suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the life of all mankind. . . . Father, begetter of gods and men, who causes the shrine to be founded, who establishes the offering, who proclaims dominion, who gives the sceptre, who shall fix destiny unto a distant day; First-born, omnipotent, his heart is far-extended; none shall describe the god. . . . As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow their faces. . . . As for thee, thy will is done upon the earth, and the herb grows green. . . . As for thee, thy will is the far-off heaven, the hidden earth which no man hath known. . . . Look with favour on thy temple; look with favour on Ur; let the high-born dame ask rest of thee, O lord; let the free-born man ask rest of thee, O lord! Let the spirits of earth and heaven ask rest of thee, O lord."

The Moon-god of Ur.

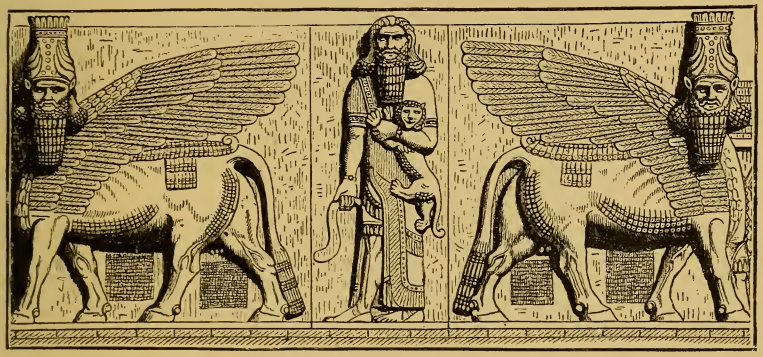
When we remember that this Ur in Chaldæa was the place whence Abraham migrated to Harran, we shall see that he already lived in an atmosphere of very considerable development. Local gods were worshipped, not a truly universal god; but already conceptions of no slight elevation had been attained, and Harran, to which he in the first place migrated, was closely connected with Ur in religion. The moon-god of Ur appears to have gained fame and to have taken a predominant position among the Babylonians as the father of gods and men, under the name Sin (the bright). And in conformity with the Chaldæan idea of the sun coming forth and being produced from the night (over which the moon presides),

we find the sun-god Samas (Tammuz) described as the son of Sin. Perhaps the most noted sun-god of the Accadians was that of Larsa, not far from Ur, whose temple was famous, having been founded or restored by Ur-bagas, the earliest known king of United Babylonia. He also was noted as the builder or restorer of the temple of the moon-god at Ur, that of Mul-lil at Nipur, and those of Anu and Istar at Erech. Istar was the goddess of the evening star, assigned as the wife of Samas, later developed into the Ishtar or Ashtoreth of Semitic worship. The sun-god was also worshipped under his name of Samas at Sippara (the Scripture Sepharvaim), where there was a temple believed to have already grown old and decayed in B.C. 3800, which was the centre of a vigorous worship, with many priests, scribes, schools; and most interesting hymns to the god have come down to us apparently from this very early date.

The sun-god Samas, or Tammuz.

Istar.

Worship at Sepharvaim.



WINGED FIGURES FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT NINEVEH, WITH NIN, OR NINIP, BETWEEN.

There was also a fire-god among the early Accadian gods, celebrated in this fashion in an early hymn: "The Fire-god, the first-born supreme, unto heaven they pursued and no father did he know. O Fire-god, supreme on high, the first-born, the mighty, supreme enjoined of the commands of Anu. The Fire-god enthrones with himself the friend that he loves." He is represented as conquering especially seven evil or injurious spirits of earth and heaven. Another god of whom we know little in his early Accadian form is Ana or Anu, the sky, the chief deity of Erech, which city regarded him as a creative god. He became early in the Semitic dominion of Babylonia the chief member of a sort of triad of gods, Anu, Bel or Mul-lil, and Ea, representing the heaven, the earth, and the ghost-world, and the water. Nergal, the god of Cutha (now Tel-Ibrahim), the strong one, the god of death, among the Accadians, became rather the champion of the gods among the Semites, destroying especially the wicked. But he passed very considerably out of mind with the advance of Semitic forms of worship. The winds, especially

The fire-god.

Nergal.

the destructive ones, were also worshipped as deities; and one of them, Matu, is supposed to have given rise to part of the Semitic conception worshipped under the name of Ramman or Rimmon. Many other spirits or gods were included in the worship of the many separate states or cities of early Babylonia, spirits of heaven, spirits of earth, etc.; and we even meet with such expressions in the Penitential Psalms before mentioned, as "To the god that is known and that is unknown, to the goddess that is known and that is unknown, do I lift my prayer."

Matu.

When the Semites gained predominance in Mesopotamia, they to a large extent adopted or adapted the religious worship they found already established, in accordance with a general idea that it was necessary, or at least advisable, for the conquerors to establish friendly relations with the gods of a conquered country, while maintaining their own original beliefs.

The Semites were already to a large extent sun-worshippers. We cannot yet unravel this development in its details, but it seems probable that Bel-merodach, the great god of Babylon, represented a local god of Babylon who was identified by the Semites with their sun-god and elevated to a supreme position above all the gods, though not excluding their worship. The following prayer of Nebuchadnezzar indicates that monarch's attitude toward his god:—

Bel-merodach.

"To Merodach my lord I prayed; I began to him my petition, the word of my heart sought him, and I said: 'O prince that art from everlasting, lord of all that exists, for the king whom thou lovest . . . thou watchest over him in the path of righteousness! I, the prince who obeys thee, am the work of thy hands; thou createst me and hast entrusted to me the sovereignty over multitudes of men, according to thy goodness, O lord, which thou hast made to pass over them all. Let me love thy supreme lordship, let the fear of thy divinity exist in my heart, and give what seemeth good unto thee, since thou maintainest my life.' Then he, the first-born, the glorious, the first-born of the gods, Merodach the prince, heard my prayer and accepted my petition." It is evident that Merodach was supreme in Babylon; but outside Babylon other gods and creators were acknowledged. He is variously described as merciful, as the intercessor between gods and men, and as interpreter of the will of Ea. Not the least remarkable of the old Chaldæan hymns is one in which he is addressed as "the merciful lord who loves to raise the dead to life," and this is held to show that the Chaldæans had some belief in a resurrection.

To Bel-Merodach a great temple was erected at Babylon, a huge square containing a tower of eight great stages, with a shrine in the topmost, also used as an observatory. The temple at the foot contained a great golden statue of the god, seated; and outside was a golden altar for the sacrifice of special victims, while a larger altar was used for the offering of large numbers of sheep, and for burning large quantities of frankincense at the god's festival. The ceremonies at this temple are said to have presented many resemblances to those of the Jews; they included daily morning and evening sacrifices, meat and drink offerings, the

Merodach's temple at Babylon.

free-will offering, the sin-offering, and the shew-bread. In close association with this temple was a smaller one erected to Nebo, the god of prophecy, called the son of Merodach, the proclaimer of his mind and wishes; and within the shrine of Nebo, Merodach was supposed to descend at his festival and announce his oracles to his priests. Nebo had a separate grand temple in the suburb Borsippa. He was famed as the creator of peace, the author of the oracle, the creator of the written tablet, the author of writing; he was also the bond of the universe and the overseer of the angel hosts. Thus we can understand the exultation of Isaiah's words: "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth," and those of Jeremiah, "Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces." The conquest of Babylon by Cyrus introduced a wider cult, in which

Nebo.

NIN, OR NINIP.

Merodach was recognised as the god of all men; and the Greeks even identified him with Zeus. The Assyrians especially worshipped him, and, in conjunction with him, Beltis his lady.

Now we come into the area of the Semitic tendency to attribute to each god a corresponding goddess. The worship of Nebo passed westward, like that of Bel-merodach, and he was assigned a consort, Tasmitu, "the hearer," who opened the ears of those who received Nebo's inspiration. In addition to Bel and Nebo, a third important god rises to view in Assyria, being the national god of the people, Assur, king of all the gods, enabling the Assyrians to destroy "the enemies of Assur." He was originally the local god of Assur, the early capital, and became a national god, being transferred to Nineveh when it was made the capital. Assur was still more special among the Semites, as not having a consort. "When a female divinity is invoked along with him, it is the equally independent goddess Istar or Ashtoreth." (S.) With him were worshipped many of the gods of Babylonia; but he is especially named as their creator and father. In many respects the characters ascribed to Assur correspond to those by which Jehovah was worshipped by the Israelites. Thus, to quote Prof. Rawlinson, "He places the monarchs upon their throne, firmly establishes them in the government, lengthens the years of their reigns, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, makes their name celebrated, and the like. To him they look to give them victory over their enemies, to grant them all the wishes of their heart, and to allow them to be succeeded on their thrones by their sons, and their sons' sons, to a remote posterity. . . . It is to spread his worship that they carry on their wars. They fight, ravage, destroy in his name. Finally, when they subdue a country, they are careful to set up 'the emblems of Assur,' and to teach the people his laws and his worship." He is often represented as a man with a horned cap, and carrying a bow, and his face appears in the middle of a winged circle, shooting an arrow or stretching out his hand; and this emblem is upon everything royal, robes, rock-carvings, obelisks, etc. A probable suggestion is, that Assur represents an early ruler or king; but later he was closely identified with the ruler of heaven and earth.

Assur.

Among the other gods introduced into Assyria from Chaldæa, Nergal was much worshipped, together with Nin (Ninus) or Ninip. The symbol of the latter, the winged bull, was greatly in vogue throughout Assyria. Nin and Nergal sharpened the king's weapons, and gave him the victory over the fiercest beasts. There was a large temple to Nin (Ninus) at Calah (the modern Nimrud). Nergal was symbolised by the winged lion with a human head.

Another god of interesting history, most especially worshipped in the kingdom of Damascus, by the northern Syrians, was Rimmon, more properly Ramánu, the exalted one, believed to be a literal translation of the name of the Accadian god Muru, representing the air. The Hebrews identified the name with rimmon, a pomegranate, and in that form it became widely known. In Syria, Rimmon was identified with

Rimmon.

the northern Baal or sun-god Hadad; and there are traces of the worship of Hadad-Rimmon as far south as the plain of Jezreel (Zech. xii. 11). In Babylonia and Assyria he was a god of the air and winds, whose worship incorporated that of many older deities. To some of these only their evil powers remained, while Rimmon exemplified beneficence.

We must now return again to the religious texts of Babylonia. The hymns to the gods, composed at different dates, and largely Semitic in origin, include forms to be recited at sunrise and sunset, and on special festivals of the gods. There appear to have been separate collections for each temple, but it is doubtful how far they were incorporated into any general collection; at any rate, they have travelled far beyond primitive conceptions, and include many advanced ideas. Many of the penitential hymns show strong resemblances to the Old Testament psalms. For instance: "I sought for help and none took my hand; I wept and none stood at my side; I cried aloud and there was none that heard me. I am in trouble and hiding; I dare not look up. To my god, the merciful one, I turn myself, I utter my prayer. The feet of my goddess I kiss and water with tears. To my god whom I know and whom I know not I utter my prayer. O lord, look upon me; O goddess, look upon me. . . . How long, O goddess whom I know and know not, shall thy heart in its hostility be not appeased? Mankind is made to wander, and there is none that knoweth. Mankind, as many as pronounce a name, what do they know? Whether he shall have good or ill there is none that knoweth. . . . The sins I have sinned turn to a blessing. The transgressions I have committed may the wind carry away. Strip off my manifold wickednesses as a garment. O my god, seven times seven are my transgressions; forgive my sins! . . . Forgive my sins; may thy bane be removed." (I.) This psalm, copied out from the original by direction of Assur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus) in the 7th century B.C., dates back to a much earlier time, when, however, the Semites were in full possession of Babylonia. It is interesting for its view of sin, penitence, and prayer for forgiveness, as well as for its association of the goddess with the god. Instead of evils being due to evil spirits, they were now read as the offspring of man's sinfulness or the punishments inflicted by the gods. Yet there are Accadian ideas clearly distinguishable in it; the gods are not personally named lest they should be offended, and there is no clear idea what is the nature of the sin committed, or how it became an offence.

Hymns to the gods.

Penitential hymns.

There is remarkably little reference in the early magical hymns and incantations to ideas of future existence. Later we find Merodach invoked as raising the dead to life; but it is not certain that future life is meant. Still the description of Mul-lil as god of the ghost-world, implies some kind of belief in the continuance of the dead. Later we find reference to the "land of the silver sky." But there were various inconsistent views of the abodes of the gods produced in Mesopotamia, which we can merely allude to. One of these describes a "mountain of the world," a sort of Chaldæan Olympus, where the gods were born and lived.

Future existence.

It was also called "the mighty mountain of Mul-lil, whose head rivals the heavens; and whose foundation is the pure deep." The predominant impression as to the ghosts of the departed was, that they abode in the gloomy underworld, eating dust and mud, and sometimes emerging to drink the blood of the living. It was not a land of punishment, but of darkness and forgetfulness, shadows and spectres. But in the Epic of Gisdhubar we find the ghost of Ea-bani described as rising to heaven and living among the gods, reclining on a couch and drinking pure water, beholding the deeds done on earth. In later Assyrian times, the idea of heaven became somewhat spiritualised as the heaven of Anu, and some notion of future rewards and punishments arose. It was now that prayers began to be offered that they might live for ever in the land of the silver sky. Thus we trace ever and again the similarities which are to be found among the Semitic religions.

Little has yet been said about the star-worship which was formerly supposed to be the main feature of Chaldæan religion. It is true that the Chaldæans very early observed and revered the constellations, and framed a calendar; and we may perhaps see in the names given to the signs of the zodiac evidences of primitive totemism, the names being Accadian, and indicating in an interesting way the thoughts connected with animals at that early period. Prof. Sayce shows good reason, from the first place being given to the "Directing Bull," for concluding that the signs of the zodiac were named long before 2,500 B.C., and probably more than 4,000 years before Christ. It is not till the Semitic period of Sargon's rule over Accad that the ram marked the beginning of the year; and to this period may be credited much of the early astrology which essayed to predict events by the signs of the sky. In later Babylonia the stars were largely identified with the gods; and the whole heavens were parcelled out between the three deities Anu, Bel, and Ea. In the cuneiform characters a deity is indicated by an eight-rayed star. We cannot stay to trace the development of this worship in its later stages, when elaborate offerings and sacrifices were made to the stars, in some cases even taking precedence before Assur.

Star-worship and astrology.

An early Semitic cosmogony, with traces of Accadian origin, has been discovered in a tablet originally written for the temple of Nergal at Cutha. It refers to a time when the great gods created living creatures of a compound nature, "warriors with the body of a bird of the valley," "men with the faces of ravens," suckled by Tiamat or the dragon of Chaos. The offspring of these became heroes, but were destroyed ultimately by Nerra, the plague-god, identified with Nergal. Possibly this view of early monsters may account for some of the strange compound figures found in Assyria. But greater interest attaches to the series of tablets of a later Chaldæan cosmology discovered by Mr. George Smith in 1872, which, though comparatively late in their present form, embody a very early series of legends, of deep interest from their correspondences with the narrative in the first chapter of Genesis. The

Early cosmogony.

Mr. George Smith's discoveries.

record is unfortunately in a very fragmentary condition. The first tablet begins thus:

1. At that time above, the heaven was unnamed;
2. Below the earth by name was unrecorded;
3. The boundless deep also (was) their generator.
4. The chaos of the sea was she who bore the whole of them.
5. Their waters were collected together in one place, and
6. The flowering reed was not gathered, the marsh-plant was not grown.
7. At that time the gods had not been produced, any one of them;
8. By name they had not been called, destiny was not fixed.

Then follow verses describing the birth of several gods. The first half of the fifth tablet gives an account of the creation of the heavenly bodies:

1. (Bel) prepared the (seven) mansions of the great gods;
2. He fixed the stars, even the twin-stars, to correspond to them;
3. He ordained the year, appointing the signs of the zodiac over it;
4. For each of the twelve months he fixed three stars,
5. From the day when the year issues forth to the close.
6. He found the mansion of the god of the ferry-boat (the sun-god), that they might know their bonds.
7. That they might not err, that they might not go astray in any way.
8. He established the mansion of Mul-lil and Ea along with himself.
9. He opened also the great gates on either side,
10. The bolts he strengthened on the left hand and on the right,
11. And in their midst he made a staircase.
12. He illuminated the moon-god that he might watch over the night,
13. And ordained for him the ending of the night that the day may be known.

In similar style another tablet relates the creation of animals.

But while there is great interest in finding a Chaldæan legend agreeing in some features with that of Genesis, there is no warrant for saying that either of the accounts has given rise to the other; but that they have some connection is very possible. They are of special importance, however, in anthropology as examples of the ways in which the human mind has explained creation. The Chaldæan account adds a very striking narrative in one tablet, of the contest between the god Bel and the dragon of Chaos, which is too complex to describe here.

Bel and the dragon.

Among other early Chaldæan fragments is one which appears to describe a parallel incident to the confusion of tongues at Babel. Bel, the father of the gods, is said to have been angry at the sin of the builders of Babylon, and especially of the "Illustrious mound," and the builders were punished, and the mound destroyed at night by the winds; but nothing is said of the confusion of tongues. It is probable that the tower of Babel is represented by the great mound of Nimroud, with its succession of diminishing stages, forming a great temple or "gate of the gods." In the time of Nebuchadnezzar it was incomplete, and had long been ruinous, when he undertook its restoration and completion. It has been suggested that during its long period of decay the legend arose which described it as a monument of human folly and presumption, and that the

The tower of Babel.

variety of languages spoken in Babylonia gave good cause for attributing the diversity to divine punishment.

In the great Epic of Izdubar or Gisdhubar, also discovered by Mr. Smith in 1872, we have a Semitic translation of the exploits of an early Accadian king or primitive Hercules, arranged on a solar plan, which accords with the representation of the hero as sun-god. In many ways the events recorded in the epic correspond to the twelve labours of Hercules; and it may be that the Izdubar legend is one of the early forms from which Phœnicia and then Greece derived the famous myth. The most perfect tablet is that which describes a deluge, which has been very generally identified with that of Noah. The character of Izdubar corresponds exactly to that of Nimrod in Genesis; and it is not certain that the names may not be identical, for Izdubar is but a provisional rendering.

The epic of Izdubar.

The deluge, according to the Chaldæan epic, was due to the judgment of the gods Anu, Bel, and Ninip, and Ea told the "man of Surippak," Samas-Napiati (the living sun), to build a ship to preserve plants and living beings; it was to be 600 cubits long, and 60 broad and high. Numerous details of the building and construction are given; and when Xisuthrus with his people, and animals, and plants, and food had entered the ship, "the waters of dawn arose at daybreak, a black cloud from the horizon of heaven. Rimmon in the midst of it thundered, and Nebo and the wind-god went in front." The earth was covered, and all living things destroyed. Even the gods were afraid at the whirlwind, and took refuge in the heaven of Anu. After six days and nights the storm abated, and the rain ceased, and the wind and deluge ended. "I watched the sea making a noise, and the whole of mankind were turned to clay, like reeds the corpses floated. . . . In the country of Nizir (east of Assyria) rested the ship; the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it it was not able. . . . On the seventh day I sent forth a dove, and it left. The dove went, it returned, and a resting-place it did not find, and it came back." Later a raven was sent forth, and it did not return. Then the ship was opened, the animals came forth, sacrifice was offered to the gods, and Xisuthrus became the father of Izdubar, himself being afterwards translated to live as a god. We cannot attempt a detailed comparison of the Chaldæan and Noachian floods, for which reference must be made to Professor Sayce's edition of Mr. Smith's "Chaldæan Account of Genesis;" but we may remark that this deluge narrative, perhaps more than anything else, shows how closely the narratives in Genesis are related to Chaldæan traditions or sources of information.

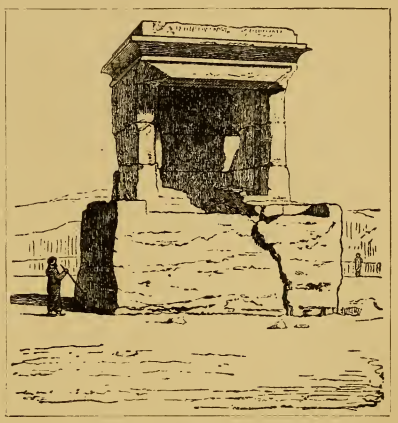
The Chaldæan deluge.

In various Assyrian records we find the king himself offering sacrifices, as in Egypt and Palestine; but there were also high priests, and several orders of inferior priests. One of the most important of these was the anointer, who purified persons and things with oil and water; others were the soothsayers and the elders, or "great ones." The movable symbols or images of the gods were carried about in procession in

Priests.

little arks or "ships," at least in Babylon; and this custom can be traced back to the early Accadian times of the city of Eridu. Festivals were numerous; in fact, it seems that almost every day could be celebrated as a festival. We have a complete list of festivals assigned to the intercalary month Elul; and we find, for example, that on the second day "the king makes his farewell offering to the Sun, the mistress of the world, and the Moon, the supreme god: sacrifices he offers." The third day, a fast day, is dedicated to Merodach and Zarpaint, the fourth to Nebo, the fifth to the Lord of the Lower Firmament and the Lady of the Lower Firmament, the sixth to Rimmon and Nin-lil, and so on, the king offering sacrifices on every day. On the seventh day we have an interesting record of what was lawful or unlawful on the Babylonian Sabbath, or day of rest. "The shepherd of mighty nations must not eat flesh cooked at the fire in the smoke. His clothes he must not change. White garments he must not put on. He must not offer sacrifice. The king must not drive a chariot. He must not issue royal decrees. In a secret place the augur must not mutter. Medicine for the sickness of his body he must not apply. For making a curse it is not fit." (S.) These prohibitions are repeated on the 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days. These Sabbath days go back to the times of the Accadians, who called them "unlawful days." It was also customary to observe special days of thanksgiving or humiliation, as when Esarhaddon II. prayed to the sun-god to remove the sin of his people, and when Assurbani-pal purified the shrines and cleansed the temples and restored the daily sacrifices.

Festivals and sacred days.



TEMPLE AT AMRITH, PHŒNICIA.

In early Accadian times human sacrifice was practised; and a text is extant which declares "that the father must give the life of his child for the sin of his own soul, the child's head for his head, the child's neck for his neck, the child's breast for his breast"; and later, in "the observations of Bel," an astronomical record, it is stated that, "on the high places the son is burnt." But there are no accounts of human sacrifices in the historical tablets. Oxen, sheep, and gazelles, corn and wine, are the chief kinds of offerings we read of, accompanied by the offering of prayers and repeating of hymns. A distinction was made between different animals, the flesh of some being declared unlawful to eat; and the pig is not even mentioned in the inscriptions. In one inscription the flesh of men, gazelles, dogs, wild boars, asses, horses, and dragons is mentioned as unlawful.

Sacrifices.

The early Babylonians used much religious symbolism, both by mystic numbers and by emblematic signs. Many of these are not yet understood.

Images.

The Assyrians had many images representing their gods, and some of these have been obtained from the ruins. Nebo is represented as a man standing, heavy and solid-looking. These images were of metal, sometimes of silver or gold, but usually of stone or baked clay. The latter are often of small size, as if intended for private use. Feasts were set out before the images, and it was currently believed that the god really ate and drank. The inner shrine of the temple of Bel, at Babylon, had a grand couch and a golden table for the god. We hear sometimes of riotous excesses in connection with the festivals; and in the worship of the goddess Beltis there was a regular system of immorality prescribed to women.

There are traces of a monotheistic school or teaching in Chaldæa, and hymns have been found addressed to "the one god." Another phenomenon,

Monotheism.

still more marked, is the attribution of universal power to the particular deity addressed, though another god might be addressed in similar terms. We cannot enlarge on the contrasting system of magic and augury which was elaborately developed, apart from the State religion, and had a very powerful influence on the mass of the people.

We must allow that the Mesopotamian peoples show a marked religious character. Everything the kings did or gained was attributed to the favour of their gods; and their records begin and end with praises,

Religious character of people.

prayers, and invocations to them. The kings show their devotion by much expenditure on temples, offerings, and religious sculpture; and we cannot but acknowledge that in their religious devotion they are parallel with the kings of Israel. Still, the sensuous had a large share in their religion, which did not diminish their ferocity and treachery towards their enemies; and they are described in no moderate terms by the Hebrew prophets. As to the moral condition of the people generally, it is difficult to say anything with certainty; we have no reason to think it exceptionally high. Harsh and cruel punishments were undoubtedly inflicted on offenders and on enemies; and if the Babylonian nobles had cause to tremble at the slightest displeasure or caprice of their king, it is only likely that the same rule applied through lower grades of society. Pride and luxury developed wherever possible, and yet we must couple with their prominent religiousness a considerable degree of honesty and calmness of demeanour.

The religion of the Phœnicians, the nearest Semitic neighbours of the Israelites, is but too scantily known to us, and yet is of great interest, ow-

Phœnician religion.

ing to the influence it had on them. We have neither sacred books nor extensive sculptural remains to guide us; but we can discern clearly that the Phœnicians, more than the Chaldæans, worshipped the power or powers which moved in and through the principal natural phenomena. Their principal divinity was undoubtedly Baal, "lord," originally a sun-god, worshipped now in his beneficent aspects, and now as the fierce god of fire and summer heat. He was early worshipped on the

tops of mountains, where his presence was indicated by upright conical stones. There was a marked tendency in the Phœnicians to give separate names to separate aspects of the deity; whether these worships gradually became united, and the common term Baal was prefixed, or whether they gradually separated from a common origin, cannot be determined. Thus we find such names as Baal-Tsur, "Lord of Tyre," Baal-Tsidon, "Lord of Zidon," Baal-Peor, "Lord of Peor," Baal-Zebub, "Lord of flies," etc. Moloch, or Melek, "king," represents Baal in his fierce aspect, and was a god who required his worshipper to sacrifice his best or dearest possession to him, often his only or his eldest son. In later times a ram was substituted. The special god of Tyre, Baal-Melkarth, united the two aspects of the god; and it is this god who appears in the Greek "Melicertes," or the Tyrian Hercules. The temple of Melkarth was said to be the oldest building in Tyre, but it was destitute of images, the altar-fire burning continually being his symbol. No women, dogs, or swine were permitted to enter his temples, which were erected in many towns of Phœnicia, as well as in Carthage, Cadiz, and Malta.

Baal.

Melkarth.

THE PHŒNICIAN ASTARTE.

Perhaps an earlier name under which the sun was worshipped was El, "the exalted one," also known as El Shaddai, the thunderer, and Adonai, "Master," but much about their worship is obscure. There are numerous references to these divinities in the Old Testament; which can be understood now that Semitic religions are better known; thus, Melchizedek was priest of El Eliun, "the most high God."

Ashtoreth, or Ashtaroth, the chief goddess of the Phœnicians (Astarte of the Greeks), represented both the productive female power and the moon; her name is really derived from the Accadian Istar, the subject of the Semitic Babylonian myth which "recounts the descent of the goddess Istar into Hades in search of the healing waters which should restore to life her bridegroom Tammuz, the young and beautiful Sun-god, slain by the cruel hand of night and winter." (S.) At Gebal, or Byblos, eight miles north of Beyrout, the death of Adonis, or Tammuz, was yearly commemorated, when the river Adonis (Nahr Ibrahim) became red with mountain mud in the flood season, by a funeral festival of seven days. "Gardens of Adonis, as they were called, were planted,—pots filled with earth and cut herbs, which soon withered away in the fierce heat of the summer sun,—fitting emblems of the lost Adonis himself. Meanwhile, the streets and gates of the temples were filled with throngs of wailing women. They tore their hair, they disfigured the face, they cut the

Ashtoreth.

Adonis.

breast with sharp knives, in token of the agony of their grief. Their cry of lamentation went up to heaven mingled with that of the Galli, the emasculated priests of Ashtoreth, who shared with them their festival of woe over her murdered bridegroom." (Sayce: "Hibbert Lectures," p. 229.) Ezekiel (viii. 14) was indignant at finding women weeping for Tammuz (Adonis) at the very gate of the Lord's house in Jerusalem. In Phœnician worship, Istar, or Ashtoreth, came into such general favour as to serve as the generic name for a goddess; and by the side of the Baalim were the Ashtoreth, their consorts. The reproductive aspect of Ashtoreth led to the connection with her worship of much licentiousness. Under the title "Queen of Heaven," and under her own name, she appears as an abomination to the Hebrew historians and prophets, having often led the people astray into idolatry (Jer. vii. 18; xliv. 25). In Gen. xiv. 5, she is called Ashtoreth Karnaim, Astarte of the two horns, in allusion to one of her symbols, the head of a heifer, with crescent horns.

But the Phœnician worship extended widely through the field of nature. There were gods or Baalim of the rivers, of the mountains, etc.; but on the whole there was a tendency to regard all deities as identical at bottom, so that Baal worship may be regarded as the predominant Phœnician religion. The Kabiri were eight special divinities, the patrons of manual arts and civilisation, the inventors of ships and medicine. Trees are accounted specially sacred, and certain wonderful stones, especially aërolites, were reverenced and consecrated as signs of the presence of the deity.

Nature gods.

The Kabiri.

Whatever tendency there was in Phœnicia to worship the unity of the godhead was neutralised as a moral force by the sensuality of the worship offered. Human sacrifices were offered on exceptional occasions; and children, especially firstborn sons, were the principal victims. Usually, however, oxen and male animals, or birds, were sacrificed. The purity of women was also violated in the groves of the queen of heaven, as part of the worship at certain feasts. Although idols were few and simple and scarcely ever in human form, the worship of dwarf or distorted images, two-headed, or winged, or horned, had no superior efficacy in making the worship of a higher character; and thus there was full reason for the strength of the opposition of Elijah and other Israelitish leaders to the whole system of Phœnician religion.

Human and other sacrifices.

There probably was more religious affinity between the Ammonites and Moabites and the Israelites, for each professed the exclusive worship of one god; Moloch being the god of the former, and Chemosh of the Moabites. But the service of Moloch was sharply differentiated from that of Jehovah, especially by the practice of sacrificing children by fire to Moloch. In 2 Kings iii. 27, we read how the king of Moab sacrificed his eldest son as a burnt-offering upon the wall of his city, as a last resort when threatened with destruction by the Israelites; and that afterwards the invaders raised the siege and returned home. Such examples had an influence over more than one king of Judah, who acted similarly (2 Kings

Moloch.

xvi. 3, xxi. 6), and the people followed in their wake; and "high places" were built, where they slew and then burnt their sons and daughters. So general and open became the practice that the Israelites went direct from slaying their children, on the same day into the temple to worship. In fact, in recognising Baal or Moloch as the equivalent of their own Jehovah, the Israelites gave way to all the cruel and evil practices associated with the alien gods. There is no clear distinction to be made between Chemosh and Moloch; and on the celebrated Moabite stone, the Moabite king, Mesha, attributes the victories of the Israelites over him to the wrath of Chemosh, and his deliverance to his aid.

Chemosh.

The worship of the Philistines appears to have been of a general Semitic type, with local deities and special types, as the Baal-zebub (or god of flies), of Ekron and Dagon the fish-god, whose image was partly human, partly fish-like. The Philistines carried the image of their god into battle, and used oracles and divination; and their ceremonies appear to have been much like those of the Phœnicians, though we know very little about the details. It is conjectured that Dagon is derived from the Assyrian Dorgan or Daken, figured as half-man, half-fish.

The Philistine gods.

Dagon.

Of the Hittite religion too little is known to make it desirable to discuss it here.

ARABS PRAYING.

CHAPTER III.

Life of Mahomet. Part I.

The latest great religion—Early Arab religious ideas—Tribal deities—Importance of kinship—Pilgrimages—The Jinn, or genies—Abodes of the gods—Sacred trees, wells, pillars, etc.—Sacrifices—Hair offerings—Idols—Notion of a supreme God—Prevalent profane spirit in Arabia—Jewish and Christian influence—Mahomet's family—His birth—Early life—His marriage to Khadijah—State of morals in Arabia—Rebuilding of the Kaaba—Mahomet's solitude and reveries—His high ideal—Dawn of prophetic mission—The vision of Gabriel—Command to preach—Apparent break in revelation—Nervous disorder and agitation—His early adherents—Opposition at Mecca—Attempts to silence him—Flight of adherents to Abyssinia—A proposed compromise—Withdrawal by Mahomet—Return of fugitives, and second flight—Hamza and Omar converted—Hostility of the Koreish—Mahomet's alliance with Jews—Boycotting—Seclusion—Mahomet preaches to strangers—Death of Khadijah—Mahomet's despondency—Re-marriage—The pilgrims from Medina—First pledge of Acaba—Adherents won at Medina—The visions of Jerusalem and of heaven—The Emperor Heraclius—Famine at Mecca—Mahomet's high claims—Commencement of the flight to Medina—Mahomet leaves Mecca—Takes refuge in a cave—Arrives at Medina, A.D. 622.

AFTER the successful foundation and wide propagation of Christianity, few could have predicted the rise and establishment of a new religion; and, inasmuch as practically no other great religion has been founded since Christianity, it may be granted that Mohammedanism rested upon or gratified some important and deeply seated factors in humanity. What these were, and how far they were due to the founder himself, it must be our aim to discover. It is desirable to have in mind, when considering Mohammedanism, the history

The latest great religion.

of Judaism and the early history of Christianity; but these will be dealt with later in this volume, in continuity with the later history of the Christian Churches.

Situated between the great populations of Asia and Africa, the Arabs, as might be expected, had numerous religious elements in common with the adjacent peoples. Fetishism, animal-worship, nature-worship, especially of the sun and heavenly bodies, as well as ancestor-worship, undoubtedly existed among the Arabs before Mahomet's time. And the founder of Mohammedanism had to build upon the state of things he found deeply ingrained in his people. How powerful his influence and that of his successors was, may be gathered from the facts, that they elevated an obscure dialect into a language as widespread as Latin in the days of the Roman empire; and that to this day new conquests are being made by Islam and the Arabs.

Early Arab religious ideas.

The study of the early religion of the Arabs is of intense interest, from its necessary relation to that of the early Hebrews. It is to be regretted that it is still obscure, although much important work has been done, especially by Wellhausen and Robertson Smith. No doubt the type and forms of early Arab religion were influenced by their separation into small tribes; and this caused or allowed a certain variety, as well as a certain smallness of conception to prevail. Each tribe, or group of tribes, had its particular god or gods, with which it was in peculiar relation, which fought for it and against the gods of hostile peoples, which were believed to be equally real. Then, when two or more tribes became amalgamated, a commencement was made of a polytheistic system, by which several gods were worshipped side by side. Very generally, if not always, the tribal god was an ancestor-god, either an actual or a fabled deified ancestor. Something of the same idea is seen in the Genesis narrative that the sons of God took wives of the daughters of men. Many Arab tribes bore the names of their gods, or of celestial bodies worshipped as gods; but in later times, before Mahomet, these relationships were forgotten, and "the later Arabs worshipped gods that were not the gods of their fathers, and tribes of alien blood were often found gathered together on festival occasions at the great pilgrim shrines." (Robertson Smith.) But the idea of kinship in blood to the god was a predominant factor in early Arabia; and this made the blood of a kinsman holy and inviolable, and sanctioned the extremes of blood revenge. Inasmuch as the connection by kinship suggests motherhood as well as fatherhood, it is not surprising to learn that numerous early Arab deities were goddesses; and it is believed that in later times the goddesses became changed to gods, in accordance with a change in the predominant idea of kinship. One of the goddesses was Al-Lat, worshipped by the Nabatæans as mother of the gods; another was Al-Uzza, who has been named Venus by Latin writers. As is so often the case in goddess-worship, sensualism largely existed.

Tribal deities.

Importance of kinship.

The nomad life of the Arabs was not favourable to the growth and permanence of ideas of the godhead suited to agricultural peoples. We do

not find that they gave fixed annual offerings to the gods, or offered stated sacrifices at set seasons. They, however, early became accustomed to the idea of pilgrimages to towns (when such arose), which were the seat of some specially sacred object or worship; and thus it was that gradually the religion of the townspeople gained great importance, and threw that of the nomads into the shade. There were temples of some kind in these towns; and even when they did not exist, sanctuaries were formed in caves, and priests guarded the abode of the gods. Gifts to the gods were offered by being brought to the sacred place, hung on a sacred tree, or if the offering were one of blood or other liquid, by being poured over a sacred stone.

Pilgrimages.

We may refer here briefly to the primitive Arab belief (associated with animism) that nature is full of superhuman beings, the *Jinn* (Djinn), or demons, corporeal beings with hairy skins, and capable of assuming varied shapes: and Mohammedanism has degraded all the heathen gods into *jinn*. They were feared and avoided, living as they did in uninhabited wastes, occupying the mysterious mountains that were believed to encompass the earth, and also invading baths, ovens, wells, the junctions of roads, etc. Many injuries were supposed to have been inflicted by them on human beings. There were many orders of them, and the belief in them was so profound that it has been perpetuated among modern Arabs.

The Jinn, or genies.

The early Arabs recognised abodes or haunts of the gods, which they clearly marked out, such as a tract of pastureland marked off by pillars or cairns, or a whole valley or town, within which bloodshed was forbidden and no tree was to be cut down, and numerous other things were forbidden. Within these was to be found some special place or altar at which the blood of sacrifices was smeared on sacred stones, or some tree upon which gifts were hung. Fountains or wells, trees, pillars, and heaps of stones were very general symbols or centres of worship. Sometimes all were combined in one sacred place. At Mecca the holy well Zamzam was holy long before Mahomet's time. At Nejran a sacred date-palm was worshipped; and at its annual feast it was hung with fine garments and female adornments. The people of Mecca used to hang weapons, garments, ostrich eggs, etc., upon a similar tree. Even the modern Arabs revere sacred trees as places where the *jinn* or genii descend, and may be heard dancing and singing. They regard it as a deadly danger to pluck a bough from these trees; they make sacrifices to them, hanging parts of the flesh of the victims upon them, as well as calico, beads, etc. Sick men, when brought to sleep under them, have dreams which restore them to health.

Abodes of the gods.

Sacred stones, trees, wells, pillars, etc.

Except in the case of human victims, sacrifice by fire was little practised, the pouring of the blood over a rude altar of stones being regarded as sufficient. In some cases the flesh of the slaughtered animals was left to be devoured by wild beasts, but usually it was eaten by the worshippers. There was a customary offering of firstlings as well

Sacrifices.

as firstfruits among many Arab tribes. Sometimes gifts of food, meal, etc., were cast at the foot of the idol, mingled with the giver's hair, and milk was poured over the sacred stones. Libations were very prominent among the Arabs. It appears to have been a very early Arab usage to sacrifice the hair of youths as a sign of admission into the adult religious status; and a hair-offering formed part of every Arab pilgrimage. The people of Taïf shaved their heads at their holy place every time they returned from a journey. In Mahomet's time the ordinary worship of household gods among the Arabs consisted in stroking them with the hand in going in or out of the house or tent.

Hair offerings.

Ten idols of the ancient Arabs are mentioned in the Koran, viz., Al-Jibl and Al-Taghut, Al-Lat, Al-Uzza, Manat, Wadd, Suwa, Yaghus, Yaug, and Nasr. The first two were idols of the Koreish, Al-Lat was the idol at Taïf, Al-Uzza was identified with Venus, but was worshipped under the form of an acacia-tree; Manat was a large sacrificial stone. The five succeeding names represent deified ancestors; but several were worshipped under animal forms, as the Lion-god (Yaghus), the Vulture-god (Nasr), the Horse-god (Yaug). Habbah was a large sacred stone on which camels were sacrificed; and the remarkable Black Stone of Mecca was another object of intense reverence. In the Kaaba at Mecca there were images representing Abraham and Ishmael, each carrying divining arrows in his hand.

Idols.

But in the midst of the old idolatry there had arisen some perception of a supreme God, who was known as Allah, the other gods being termed children of Allah. The word Allah may be connected with the Babylonian and Semitic El; it is doubtful whether it should be regarded as a contraction of Al-ilah, the Strong One, or should be read Al-lah, the Secret One. "By him," according to Wellhausen, "the holiest oaths were sworn; in his name treaties and covenants were sealed. The enemy was reminded of Allah to deter him from inhuman outrage; enemy of Allah was the name of opprobrium for a villain. But, since Allah ruled over all, and imposed duties on all, it was not thought that one could enter into special relations with him. In worship he had the last place, those gods being preferred who represented the interests of a specific circle, and fulfilled the private desires of their worshippers. Neither the fear of Allah, however, nor reverence for the gods, had much influence. The chief practical consequence of the great feasts was the observance of a truce in the holy months; and this in time had become mainly an affair of pure practical convenience. In general, the disposition of the heathen Arabs, if it is at all truly reflected in their poetry, was profane in an unusual degree. . . . The ancient inhabitants of Mecca practised piety essentially as a trade, just as they do now; their trade depended on the feast, and its fair on the inviolability of the Haram and on the truce of the holy months." Just at Mahomet's time, some few individuals in Taïf, Mecca, and Medina, who worshipped Allah, had gained the name of Hanifs, probably meaning

Notion of a supreme God.

Prevalent profane spirit in Arabia.

"penitents," rejecting polytheism, seeking freedom from sin, resignation to God's will, and feeling a sense of human responsibility and judgment to come. It is doubtful how far their ideas were derived from Jews and Christians. Jews were very numerous both in Hejaz and in Yemen, and a certain amount of their lore and peculiar tenets was no doubt current among the more intelligent Arabs. There does not appear to have been any considerable development of Christianity in Arabia, though the travelled Arabs knew something of Greek, Syrian, and Abyssinian Christians. The Sabians and anchorites of the northern deserts of Arabia are more likely to have had an influence on the Arabs preceding Mahomet; and in the Koran Mahomet notes that they believed in God and in the day of resurrection and judgment. They were not the same as the people who later took the name of Harranians, who were star-worshippers (Sabæans) and polytheists descended from the early people of Mesopotamia. The ascetic anchorites of the desert undoubtedly impressed the Arabs by their earnestness, their consecration to a holy life, and their steadfast preparation for a life to come. Thus the seed was, to some extent, prepared for the prophet of Islam.

Jewish and Christian influence.

Mecca was the strongest centre of Arab worship, however superstitious it might be; and out of Mecca, and the tribe of the Koreish who dominated it, came the family of Mahomet. His grandfather, Abd-al-Muttalib, was chief of a family of the Koreish in the middle of the sixth century, A.D. His youngest son, Abdallah, married Amina, the daughter of Wahb, but did not live to see his son Mahomet, who also lost his mother when he was still a child. Mahomet was born in A.D. 570; his name is more precisely Muhammad, "the Praised"; but the rendering "Mahomet" has so long enjoyed vogue in this country that it is retained in this book. He was put out to nurse in the desert with a Bedouin woman. At five years of age he visited Medina with his mother, who died on the return journey. After his grandfather's death he was cared for by his uncle, Abu-Talib, and with him he went on a journey with a caravan to Syria about 582 A.D. A few years later he was perforce engaged in the so-called sacrilegious war between the Koreish and the Hawazin, which occurred within the sacred months and was carried into the sacred territory. In this war, says Mahomet, "I discharged arrows at the enemy, and I do not regret it." The chief remaining incident of interest in his early life is his taking part in a league of several families of the Koreish, who swore by the avenging Deity to take the part of the oppressed and see his claim fulfilled, so long as a drop of water remained in the ocean, or that they would satisfy it from their own resources. At one time he was occupied as a shepherd. At the age of twenty-five he was recommended by his uncle to take charge of a trading caravan belonging to a wealthy Koreishite widow named Khadijah. In charge of this he travelled to Bostra, sixty miles east of Jordan on the road to Damascus. Being successful, and attracting the regard of Khadijah, she conveyed to him her desire to marry him; and this marriage, though the

Mahomet's family.

His birth.

Early life.

His marriage to Khadijah.

wife was fifteen years the husband's senior, was a very happy one. Khadijah bore him two sons, who died young, and four daughters, of whom the most famous was Fatima.

Mahomet's life, previous to his announcement of his mission, was passed among a people with whom revenge was a religious duty, and blood feuds were common, whole tribes being involved in them. Drunkenness and gambling prevailed largely. Female children were often buried alive as soon as born. Women were in general mere chattels; polygamy and divorce were frequent. Idolatry, divination, bloody sacrifices (not unfrequently of sons by fathers), sensualism, were prevalent. We have no record as to how far Mahomet himself conformed to the customary worship and beliefs; but it may well be conceived, judging from his later life, that his inward self gradually revolted from them, and that he pondered over the different ideas he had received from surrounding religious systems—chiefly by word of mouth and by sight, for there is no probability that Mahomet could read or write.

State of morals in Arabia.

When Mahomet was about 35 years old, the Kaaba, or shrine of the sacred stone at Mecca, was rendered insecure by a flood, and it was decided to rebuild the walls and cover them with a roof. During a dispute as to who should place the black stone in its position in the wall, Mahomet was chosen to decide the question, and he took off his mantle and placed the stone on it and said, "Now let one from each of your four divisions come forward and raise a corner of this mantle." This was done, and Mahomet with his own hand guided it to its place; and this decision increased his influence among his fellow tribesmen. Other incidents are recorded, showing his capacity for forming warm friendships, for showing gratitude and kindness, and for exercising paternal judgment.

Rebuilding of the Kaaba.

About his fortieth year Mahomet became more and more contemplative, and frequently retired into solitary valleys and among rocks near Mecca. His favourite resort was a cave at the foot of Mount Hira, north of Mecca; and here, in dark and wild surroundings, his mind was wrought up to rhapsodic enthusiasm; and it may well be that some few of the earliest chapters in the Koran date from this time, such as:—

Mahomet's solitude and reveries.

> "By the declining day I swear!
> Verily man is in the way of ruin;
> Excepting such as possess faith,
> And do the things which be right,
> And stir up one another to truth and steadfastness."

In others of the early chapters we find Mahomet possessed by an ideal of truth and righteousness, and a stern reprobation of evil, injustice, and lying, and their certain punishment; together with visions of his own people as designated by Providence to overthrow evil and to preserve true worship at Mecca. He points out as the lofty path:

His high ideal.

> "Freeing the captive,
> And giving food in the day of want

To the orphan that is near of kin,
Or to the poor that lieth in the dust."

Further, the righteous must be of those that believe and stir up one another unto steadfastness and compassion:

"These are the heirs of blessedness."

Apparently some of his thoughts and his rhapsodic utterances were communicated to his family and friends, who regarded him as one almost beside himself. When he enlarged on the purer ideas that he had heard were possessed by the Jews and Christians, they said: "If a prophet had been sent unto us, we should no doubt have followed his directions, and been as devout and spiritual in our worship as the Jews and Christians." His meditations led him more and more to the belief that a preacher or prophet was needed by his people, and that he might be the destined prophet. After long mental struggle, during which he fell into deep depression and often meditated suicide, he became encouraged and confident, and looked for a period when the sway of his preaching should extend over all Arabia, and lead to the destruction of idols and the conquest of other peoples. The tradition is, that one night, while he was in Mount Hira, during the month of Ramadan, engaged in pious exercises, the angel Gabriel came to him as he slept, and held a silken scroll before him, and compelled him to recite what was written on it; and it is asserted that this is part of the ninety-sixth sura,[1] beginning: "Recite! in the name of thy Lord, who created man from congealed blood! Recite! for thy Lord is the most High, who hath taught the pen, hath taught man what he knew not. Nay, truly man walketh in delusion when he deems that he suffices for himself" [otherwise translated: "Man is indeed outrageous at seeing himself get rich"]; "to thy Lord is the return." When the angel left him, continues the tradition, Mahomet came to his wife and told her what had happened; and she comforted him and confirmed him in the belief that this was a revelation from God. But no others would listen to him, and he was thrown back upon his meditations.

Dawn of prophetic mission.

The vision of Gabriel.

One day, while stretched upon his carpet and covered with his garments, it is related that the angel Gabriel again appeared to him, and said:

"O thou that art covered, arise and preach [or warn], and magnify thy Lord; and purify thy garments, and depart from uncleanness; and grant not favour to gain increase; and wait for thy Lord."

Command to preach.

Revelations now began to follow one another frequently; but, after a certain time there was a break, during which the inspiration was suspended, and Mahomet's thoughts turned towards suicide. How far during this time he was overpowered by hysterical hallucinations it would be idle to attempt to determine; but it is related that from youth he had suffered from a nervous disorder which has been termed

Apparent break in revelation.

[1] The name given to the chapters of the Koran, meaning, "reading."

epilepsy; and that this tendency was increased during his spiritual struggles by his mental excitement, night-watchings, and fastings is most probable. But this does not detract from the genuineness of his belief in his Divine inspiration. On one occasion, when about to commit suicide, it is related that he was suddenly arrested by a voice from heaven, and saw the angel on a throne between the heavens and the earth, who said: "O Mahomet, thou art in truth the prophet of Allah, and I am Gabriel." It is said that in moments of inspiration his anxiety of countenance was painfully evident; he would fall to the ground like one intoxicated or overcome by sleep, and in the coldest day his forehead would be bedewed with sweat. These periods were unexpected even by Mahomet himself. He himself said later: "Inspiration descendeth upon me in one of two ways: sometimes Gabriel cometh and communicateth the revelation unto me as one man unto another, and this is easy; at other times it affecteth me like the ringing of a bell, penetrating my very heart, and rending me as it were in pieces, and this it is which grievously afflicteth me." Nervous disorder.

Mahomet now preached his doctrines privately among his friends. His wife's freedman, Zaid; his cousin Ali; his intimate friend Abu-bekr, a ready believer, a steadfast friend, a rich merchant, generous in purchasing slaves who had become believers; Othman, Zobair, and others soon formed a little community. He was in accord too with the Hanifs. Gradually his appeal extended to the whole of the Koreish and their slaves, who, being foreigners, had often some knowledge of Judaism and Christianity, and were somewhat predisposed to accept a new doctrine that elevated them; but the Meccans in general paid him little heed. They were already familiar with the essence of his teaching about the one God, and the necessity of truth and righteousness. He was not preaching to them a really new and attractive doctrine; it was one which, if followed out, demanded painful changes in their life, a true obedience to the all-powerful Judge of man, accompanied by prayer, almsgiving, and temperance of life. If the slaves, the children of the lower classes, heard him gladly, that was an additional reason why the haughty Koreish would not listen to him. His early adherents. Opposition at Mecca.

Repulsed very considerably, Mahomet proceeded to denounce more vigorously the false gods and the false ideas of the Koreish, and to threaten them with judgments of God if they did not listen to His prophet. They were constrained at one time to beg Abu Talib, Mahomet's uncle, to silence him or to withdraw his protection from him. When Abu Talib discussed matters with his nephew, the latter was sturdy in upholding the paramount imperiousness of his convictions. "Though they gave me the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left," said Mahomet, "to bring me back from my undertaking, yet will I not pause till the Lord carry my cause to victory, or till I die for it." So saying he burst into tears, and turned to go away. "Go in peace," said his uncle, "and say what thou wilt, for, by God, I will on no condition abandon thee." Attempts to silence him.

At this time Mahomet was holding his meetings in the house of Arkun,

one of his converts, close by the sanctuary of the Kaaba; but petty insults were heaped on Mahomet, and grosser indignities and cruelties on the humbler converts, so that while Abu-bekr purchased the freedom of some slaves, others fled to Abyssinia, where they were kindly received by the Christians.

Flight of adherents to Abyssinia.

After this, Mahomet, depressed by apparent failure, was in a mood for compromise. One day he sat down among the chief men of Mecca beside the Kaaba, and recited to them the fifty-third sura, including an account of the first visit of the angel to him, and also of a later vision, containing "What think ye of Al-Lat and Al-Ozza, and Manat the third with them?" At this verse, so the story runs, the devil suggested to Mahomet words of reconciliation. "These are the sublime Females" [otherwise "cranes"], "whose intercession may be hoped for;" whereupon the Koreish were delighted at this recognition of their deities, and when Mahomet concluded, "Wherefore bow down before Allah and serve Him," they all prostrated themselves and worshipped; and professed themselves ready to recognise the prophet, since he had granted them part of their idolatry. But Mahomet went home disquieted, and in the evening was visited by Gabriel, who said to him, "What hast thou done? thou hast repeated before the people words that I never gave unto thee." Then Mahomet grieved sorely and said, "I have spoken of God that which He hath not said." Then he was comforted, and Allah erased part of the sura, making it read, after "Manat the third," "What? shall there be male offspring for them, and female for you? That were an unfair division. They are naught but names, which ye and your fathers have invented." When the Meccans heard of this, their hostility broke out with renewed violence.

A proposed compromise.

Withdrawal by Mahomet.

There can be little doubt that this story indicates a period of attempted compromise, which failed, owing to the unreality of any change produced in the Meccans. A profession which was no conversion was useless in establishing a reformation. The news of it brought back the Abyssinian refugees; but finding enmity again in full activity, they returned in added numbers, including Mahomet's daughter Rokkaya and her husband Othman. The Koreish were very scornful after this change of front, and said, "Ah, is this he whom Allah sent as an Apostle; verily, he had nearly seduced us from our gods, unless we had patiently persevered therein." "Verily thou plainly art a fabricator."

Return of fugitives, and second flight.

In the midst of these discouragements, Mahomet made two notable converts, his uncle Hamza, and Omar, a young man who had till then been strongly hostile to the new faith. Omar was twenty-six years old, tall and commanding in figure, with a strong and impetuous temper, and he had great personal influence, though neither rich nor of a principal family. He was converted owing to his discovery that his sister Fatima and her husband Said had believed in the new faith, and he was welcomed cordially by Mahomet. From this time people were not

Hamza and Omar converted.

afraid to profess the new faith openly. Omar first offered his prayers publicly at the Kaaba, and performed the accustomed walks round its precincts, and other adherents of Mahomet soon followed his example. The Koreish were

MAHOMET, PROPHET OF ISLAM.

alarmed, and became still more hostile to the prophet and all his family, the Hashimites. Meanwhile he attacked them more fiercely by his revelations, many of them at this time being alleged to be

Hostility of the Koreish.

confirmed by the Jewish scriptures. Not a few of the chapters of the Koran which date from this period contain narratives distorted evidently from the Old Testament narratives, or from Jewish traditions. Again and again he refers to his own revelation as confirming and attesting the Book of Moses or the Jewish Scriptures. In fact, he claimed, that "the learned men of the children of Israel" recognised this; and there is very strong reason to believe that some of the Jews to whom he was known gained the idea that he might be "the Prophet whom the Lord would raise up." There is no proof that Mahomet ever studied from an actual copy of the Old Testament. But his utterances became more and more intermingled with Jewish stories, and he even claimed the revelation of these as proof of his mission. His enemies said: "They are fables of the ancients which he hath had written down; they are dictated to him morning and evening;" and Mahomet's only answer was, "He hath revealed it who knoweth that which is hidden in heaven and in earth."

Mahomet's alliance with Jews.

The Meccans were not likely to relish the plain denunciations of Mahomet, threatening them with a terrible overthrow; but these threatenings were so often repeated that the people at last expressed a wish that the day might arrive; and they termed his revelations tedious. Finally, they resolved to adopt a very severe form of boycotting Mahomet and the Hashimites. They would not intermarry with them; they would neither sell to nor buy from them; in fact, dealings of all kinds should cease. This ban was put into writing and sealed with three seals; then it was hung up in the Kaaba, as a sign of its religiously binding nature. So severe a measure naturally frightened those at whom it was aimed, and they withdrew strictly within the quarter of Abu Talib, separated by cliffs, buildings, and a gateway from the rest of Mecca (A.D. 616–7). Not being strong enough to send out a caravan of their own, they soon began to suffer from scarcity. No one ventured outside, except during the sacred months. Yet the Hashimites maintained themselves thus for two or three years, a few of the other Meccans now and then venturing to help them. Mahomet devoted himself to preaching to those of his clan who were unconverted, and to strengthening the believers. "Conduct thyself gently unto the believers that are with thee," says his revelation about this time, "and put thy trust in Him that is glorious and merciful."

Boycotting of Mahomet and his followers.

Seclusion.

During the sacred pilgrimages, however, he preached to the strangers who flocked to Mecca, warning them against idolatry, proclaiming the worship of the One God, and promising them dominion on earth and Paradise hereafter, if they would only believe. But he was generally repulsed with the words, "Thine own kindred and people should know thee best wherefore do they not believe and follow thee?"

Mahomet preaches to strangers.

At last the ban was removed, after events of which there is more than one traditional account. It had been discovered that insects had eaten up the parchment record in the Kaaba; and five chief men of the Koreish went

to the quarter of Abu Talib, and commanded all the refugees to return to their respective homes in safety. Yet this apparent victory was the prelude of worse losses: Khadijah died (A.D. 619–620), and then the venerable Abu Talib. Protection of his party became more difficult, and Mahomet began to turn his thoughts towards other places. He went and preached at Taïf (sixty miles east of Mecca), but failed; he was hooted and stoned out of the place, and was sunk in the deepest despondency. His prayer at this time has been handed down. In it he bewails his feebleness and insignificance. "Oh, Thou most merciful, Thou art the Lord of the weak, and Thou art my Lord. Into whose hands wilt Thou abandon me? Into the hands of the strangers that beset me round, or of the enemy to whom Thou hast given the mastery over me? . . . I seek for refuge in the light of Thy gracious countenance, by which the darkness is dispersed, and peace ariseth both for this world and the next, that Thy wrath light not upon me, nor Thine indignation. It is Thine to show anger until Thou art pleased; and there is not any power or resource but in Thee." On his way home during one night, while in prayer or while dreaming, he saw a company of the jinn, or genii, listening to the Koran, and eager to embrace the faith.

Death of Khadijah.

Mahomet's despondency.

Returning to Mecca, Mahomet married again,—two months after Khadijah's death—Sauda, the widow of Sakran, an early convert; and was betrothed to Ayesha, the young daughter (only seven years of age) of his bosom friend Abu-bekr. Thus he first gave way to that polygamy which has been one of the great features of Mohammedanism. When the time of pilgrimage came round again, Mahomet preached earnestly to the pilgrims; and met with a little band of persons from Medina 250 miles north of Mecca, who showed an unusual readiness to hear him. He found that they had close connections with the numerous Jews of Medina, and asked them whether he could find protection, and a hearing in their city. They promised to let him know the next year. In the meantime they made known the doctrines he had taught them. They learnt how the Jews were expecting another prophet to arise, and they identified Mahomet with this prophet; so that when the pilgrims from Medina again met Mahomet, twelve men pledged themselves to him in the following terms: "We will not worship any but the One God; we will not steal, neither will we commit adultery, nor kill our children; we will not slander in any wise; and we will not disobey him (*i.e.* the Prophet) in anything that is right." This is called the First Pledge of Acaba, from the locality where it was taken; and also the Pledge of Women, because it does not include any vow to defend the Prophet, and thus was afterwards the pledge required of women. Mahomet's reply was, "If ye fulfil the pledge, Paradise shall be your reward. He that shall fail in any part thereof, to God belongeth this concern, either to punish or forgive."

Re-marriage.

The pilgrims from Medina.

First pledge of Acaba.

The twelve returned to Medina as missionaries of the new faith, and at once zealously spread it, and with such success that they sent to Mahomet

for a teacher versed in the Koran, who could give fuller instruction. Musab, a great-grandson of Hashim, was sent and received with general assent, and Mahomet from this time had visions of a journey to Medina. To this period apparently belongs his vision of being carried by Gabriel on a winged horse past Medina to the temple at Jerusalem, where he was welcomed by the Prophets. Thence he appeared to mount from one heaven to another, appearing at last in the presence of Allah, from whom he received the command that His people were to pray five times in the day. When he awoke and told his vision, some of his followers were staggered and drew back, others believed and accepted it. However, the only mention of this wonderful vision in the Koran is in the seventeenth Sura; "Celebrated be the praises of Him who took his servant a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque (the Kaaba) to the remote Mosque (the Temple at Jerusalem), the precinct of which we have blessed, to show him of our signs. Verily He both hears and looks."

Adherents won at Medina.

The vision of Jerusalem and of heaven.

At this time there was a great struggle going on between the Byzantine empire and the Persians, who for some years were encroaching everywhere, but in 621 were driven back by the emperor Heraclius. Before his victories Mahomet, whose sympathies were with the Greek empire, prophesied his success. Finding his efforts at Mecca fruitless, he retired from his endeavour—with a revelation to justify him—"We have not made thee a keeper over them, neither art thou unto them a guardian." His resource was in calmness and confidence of future success. "Verily we will destroy the unjust; and we will make you to dwell in the land after them" (K. xiv. 17). A famine came upon Mecca—a punishment from Allah; relief came,—it was Allah's goodness, to give the Meccans yet another chance. Meanwhile the Koran said to the unbelievers, "Work ye in your place,—wait ye in expectation; we too in expectancy will wait." Mahomet's claims rose higher still, and he taught, "Whosoever rebels against God and His prophet, verily for him is the fire of hell; they shall be therein alway, for ever." He asseverated about his mission with the strongest language, putting into the mouth of Allah the most dire threats against Mahomet if he had fabricated anything concerning Him. In temporal want he was thus reassured: "Do not strain after what We have provided a few of them with—the show of this life—to try them by; but the provision of thy Lord is better and more lasting. Bid thy people pray, and persevere in it; We do not ask thee to provide, We will provide, and the issue shall be to piety."

The Emperor Heraclius.

Famine at Mecca.

Mahomet's high claims.

In March, 622, when the pilgrimage again brought his adherents from Medina, Mahomet learnt at a meeting by night, that they had increased to a large number. At this meeting more than seventy persons from Medina pledged themselves to defend Mahomet at the risk of their lives, and took an oath which has been called the second pledge of Acaba; and he expressed himself ready to go with them to Medina. Mahomet named twelve of the chief men, saying, "Moses chose from amongst his

Second pledge of Acaba.

MECCA, WITH THE KAABA IN THE FOREGROUND. (*See description, p. 556.*)

people twelve leaders. Ye shall be sureties for the rest, even as were the apostles of Jesus; and I am the surety for my people." The meeting was suddenly broken up by a noise, and next day the chiefs of the Koreish sought to discover what had taken place, under threats of hostility. When they found out the true nature of the meeting, they pursued the Medina pilgrims, but could not come up with them. This was followed by a renewed persecution of the Mohammedans at Mecca; and a few days afterwards Mahomet commanded them to depart to Medina, since Allah had given them brethren and a refuge in that city. It was in April, 622, that the flight began, from which the Moslem chronology begins. The emigration went on secretly for the most part, house after house at Mecca being found abandoned. Within two months about 150 emigrants had reached Medina. The Koreish looked on helpless and amazed, having no precedent for forcibly detaining them. Finally only Mahomet, Abu Bekr, and their families, including Ali, were left in Mecca; and the Koreish plotted how they might detain, expel, or kill Mahomet. Hearing of their arrangement to visit his house, Mahomet left it secretly, took Abu Bekr with him, and both crept through a back window and escaped unnoticed from the southern suburb of the city, and took refuge in a cave of Mount Thaur, where they hid for two or three days. The Prophet in the Koran (ix. 42) thus describes the situation: "And God did help him, when those who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two [*i.e.* with only one companion]." When they two were in the cave alone, he said to his companion: "Be not cast down, for verily God is with us. And God sent down His Shechinah upon him, and aided him with hosts ye could not see, and made the word of the unbelievers to be abased, and the word of God to be exalted, for God is mighty and wise." Meanwhile, seeing the daylight through a crevice in the cave, Abu Bekr said, "What if one of them were to look beneath him; he might see us under his very feet." "Think not this, Abu Bekr," said the Prophet, in perhaps his sublimest utterance, "We are two, but God is in the midst, a third." They were fed by friends secretly and not discovered; at last, they set out towards Medina, where they arrived, it is believed, on the 28th of June, 622. Thus the Hegira (or flight) was completed. Mahomet's and Abu Bekr's families remained behind at Mecca for a time.

Commencement of the flight to Medina.

Mahomet leaves Mecca.

Takes refuge in a cave.

Arrives at Medina, 622.

[Wellhausen, "Life of Mohammed," *Encyclopædia Britannica*; Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites;" Muir, "Life of Mahomet"; Bosworth Smith, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism"; Hughes, "Dictionary of Islam."]

CHAPTER IV.

Life of Mahomet. Part II.

Mahomet at Medina—He enters the city on a camel—Brotherhood of refugees and citizens—The first mosque—Its fame—Mahomet and the Jews—Jewish "witnesses"—Changed direction of prayer—The Ramadan fast—Day of sacrifice—The call to prayer—Mahomet's pulpit—Mode of conducting service—War and politics—Incentives to war—Promised rewards—Battle of Badr—War against kin—Compulsion and cruelty towards Jews—Mahomet's new wives—Battle of Ohod—War of the ditch—Pledge of the Tree—Treaty with the Koreish—The Jews of Khaibar—Mahomet's messages to great powers—Mahomet visits Mecca, 629—Mahomet marches on Mecca, 630—Destroys the idols—All Mecca submits to him—Battle of Honein—The Coptic maid and Mahomet—His growing dominion—Taïf submits—Ban proclaimed against unbelievers—Mahomet's last pilgrimage, 632—His illness and death—Funeral—Personal appearance—Character—Moral influence.

THE beautiful oasis of Medina, crowded with date-palms and other fruit-trees, and inhabited by two tribes of Arabs,—of whom the more powerful, the Khazraj, included Mahomet's adherents,—as well as by many Jews, was far more inviting and favourable to the Prophet than Mecca. He was received with a joyful welcome by his converts, whom he bade to show their joy by good-will to their neighbours, by sending portions to the poor, by increased family unity, and by prayer at night. "Thus," he said, "shall ye enter Paradise in peace."

Mahomet at Medina.

After a short stay in Coba, one of the suburbs of Medina, Mahomet entered the city on a Friday, seated on a camel, with Abu Bekr behind him. He halted at a place of prayer on the way, and performed his first Friday service, giving a sermon on the new faith. From that day to this, Friday has been the Mahometan Sunday. The after-journey was a grand triumphal procession; and so numerous and pressing became the invitations to the Prophet to take up his abode with particular persons, that he announced that the camel must decide. She entered the eastern quarter, and sat down in a large open courtyard, near Abu Ayoub's house; in his house, therefore, Mahomet lived, until a house of prayer, with houses for his wives, had been built in the courtyard, which Mahomet bought. Meanwhile, the change from the dry climate of Mecca to the damp and cold of Medina were very trying to his followers, most of whom suffered from fever. Mahomet hit upon an excellent plan for raising their spirits and attaching them to their new home. He enjoined them to form a peculiar brotherhood, each stranger taking a man of Medina as his brother, and the pair undertaking a degree of mutual devotion even beyond the claims of blood. After a time this proved unnecessary or inconvenient, and in about a year and a half it was abolished.

He enters the city on a camel.

Brotherhood of refugees and citizens.

The new mosque was on the site now occupied by the great mosque of

Medina; and though less capacious than the latter, it was very large, being about one hundred cubits (say 150 feet) square; and the roof was of palm-tree trunks, covered in with palm-wood rafters. The worshippers directed their faces towards the north, while Mahomet, when in prayer, stood near the north wall and looked towards the north-west, to Jerusalem, with the people at his back; when preaching he faced them. On the eastern side rooms were built for the Prophet's wives and daughters, his marriage with his child-wife Ayesha being now completed. To the north was a shelter for poor adherents who had no homes, and who slept in the mosque.

The first mosque.

"Though rude in material," says Muir, "and comparatively insignificant in extent, the mosque of Mahomet is glorious in the history of Islam. Here the prophet and his companions spent the greater portion of their time; here the daily service, with its oft-recurring prayers, was first publicly established; here the great congregation assembled every week, and trembled often while they listened to the orations of the Prophet and the messages from heaven. Here he planned his victories. From this spot he sent forth envoys to kings and emperors with the summons to embrace Islam. Here he received the embassies of contrite and believing tribes; and from hence issued commands which carried consternation amongst the rebellious to the very ends of the Peninsula. Hard by, in the room of Ayesha, he yielded up the ghost; and there he lies buried."

Its fame.

Mahomet's attitude to the Jews gradually changed. At first he was most anxious to conciliate them, professed his approval of them, laid emphasis upon the points of agreement between them, and even framed a sort of treaty, agreeing to aid and succour and defend them, and permitting them the full maintenance of their religion. But as his claims grew, as he began to emphasise his position as the "greater Prophet" spoken of by their scriptures, the Jews of Medina felt that they could not accept him as their lawgiver in place of or in addition to Moses, since he was not of Jewish blood. A few joined him entirely, becoming practically Mahometans, and these were carefully utilised as "witnesses" to the Prophet's claims, asserting that their brethren merely denied them through jealousy. The portions of the Koran now issued were full of attacks upon the Jews, reciting their old idolatry and disobedience to God. At first Jerusalem was the chief sacred place, as we have seen, towards which Mahomet turned in prayer. Before he had been eighteen months in Medina, one day Mahomet, having already, it is related, desired permission of God to turn towards the Kaaba at Mecca, suddenly received it in the midst of service, and turned round to the south, towards Mecca. From this time the Jews were hostile to the Mahometans. Previously, Mahomet had adopted the Fast Day of the Atonement from the Jews; he now established his own peculiar fast, and extended it over the month of Ramadan—as a day-fast from meat, drink, and all enjoyments, which however were lawful at night. At the end of the month

Mahomet and the Jews.

Jewish "witnesses."

Changed direction of prayer.

The Ramadan fast.

a festival was held, called "the breaking of the fast," marked by abundant alms to the poor. He also established a day of sacrifice, which was celebrated on the concluding day of the pilgrimage to Mecca. After a solemn service, two fat kids were sacrificed by the prophet, the first for the whole people, the second for himself and his family. After the direction of prayer was changed, a special call to prayer was established, to which a supernatural origin was ascribed. Bilal, Mahomet's negro servant, ascending a lofty wall near the mosque before daybreak, on its first glimmer proclaimed, "Great is Allah! great is Allah! I bear witness that there is no God but Allah. I bear witness that Mahomet is the Prophet of Allah! Come unto Prayer! Come unto Happiness! Great is Allah! Great is Allah! There is no God but Allah, Prayer is better than sleep, Prayer is better than sleep!" And the same call was repeated at each of the five hours of prayer. Mahomet's dignity and convenience were further promoted by the construction of a pulpit, the platform of which was raised three steps above the floor, and placed near the southern wall of the mosque. It became an object of great sanctity to Mahometans, oaths being taken close to it, and a false swearer being condemned to hell.

Day of sacrifice.

The call to prayer.

Mahomet's pulpit.

We may here quote from Muir the traditional account of Mahomet's mode of first conducting service in his pulpit. "As he mounted the pulpit, turning towards the Kaaba, he uttered a loud *Takbir*, 'Great is the Lord!' and the whole assembly from behind burst forth into the same exclamation. Then he bowed himself in prayer, still standing in the pulpit with his face averted from the people; after which he descended, walking backwards, and at the foot of the pulpit prostrated himself towards the Kaaba. This he did twice, and having ended the prayers, he turned towards the congregation, and told them he had done this that they might know and imitate his manner of prayer." His mode of conducting the Friday service was as follows: "As the Prophet mounted the steps of the pulpit he greeted the assembly with the salutation of peace. Then he sat down, and Bilal sounded forth the call to prayer. After the prescribed prostrations and reciting of the Koran, he delivered two discourses, twice sitting down; and he would point with his fingers, enforcing his instructions: the people raised their faces towards him, listening attentively, and fixing their eyes upon him; when he ended, they joined in a universal Amen. As he discoursed he leant upon a staff. His dress on these occasions was a mantle of striped Yemen stuff, six cubits in length, thrown over his shoulders; the lower garment was a girdle of fine cloth from Oman, but of smaller dimensions than the other. These robes were worn only on Friday, and on the two great festivals; at the conclusion of each service, they were folded up and put carefully away."

Mode of conducting service.

The later life of Mahomet may be considered as a period of war and politics even more than of religion; or rather, his religion became identified with war and politics. From the time of his flight to Medina, though the Meccans abstained from active hostilities, he had

War and politics.

threatened divine vengeance against them, and events proved that he only bided his time. We cannot detail the marauding expeditions which were sent out by Mahomet or led by him against Meccan caravans, with varying success. One of these attacked a caravan during the sacred month of Rajab; one of the Koreish was killed and two were taken prisoners. After a period of discouragement, Mahomet declared a revelation that "war during the sacred month was grievous, yet to obstruct the way of God and to hinder men from the Holy Temple was worse." The warlike spirit, so temptingly combining religious incentives with those of plunder, grew apace, and Mahomet produced a revelation in favour of war against unbelievers, until all opposition ceased and there was no religion but Allah's. "Kill them wheresoever ye find them; and expel them from that out of which they have expelled you. . . . Yet fight not against them beside the Holy Temple, until they fight with you thereat." "An excellent provision in Paradise" was promised to those who fell in battle. Contributions were solicited towards war, and a higher place was to be granted to those who contributed before the victory. "Who is he that lendeth unto the Lord a goodly loan? He shall double the same, and he shall have an honourable recompense."

Incentives to war.

Promised rewards.

The first important battle for the new faith was that of Badr, fought in December, 623, when Mahomet with 308 followers attacked the Koreish 950 strong, and put them to flight, after many of their principal men had been slain. Two prisoners whom he hated personally Mahomet put to death, and others were set free on payment of heavy ransoms. Thus was started that career of bloodshed and conquest which has distinguished Mohammedanism more than any other religion, even remembering the Crusades and other wars of Christians. No religion has ever made extension by war so important an element. In the matter of dissolving old relationships and ties, Islam was but like numerous other religions; still this was a new attitude in Arabia, which struck the Koreish with consternation. Brother was ready even to slay brother at the bidding of the Prophet. The new brotherhood superseded everything, and no toleration was allowable towards unbelievers. Active natures found full scope for their energies; and no man could hope for distinction in Islam by a life of contemplation such as the Buddhists favoured. The new religion showed that it was to be founded upon human passion, upon pride of domination, upon fanaticism, quite as much as upon simplification of truth, and remodelling of belief about God, and new principles and fashions in personal conduct. The very process of winning the first victory became in the hands of Mahomet and his principal followers a method of strengthening their convictions and their hold upon their followers at the same time. The men of Medina extended their pledge to defend Mahomet in Medina in these words, "Prophet of the Lord, march whither thou listest, encamp wherever thou mayest choose, make war or conclude peace with whom thou wilt. For I swear by Him who hath sent thee with the Truth, that if thou wast to march till our camels

Battle of Badr.

War against kin.

Loyalty of men of Medina.

fell down dead, we should go forward with thee to the world's end." The distribution of the spoils too was made the occasion of a revelation claiming one-fifth for God and the prophet and his kin, together with the orphans and the poor. In numerous other ways this victory was skilfully used to deepen the convictions of the believers, and the influence of Mahomet as a Divine teacher.

Division of spoils of war.

Bloodshed leads to bloodshed. Mahomet could now brook no opposition. Jews and Jewesses, who attacked him or spread defamatory verses about him and his doings, were assassinated one after another by his followers, either by his direct instigation or with his subsequent approval. Tribe after tribe of Jews were either compelled to submit to Islam and profess its faith, or were expelled, or attacked and exterminated. And sensuality followed hard on bloodshed. New wives were added to Mahomet's harem; and from this time (624) there was scarcely a year of his life in which he did not take a new wife.

Compulsion and cruelty towards Jews.

Mahomet's new wives.

The Meccans, after long mourning, decided to take active steps against Mahomet; and early in 625 the two met outside Medina at Mount Ohod, and after a partial victory for the Mohammedans, they were taken in the rear, Mahomet was wounded, and his uncle Hamza slain; but the Meccans retired after their victory, and Mahomet retained his influence at Mecca. He executed a capital sentence on a follower who in the battle had slain an enemy of his own side, and those who had been killed at Ohod were regarded as martyrs. Passages in the Koran (ii. and iii.) represent God as causing alternations of success as tests, and encourage the believers to perseverance, even if Mahomet himself should be killed; and no soul died without the permission of God.

Battle of Ohod.

In March, 627, the expelled Jews, allied with the Koreish and two great Bedouin tribes, in all 10,000 strong, attacked Mahomet at Medina. He entrenched himself behind a wide ditch or foss which he dug across the exposed side of the city; and his followers defended it so well that the attacking army after fourteen days' siege broke up and returned home. After this Mahomet massacred the men of the last remaining independent Jewish tribe in Medina, 600 or 700 in number, who had had some negotiations with the enemy but had broken them off, and who now refused to join his ranks; their women and children being sold into slavery.

War of the ditch.

Mahomet now prepared to attack Mecca itself. He first attempted to visit Mecca (in March, 628) with 1500 men, but was forced to halt at Hodaibya, just outside the sacred territory, the Koreish refusing to let him perform the circuit of the Kaaba. On this occasion, when in a state of alarm and suspecting treachery, Mahomet made all the pilgrims give a pledge to serve him faithfully till death (this is called the Pledge of the Tree, from the acacia-tree under which it was sworn). The Koreish, realising the devotion of Mahomet's followers, offered him a compromise, by which he was to withdraw for that year, and in the next return

Pledge of the Tree.

and remain three days within the sacred territory and offer the sacrifices he desired. Mahomet, willing to accept this, did not even demur to his being described in the treaty as "Mohammed the son of Abdallah," instead of by his title "Apostle of God," and he allowed the Koreish to use that name of God which they chose. The treaty provided for a truce of ten years, with freedom for all to join either Mahomet or the Koreish. Mahomet, although his people were somewhat disappointed at his agreeing to these terms, realised that he had gained much in being recognised as an independent political power, and in being allowed to enter Mecca undisturbed the next year. He produced a new revelation describing the result as a victory; and his later followers echo this view, showing that the treaty had been won without fighting, and that it led very many to join Islam. Strengthened by this result, Mahomet turned his arms against the rich Jews of Khaibar, north of Medina (628) and subdued them in detail with no little cruelty. In the same year he sent a message to the victorious Byzantine emperor Heraclius, demanding that he should acknowledge him as Apostle, lay aside the worship of Jesus, and return to that of the One God. A similar message was sent to the Persian king Siroes, without result. An embassy to the Roman governor of Egypt was received with honour, though without submission; but presents were sent to Mahomet, including two Coptic girls, one of whom he added to his harem. About the same time the Abyssinian prince is reported to have signified his acceptance of Islam. These and other incidents testify to the rapid growth of Mahomet's influence. This reacted upon the Arab mind, susceptible to motives of power and booty; and Mecca was now to drop into Mahomet's mouth, like a ripe plum.

Treaty with the Koreish.

Mahomet's messages to great powers.

In March, 629, Mahomet, according to the compromise, visited Mecca with 2,000 men, performed the sevenfold circuit of the Kaaba, reciting, "There is no God but Allah alone. It is He that hath holden His servant and exalted his army. Alone hath He discomfited the confederated hosts." Then he sacrificed the appropriate animals on the rising ground of Marwa, and finally shaved his head. On the second day Mahomet entered the Kaaba, Bilal sounded the call to prayer at midday from the top of the building, and the Moslems responded and performed their accustomed devotions. Thus was the Kaaba reclaimed for Islam. As a diversion from more serious matters, Mahomet arranged yet another marriage, with Meimuna, a bride of over fifty years old—this being his last marriage. Some leading men of Mecca joined him. During 629 some further victories over various Arab tribes, and the conquest of Syrian border tribes to the south of the Dead Sea added to his prestige.

Mahomet visits Mecca, 629.

At the end of 629, some alleged infractions of the treaty of Hodaibya led Mahomet to march secretly on Mecca with nearly 10,000 men, in January, 630. Suddenly all their tent fires were lighted within view of the city, and the sight spread consternation among the Koreish. Abbas, Mahomet's uncle, had joined him just before, and he now became a medium by which a leader of the Koreish, named Abu Sofyan,

Mahomet marches on Mecca, 630.

approached Mahomet and tendered his submission. At once Mahomet and his army entered the city, with scarcely any opposition. He went to the Kaaba, saluted the sacred stone, and made the seven circuits of the temple; then one by one, by his orders, the idols of Mecca were destroyed, including the great image of Hobal in front of the Kaaba. He next worshipped outside and inside the temple; had the pictures of Abraham and the angels, which decorated the Kaaba, destroyed, and ordered all believers in Allah throughout Mecca to destroy all images in their houses. At the same time he had the pillars marking the boundaries of the sacred territory repaired, showing his intention to keep up the sanctity of

Destroys the idols.

MEDINA: THE MODERN CITY.

Mecca; but while expressing his intense attachment to Mecca, he comforted the people of Medina by declaring that he should live and die in the city which had first hospitably received him. Four persons, renegades or criminals, were put to death after this peaceful conquest. The rest of the people unanimously submitted to the Prophet, many, no doubt, being influenced by fear, by seeing that his was the winning side, by the attractions of war, power, and probable plunder. Various images and shrines of idols in the neighbourhood of Mecca were soon destroyed.

Mecca Submits to him.

The next important event in Mahomet's history was the battle of Honein,

against the powerful Hawazin tribe, in which Mahomet's forces at first wavered, and were only encouraged to make a firm stand by his reminding the men of Medina of their oath of Hodaibya; their valour turned the day in his favour. Then Mahomet ascribed the victory to the aid of great unseen angelic hosts. Taïf was then besieged, but its defenders were valiant and skilful, and the siege was raised. The distribution of the booty from Honein caused much dissatisfaction among the Medina men, because great favour was shown to the Meccans, especially to Abu Sofyan; but Mahomet again appeased them by expressing his unchangeable gratitude to them, and his determination to stick to them as against all the world.

Battle of Honein.

His relations with one of the beautiful Coptic maids, Mary, sent from Egypt, now caused much vexation among his wives, owing to his evident preference for her. She gave birth to a son, Ibrahim, the only one born to Mahomet at Medina; and his death at about sixteen months caused the prophet great grief. Mahomet, in the manner characteristic of his later life, produced a "revelation" to suit the particular case, to approve what he had done and what he wished to do, and cautioning his wives against the consequences of murmuring against him.

The Coptic maid and Mahomet.

Mahomet's dominion now began to assume the proportions of an empire; those who adopted the faith submitted to his secular rule, and paid annual tithes to consecrate their wealth, these being applied towards the charities and other expenses of the Prophet. Those who refused to pay were compelled. A noted Arab poet, Kab, yielded his submission in a notable poem; when he had recited the lines:—

His growing dominion.

> "Verily the Prophet is a light illuminating the world,
> A naked sword from the armoury of God,"

Mahomet was so delighted that he took his mantle from his shoulders and threw it upon the poet, as a gift. From this incident, the poem was known as "The Poem of the Mantle"; later the mantle became the property of the Caliphs, till the fall of Bagdad. Embassies were received from all parts of Arabia, and even beyond, acknowledging Mahomet's chiefship and office, and receiving presents, confirmations of authority, special privileges, etc. (A.D. 630, 631). Of the Christian tribes which submitted, some were allowed to continue in their religion as before, others were bidden not to baptize their children, though they might maintain their worship. Instructors in the faith of Islam were often sent back with the embassies. In 630 an expedition headed by Mahomet received the submission of numerous Christian and Jewish tribes to the south of Palestine. Some of his adherents who had held back from this expedition were rebuked in severe terms in the latest revealed chapter of the Koran (ix.). Those who had no pretext to offer, were put under a strict boycott, but pardoned on their abject submission.

The people of Taïf had not yet submitted, but still continued in idolatry. Orwa, one of their chiefs, embraced the new faith at Medina, and returned to preach it to his people. After he had announced his conversion at

Taïf, and shouted the call to prayer from the top of his house, he was shot at with arrows and mortally wounded. Hence he was accounted a martyr. The Taïfites continued their idolatry, and suffered from the predatory attacks of the Moslems, which compelled them to keep within their walls. At last they sent an embassy to the Prophet, who gave them instructions, and refused to grant them permission to continue in several sinful habits, or to maintain their idol Al-Lat for three years longer as they desired. After abating their demand to one year, or even a month, the only concession they could get from Mahomet was, that they should not be compelled to destroy the idol with their own hands. A follower of Mahomet was sent to do this; and it was done amid the loud laments of the women and children.

Taïf submits.

Abu Bekr and 300 pilgrims were deputed to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca in 631, Mahomet not sharing in it because a vast number of heathen tribes still went to Mecca and performed idolatrous rites. It was announced that every pilgrimage hereafter would be forcibly limited to worshippers of the One God, after which time all unbelievers should be fought against. This decree was promulgated to all the pilgrims and thus spread throughout Arabia. Christians and Jews were to be subjugated and made to pay tribute. Christian churches were to be destroyed and mosques built on the sites. Various officers were sent out to heathen and to submissive tribes, charged not only with their religious instruction, but also with their judicial and social regulation, according to the Koran and Mahomet's other instructions.

Ban proclaimed against unbelievers.

Early in 632 Mahomet prepared for the great pilgrimage, and set out for Mecca with a vast company, including all his wives, and with a hundred camels destined for sacrifice. He now found mosques to pray in at the several stages of the journey; and in them he led public worship. When he arrived in sight of the Kaaba, he raised his hands to heaven and said: "O Lord, add unto this house in the dignity and glory, the honour and the reverence which already Thou hast bestowed on it. And they that for the greater pilgrimage and the lesser frequent the same, increase them much in honour and dignity, in piety, goodness, and glory." Then he completed the circuits and the rites of the lesser pilgrimage, and ordered those who had brought no victims to put off their pilgrim's garb. The first day of the greater pilgrimage he preached in the Kaaba, and passed the night in a tent at Mina. Next day, proceeding to the height of Arafat, he consecrated it as a pilgrimage station, recited several parts of the Koran relating to the pilgrimage, and concluded, "This day have I perfected your religion unto you, and fulfilled my mercy upon you, and appointed Islam for you to be your religion." He returned by moonlight to Mozdalifa, and said the sunset and the evening prayers together; and all his recorded behaviour is imitated by pilgrims to this day. Then returning to Mina, shouting the pilgrims' cry:—

Mahomet's last pilgrimage, 632.

"Labbeik (Here am I, O Lord!) Labbeik
There is no other God but Thee. Labbeik!

Praise, blessing, and dominion be to Thee. Labbeik!
No one may share with Thee therein. Labbeik, Labbeik!

At Mina he cast stones at Acaba, according to ancient custom, slew the victims brought for sacrifice, and shaved his head and part of his beard, pared his nails, etc., and put off the pilgrim's dress. The flesh of the victims and other animals was distributed for food, and a feast was held. Next day he gave a celebrated parting discourse in the Mina valley, repeating some of his principal injunctions. "Know that every Moslem is the brother of every other Moslem. All of you are on the same equality. Ye are one brotherhood." After inquiring, "Know ye what month this is, what territory this is?" and receiving the answer, "The sacred month, the sacred territory," he said, "Even thus sacred and inviolable hath God made the life and the property of each of you unto the other until you meet your Lord." At the same time he proclaimed the rectification of the calendar by which the month of pilgrimage was to be fixed in future. He subsequently completed the ceremonies of the greater pilgrimage and then returned to Medina.

Fresh "prophets" arose in several regions of Arabia, some of whom were indignantly denounced by Mahomet. Aswad, who had raised the standard of rebellion, was assassinated just before Mahomet's own death. The Prophet had planned an expedition against the Syrian border of the Byzantine empire. About this time he became ill, having previously shown signs of old age. One night he visited the burial-ground, and remained there long in meditation, then prayed for those buried there. On the way home he said to his attendant: "The choice hath verily been offered me of continuance in this life, with Paradise hereafter, or to meet my Lord at once; and I have chosen to meet my Lord." He rapidly grew worse, and betook himself to the apartment of Ayesha, who attended him devotedly. For seven or eight days his fever permitted him to attend the mosque and feebly lead the public prayers. On a final day he publicly intimated his approaching death; and on Abu Bekr bursting into tears, he begged him not to weep, and said to the people: "Verily, the chiefest among you all for love and devotion to me is Abu Bekr. If I were to choose a bosom friend, it would be he; but Islam hath made a closer brotherhood amongst us all." Next day Abu Bekr was deputed to lead prayers. Mahomet suffered greatly, and gave utterance to expressions symbolising his belief that sins were expiated by physical sufferings. He was, however, not too distracted to be able to reprove the desire to make the tombs of prophets objects of worship, and to say, "O Lord, let not my tomb be an object of worship." One of his ejaculations during his sufferings was, "O my soul, why seekest thou for refuge elsewhere than in God alone?" Recovering a little, Mahomet again entered the mosque, saying, with a joyful smile on his face, "The Lord verily hath granted unto me refreshment in prayer." Afterwards he spoke to the people, saying, "As for myself, verily, no man can lay hold of me in any matter; I have not made lawful anything but what God hath made lawful; nor have I pro-

His last illness.

hibited aught but that which God in his book hath prohibited." After this exertion he grew much weaker, praying for aid in the agonies of death. One of his last ejaculations was, "Lord, grant me pardon, and join me to the companionship on high." He died soon after noon, only an hour or two after his visit to the mosque, on Monday the 8th of June, 632. **His death.**

It was immediately necessary to choose a chief or deputy (Caliph) to represent Mahomet; for the men of Medina desired to appoint a chief for themselves. But Omar and Abu Bekr gained the adhesion of all the leaders at Medina to the appointment of the latter, who had been "the second of the two in the cave," and had been deputed by Mahomet himself to lead public worship. The Prophet's corpse was visited by all Medina, and then buried in a vault dug out under the place where he died. Abu Bekr and Omar's farewell to him expressly made mention of his having sought no recompense for delivering the Faith to the people, and having never sold it for a price at any time. A red mantle which he had worn was placed beneath his body, which was enclosed in white cloth and striped Yemen stuff, without a coffin. The vault was covered over with unbaked bricks and the grave filled up. **Abu Bekr elected Caliph.** **Mahomet's burial.**

In person Mahomet was a little above the middle height, of a handsome and commanding figure; he had a large head with broad open brow, jet black longish hair, deep black piercing eyes, and a long black bushy beard. His face had something very winning in its expression, and his smile was gracious and condescending; but his frown or angry look was such that men quailed before it. His gait was quick and decided, though stooping in later years; and he never turned round in walking. In conversing, he turned his full face and whole body towards the speaker. "In shaking hands, he was not the first to withdraw his own; nor was he the first to break off in converse with a stranger, nor to turn away his ear." He treated the most insignificant of his followers with consideration, visited the meanest, made each man in company think himself the most favoured guest, sympathised with both joys and griefs, was gentle to little children, and ministered to every one's personal comfort. His warm attachment to Abu Bekr, Ali, Zeid, Othman, and Omar was intensely reciprocated by them. He never assumed lordly airs nor demanded personal services, he would do everything for himself, even mend his own sandals and clothes. He greatly enjoyed food, yet could readily live as plainly as his followers; but, a true Oriental, he enjoyed perfumes and the society and charms of women extremely. Whatever he may have been in his earlier days, when Khadijah was alive, in his later years, the attractions of women proved his human frailty perhaps more than anything, and led to the deplorable abrogation of his laws in his own favour. The extreme instance of this was seen when he longed for the wife of his adopted son and friend Zeid, and produced a "revelation" commanding him to marry her. Yet he was devoted to all his wives. **His person and character.**

In his conduct to enemies, Mahomet showed both good and bad

qualities; politic mercy, to gain them over, but also cruelty in numerous executions, and craft in planning or allowing assassinations, in attacks during the sacred months, and in the use made of Jews and Christians. That he was an erring mortal, in no sense an infallible model of conduct, must be the verdict on Mahomet. Who shall pronounce on his sincerity all through? In many ways, especially before the Flight, he showed marks of entire sincerity; but to believe that he was self-deceived in every act at Medina, is to stretch self-deception to an extreme. The fact that he produced successive revelations to enjoin things he desired to do, may possibly be read in two ways: either he deliberately invented the revelations to suit the emergency, or, being of an excitable, susceptible nature, his broodings on a subject brought about the state of mental exaltation in which he genuinely heard, or imagined that he heard, the appropriate "revelation." As regards both his assassinations and his marriages, they show a very great but not an incredible degree of moral warp or of moral infancy, or else a degree of self-delusion which is scarcely compatible with the practical wisdom of very many of his actions. We find him, after his early struggles and the commencement of his preaching, constantly imbued with a belief in special providence, extending almost to fatalism. He certainly believed that everything was predestined; but events were, he believed, capable of being influenced by prayer. With all this, he had several superstitious beliefs, and was guided by omens and prognostications. We may perhaps explain much of his character by the view that his own inward struggles, his moral debates, and his aspirations seemed to him the very voice of God speaking to him. He lacked the physical courage to face bodily danger in battle. At Mecca, however, he showed true bravery in preaching so long amid hostile surroundings, and in remaining behind when nearly all his adherents had departed for Medina. His denunciation of idolatry, and his preaching of the one God and of the equality of man before God, must ever distinguish him honourably as a great religious teacher. He had a style of delivery, an evident earnestness of belief, which carried home his statements of truth and his eloquent and imaginative poetic outbursts.

Was he sincere?

At Medina sensuality, deception, cruelty, and intolerance stained the prophet's life. Ceremonial routine, material assistance, became more important, outwardly, than inward conviction and purity. But there was enough good in the faith as Mahomet left it, enough that was influential on mankind, to make Islam the second among the great faiths of the world (counting Judaism and Christianity together as the first); and there was enough mingled good and exclusiveness to make it the most difficult of all for Christianity to contend against.

CHAPTER V.

The Koran and its Teachings.

Formation of the text—The general prayer—Teaching about God—Names of God—Righteousness defined—Nature of God—Account of creation—Angels—Eblis, or the Devil—The Moslem paradise—Hell—Intermediate state—The day of judgment—Prophets—Attitude towards Jews—Predestination—Idolatry and Idolaters—Islam—The creed—Prayer—The fast of Ramadan—Alms-giving—The holy pilgrimage—Parents and children—Murder and theft—Divorce and concubinage—Marriage—Position of wives—Rhetorical passages—Structure of Koran—Delineation of old prophets—Chronological sequence—Miracles—Reverence for Koran—Versions—Commentaries.

THE Koran (more precisely Qur'án, a reading), which as a whole is not so long as the New Testament, was not in existence as a complete book in the lifetime of Mahomet; but it was settled in its present form within twenty years of his death. Separate chapters or smaller fragments were written down, by followers who happened to be present when he first recited them, upon palm-leaves, leather, stones, or anything else that was at hand. Abdallah and Zeid the son of Thabil were among his amanuenses. Copies were afterwards made, and many Moslems learnt to recite large portions by heart; but no completed collection of them, apparently, was kept by Mahomet. After his death, when many who knew much of the Koran had fallen in battle, Omar feared that the whole might be forgotten, and induced Abu Bekr to have a collection of copies made. Zeid was charged with this duty, and he made a fair copy of all he could obtain, which passed through the first two caliphs to Haphsa, one of Mahomet's widows, Omar's daughter. But disputes arose as to the true text, and Othman in 650–1 ordered Zeid with three others to make an authoritative text; they took care to accomplish this, burning all discordant texts besides their own and that which Haphsa possessed. The latter however was soon destroyed, and thus we have not to consider conflicting versions of the Koran. That the chapters as we now have them are substantially authentic is suggested by the language, and by the mixture of subjects in the chapters, no designed order being discernible in them. There are but a few passages existing which purport to have been originally in the Koran and rejected by Zeid. Four copies were made of the Koran, one of which was kept at Medina, and one sent to each of the three (at that time) important Moslem cities of Damascus, Basra, and Cufa. At present there is no likelihood that any one of them exists; but copies probably dating from the first century after the flight are known.

Formation of the text.

We will first endeavour to set forth the chief doctrines about God and divine things, and then the chief moral precepts of the Koran. It opens with the famous short chapter which for the Moslem answers to the Lord's Prayer. It runs thus:

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Ruler of the day of judgment. Thee we worship and Thee we ask for aid. Direct us in the right way, the way of those to whom Thou art gracious, not of those Thou art angry with, nor of those who err."

The general prayer.

It cannot be said that Mahomet here expresses ideas unknown before his time, or which he is not likely to have heard from others, especially the Jews. The term "the Merciful" is directly a Jewish word. The chapter (112) on unity directly resembles the Christian statement of the doctrine: "Say, He is God alone, God the Eternal. He begets and is not begotten; nor is there like unto Him any one." According to the Koran, "Allah is eternal and everlasting, one and indivisible, not endued with form, nor circumscribed by limit or measure; comprehending all things, but comprehended of nothing": here again thoroughly agreeing with Jewish and Christian belief. There are ninety-nine principal epithets or names applied to God, expressing most of His attributes, as the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Holy, the Faithful, the Creator, the Forgiver, the Provider, the Knowing, the Judge, the Seer, the Strengthener, the Wise, the Answerer of Prayer, the Loving, the Living, the One, the First, the Last, the Avenger, etc.: here again furnishing nothing new to Christians, however new they may have been to the Arabs to whom Mahomet made them known.

Teaching about God.

Names of God.

A concise summary of the teaching of the Koran is found in ii. 172. "Righteousness is not that ye turn your faces towards the east or the west; but righteousness is, one who believes in God, and the last day, and the angels, and the Book, and the prophets; and who gives wealth for the love of God to kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the wayfarer, and beggars, and those in captivity, and who is steadfast in prayer, and gives alms; and those who are sure of their covenant when they make a covenant; and the patient in poverty, and in distress, and in time of violence."

Righteousness defined.

It is expressly stated (vi. 101) that God has no offspring, because He has no consort. Many passages describe Him as all-seeing and knowing, and omnipotent and omnipresent. "No vision taketh in Him, but He taketh in all vision; He is the subtle, the all-informed. He has created men, in order that they should worship Him." God is represented sometimes as creating both evil and good, and as creating evil spirits and men for hell; but again men are assured that the evil that befalls them is of themselves. "God misleadeth whom He will, and guideth whom He will" (xxxv. 9).

Nature of God.

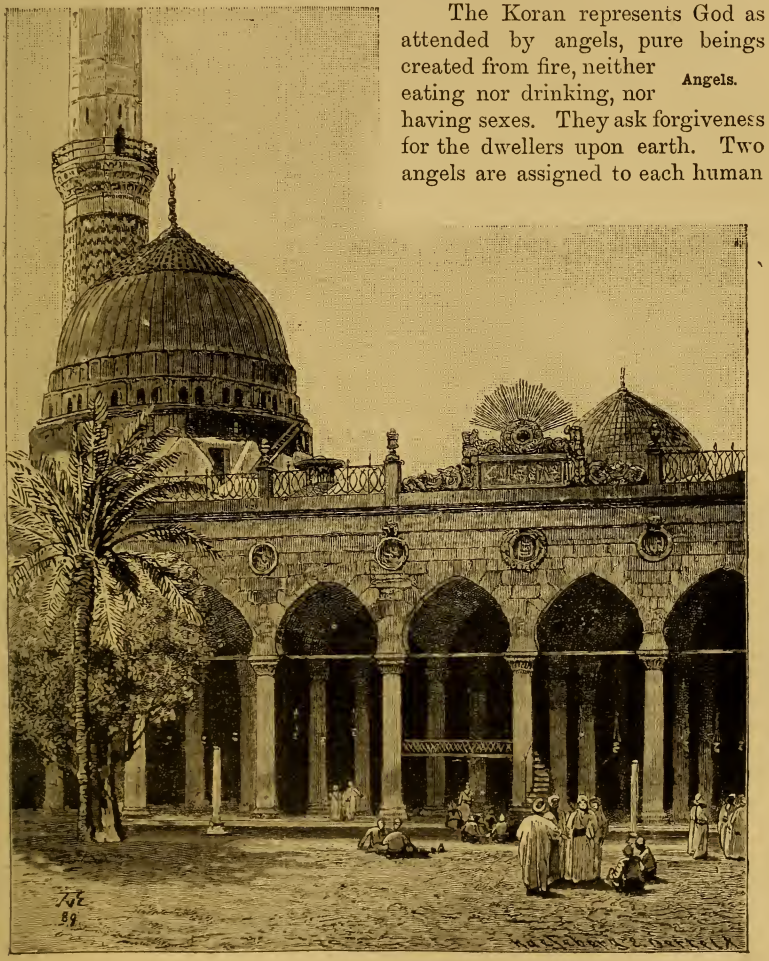
The creation is in l. 37, as in Genesis, related to have been accomplished in six days, but in xli. 7, two days is the period assigned. There is no attempt at a detailed history of it, but as to the creation of man it is said, "God created you from earth (or dust), then from a clod, then He made pairs." In ii. 29 God is said to have taught Adam the names of all things and to have ordered the angels to worship

Account of creation.

Adam; and they all did so except Eblis (Satan). A brief account of the temptation and fall is given, after which it is said that God relented towards Adam. This account is evidently an imperfect version of the account in Genesis.

The Koran represents God as attended by angels, pure beings created from fire, neither eating nor drinking, nor having sexes. They ask forgiveness for the dwellers upon earth. Two angels are assigned to each human

Angels.



INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF THE HOLY PROPHET AT MEDINA.

being, standing on his right and on his left, and recording all his actions. One angel, Rhazwan (goodwill), presides over paradise, and another, Malik (compare Moloch), over hell. Two others perform the examination of persons immediately after burial, allowing them to rest in peace if they confess

that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is His prophet; but if not, beating them very severely, and leaving them to be torn by dragons and serpents till the resurrection. Several archangels are named: Gabriel, Michael, Israfel (who is to sound the last trumpet), and Azrael, the angel of death. Much of the teaching about angels is evidently based on Jewish ideas. The idea of the devil, Iblis or Shaitan, is plainly an adaptation from Jewish-Christian sources; and the lack of any originality on the subject is made up for by giving many repetitions of the story that Iblis fell because he refused to worship Adam. The belief in the ginn or genii,—the evil kinds being termed "efreet,"—has been sufficiently referred to. Mahomet is believed to have converted a tribe of them by his preaching, when returning from Taïf.

Iblis, or the Devil.

The descriptions of the Moslem paradise or heaven are famous for the sensual delights depicted; but they are not so elaborate and sensual in the Koran as in the traditional sayings of the Prophet. It is commonly said that there are eight different heavens; namely, the Garden of Eternity, the Abode of Peace, the Abode of Rest, the Gardens of Eden, the Gardens of Refuge, the Gardens of Delight, the Gardens of the Most High, and the Gardens of Paradise; but they are nowhere mentioned at once, and may be taken as different descriptions of the same place. The following are some passages from the Koran relating to heaven: "Their reward for their patience shall be paradise and silken robes, reclining therein on bridal couches; naught shall they know of sun or piercing cold; its shades shall close over them, and low shall its fruits hang down; and vessels of silver and goblets like flagons shall be borne round among them" (lxxvi. 12). "Theirs shall be the houris with large, dark eyes, like pearls hidden in their shells, in recompense for their labours past. . . . Unfailing, unforbidden, and on soft couches and of a rare creation have we made the houris; and we have made them ever virgins, dear to their spouses, and of equal age" (lvi. 22–35). "Therein are rivers of water which corrupt not; rivers of milk, whose taste changeth not; and rivers of wine, delicious to those who drink it; and rivers of clarified honey; and therein are all kinds of fruit for them from their Lord" (xlvii. 16, 17). It is very noteworthy that the sensual descriptions of Paradise, and especially the passages referring to women, were nearly all included in the earlier series revealed at Mecca, when as yet Mahomet had only one wife, much senior to him; while only two or three simple passages, describing the believers as having "four wives," were promulgated at Medina. As regards the other promised delights, Professor Palmer well describes them as "an intense realisation of all that a dweller in a hot, parched, and barren land could desire; namely, shade, water, fruit, rest, and pleasant companionship and service."

The Moslem Paradise.

Hell is most frequently termed in the Koran "the Fire," also Gehennum (the Jewish Gehenna). It is said to have seven portals and seven divisions: Gehenna, the purgatory for all Mahometans (xix. 72); Laza, the flaming fire; Hutamah, the raging fire that splits everything to pieces; Sair, the broiling fire; Sagar, the scorching fire; Jahim,

Hell.

the fierce fire; and Hawiyeh, the abyss. The second has been by the Moslem commentators assigned to Christians, the third to Jews, etc., without any authority from the Koran. The latter describes hell fire as "leaving naught, sparing naught, blackening the skin"; over it preside nineteen angels. In Gehenna transgressors shall have no coolness nor any drink, save boiling water and running sores" (lxxviii. 24, 25). We need not quote the details of torment which the Traditions attribute to the Prophet.

The Koran teaches nothing very definite about the intermediate state between death and judgment, except as regards unbelievers; but the good are supposed to rest in blissful unconsciousness. **Intermediate state.**

The "Last Day" is variously termed in the Koran the day of standing up, of separation, of reckoning, of awakening, of judgment, the encompassing day, and the hour. This event is the subject of some of the most poetical passages in the Koran. Thus: "Thinketh man that we shall not reunite his bones? Ay, his very finger tips are we able evenly to replace. . . . When the eye shall be dazzled, when the moon shall be darkened, and the sun and the moon shall be together, **The Day of Judgment.**

"On that day man shall cry, Where is there a place to flee to? But in vain; there is no refuge; with thy Lord on that day shall be the sole asylum.

"On that day shall man be told of all that he hath done first and last: yea, a man shall be the eye-witness against himself" (lxxv.).

Again: "Surely among delights shall the righteous dwell, but verily the impure in hell-fire. They shall be burned at it on the day of doom, and they shall not be able to hide themselves from it. Who shall teach thee what the day of doom is? It is a day when one soul shall be powerless for another soul: all sovereignty on that day shall be with God" (lxxxii.) Further details will be given in dealing with present-day beliefs of the Mahometans.

The prophets recognised in the Koran are, in addition to Jesus and Mahomet, all Jewish; namely, Adam, the Chosen of God; Noah, the Preacher of God; Abraham, the Friend of God; Moses, the Converser with God; Jacob, Joseph, and Job. A number of others are mentioned. All these are said to have received inspired books, but they are superseded by the Koran. A very much adapted account of Moses and his doings occupies considerable portions of the Koran. **Prophets.**

Jesus, a "Spirit from God," the "Prophet of God," the "Servant of God," the Word of Truth, is presented in the Koran as a Divine being, but not the Son of God, for "God could not take to Himself a Son." Yet the miraculous conception of Jesus, the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, and the sinlessness of Jesus are taught. Jesus is described as the greatest miracle-worker of all the prophets, and there is an account of His calling a furnished table down from heaven, to become a recurring festival and sign. This may be really a notion derived from the Communion as celebrated by the early Christians. The mission of Jesus is thus mentioned, the speaker being supposed to be God Himself: "We gave Him the evangel, **Attitude towards Jesus.**

and we put into the hearts of those who followed Him kindness and compassion." His crucifixion, and His return to God are mentioned, with this singularity, that the Jews did not crucify Him in reality, but only "His likeness," God having taken Him up to Himself: this being the belief of not a few early Christians. Jesus is represented in the Koran as denying His own divinity, and threatening with hell-fire those who associate aught with God. The doctrine of the Trinity is specifically denied; but it would appear that Mahomet imagined that the Christian Trinity consisted of the Father, the Son, and the Virgin. The Koran does not refer specifically to the second coming of Jesus, but the traditions about the Prophet speak of him as describing this event as a very material affair; they also represent Jesus as now existing in one of the heavens.

Predestination is one of the primary teachings of the Koran—a doctrine that has become a most disastrous and paralysing fatalism for very many Mahometans. Nothing can happen to us but what God has fixed. God misleads whom He will. None can die except by His decree. Many are decreed to err and to enter hell. These doctrines are still more freely set forth in the traditions about Mahomet.

Predestination.

Idols and idolatry naturally form a prominent subject of denunciation in the Koran. The nothingness of idols is brought out in passages reminding us of well-known passages in the Psalms and prophets, though much inferior to the Old Testament gems. In iv. 51, after the destruction of the Meccan idols, we read, "Verily God will not forgive the union of other gods with Himself. . . . And he who uniteth gods with God hath devised a great wickedness." Idolaters were then strictly forbidden to enter the sacred temple at Mecca. The forgiveness of idolaters might not be prayed for, even by their kin, and the example of Abraham was alleged in support of this. With all this denunciation of idolatry, Mahomet retained the black stone as an object of reverence, and also several rites, such as the "runnings to and fro," and "stonings of pillars," which were connected with previous idolatrous worship (see later, p. 560).

Idolatry and idolaters.

Unbelievers who deny a future life and judgment are admonished that they are destined for torment. "Lost now are they who deny a meeting with God, until, when the hour cometh suddenly upon them, they say, 'Oh, woe to us for past negligence of this hour!' And they shall bear their burdens on their back. Will not that be evil which they shall carry?" They will abide in fire for ever. Believers are exhorted not to form intimacies among unbelievers, for they long to corrupt them. Those who become infidels after having believed are denounced as unpardonable offenders.

Coming now to the practical duties of Moslem believers, they may be summed up in the one word which most fitly represents Mahometanism,—Islām, resignation to the will of God, "To God are we resigned." Islām is said to have been the religion of all the prophets before Mahomet. Those who profess this religion are Muslims or Moslems, Musalmans being the Persian form of the original Arabic word.

Islām.

The five principal elements of Islām as enjoined in the Koran are: (1) Belief in the one God, and in Mahomet as His prophet; (2) Reciting the daily prayers; (3) Giving the legal alms; (4) Observing the fast of Ramadan; (5) Making a pilgrimage to Mecca once during life. The creed. The creed (Kelimah) as such does not occur in the Koran; but the first part of it, "There is no god but God," is in xlvii. 21; and the second part, "Mahomet is the apostle of God," is in xlviii. 29; but the whole often occurs in the Traditions about Mahomet.

Prayer is often enjoined in the Koran, but the five daily prayer-times are not mentioned in any one passage. Thus: "Glorify God when it is evening, and at morning,—and to Him be praise in the heavens and earth,—and at afternoon and at noontide." The evening prayer. prayer is regarded as including both that before sunset and after sunset. The traditions relate that Mahomet received instructions during his ascent to heaven to recite prayers five times a day, having by prayer reduced the requirement from fifty to five. The details of modern Moslem prayers we shall describe later.

The fast of Ramadan (or Ramazan), the ninth month of the Mahometan year, is expressly enjoined in ii. 179–184. The fast is prescribed "that ye may fear God for certain days." It is not to be kept by those who The fast of Ramadan. are ill or on a journey, but they must fast the same number of other days. The fast is to be kept by day only; and eating and drinking are allowed after dark until the earliest dawn. The first observation of the new moon of the month is to be the beginning of the fast. Tradition ascribes to Mahomet the saying, that during Ramadan "the gates of paradise are open and the gates of hell are shut, and the devils are chained by the leg, and that only those who observe it will be permitted to enter at the gate of heaven called Raiyan." On one particular night in this month, believed to be the twenty-seventh, the Koran is said to have been revealed, and to have come down in one volume to the lowest heaven, from whence it was revealed to Mahomet in portions by the archangel Gabriel. This is called the night of power: "Herein descend the angels and the spirit by permission of their Lord in every matter, and all is peace till the breaking of the morn" (xcvii.). Two sayings in the Tradition are worthy of note: "If a keeper of fast does not abandon lying, God cares not about his leaving off eating and drinking"; "There are many keepers of fast who gain nothing by fasting but thirst, and there are many risers up at night and performers of prayers who gain nothing by their rising but wakefulness."

The duty of almsgiving is often enjoined in the Koran. "Zakat," or the legal alms, literally purification, expresses a portion of property given as a sanctification of the rest. It is paid separately upon different Almsgiving. kinds of property that have been at least one year in possession of an adult; but not upon the necessaries of life, slaves employed in service, books, craftmen's tools, etc. These alms may be paid to an appointed collector, or given independently to the poor and needy, to slaves and debtors, for the service of God in religious warfare, or to travellers. Alms beyond this

are called Sadaqah, that which manifests righteousness. Cheerful givers of well-gotten wealth are highly praised, and promised repayment by God. Among the traditional sayings attributed to Mahomet are these: "The upper hand is better than the lower one. The upper hand is the giver of alms and the lower hand is the poor beggar"; "The best of alms are those given by a man of small means, who gives of that which he has earned by labour, and gives as much as he is able"; "Doing justice between two people is alms; assisting a man on his beast is alms; good words are alms."

The holy pilgrimage (*hajj* or *hadj*) to Mecca is thus commanded (xxii. 28): "Proclaim to the peoples a pilgrimage. Let them come to thee on foot and on every fleet camel, arriving by every deep defile: that they may bear witness of its benefits to them, and make mention of God's name on the appointed days over the brute beasts with which He hath supplied them for sustenance: and let them pay their vows and circuit the ancient house." Numerous regulations are given as to the time and conduct of the pilgrimage. The actual mode of its observance we will give in a later chapter.

The holy pilgrimage.

As regards general moral duties, the Koran is explicit. Parents are to be kindly treated, especially in old age, spoken to respectfully, deferred to humbly. Only if they desire to draw their children away to idolatry, they must not be obeyed. A murderer is accounted worthy of hell. "Whosoever slayeth a believer purposely, his reward is hell" (iv. 95); further, "It is incumbent on you to exercise vengeance for murder" (ii. 173), but the heir or next of kin may pardon or compound the offence. Theft, when property is taken out of proper custody in a secret manner, is punishable by the amputation of a hand, according to v. 42, "If a man or woman steal, cut off their hands." As to offences against chastity, the Koran is severe; immoral persons whose guilt is proved are to receive a hundred stripes; guilty persons, if married, were at first shut up in their houses (iv. 19); later they were stoned to death, according to a tradition that Mahomet ordained it. But a practically unlimited right of concubinage was permitted, both by Mahomet's example and by Koranic precept. Thus, "Unlawful to you are married women, except such as your right hand possesses," *i.e.* those taken in war, or slaves (iv. 28); but free Mahometan women might not be taken as concubines. While not allowing to men generally the same licence as to the Prophet himself, the Koran permits marriage with four wives: "If women seem good in your eyes, marry two, or three, or four"; and a verse can even be produced (iv. 27) apparently sanctioning merely temporary marriages. Marriage was enjoined on every Moslem. Some of the sayings on marriage attributed to Mahomet are: "Marry women who will love their husbands and be very prolific, for I wish you to be more numerous than any other people." "When a Moslem marries, he perfects half his religion; and he should practise abstinence for the remaining half." "When any of you wishes to demand a woman in marriage, if he can arrange it, let him see her first." "A woman ripe

Parents and children.

Murder and theft.

Divorce and concubinage.

Marriage.

in years shall have her consent asked in marriage; and if she remain silent her silence is her consent, and if she refuse she shall not be married by force." No definite religious ceremony of marriage is prescribed. The Koran prohibits marriage between near relatives, including cousins, between foster-relatives, between parents and step-children; and a man may not marry his wife's sister during her lifetime, unless the first married be divorced.

Severe subjection is the position assigned to wives in the Koran. Thus we read: "Chide those whose refractoriness ye have cause to fear. Remove them into sleeping chambers apart, and beat them." "When a man calls his wife, she must come, though she be at an oven." But there are numerous passages enjoining that wives should be treated with kindness, and extolling the happiness of marriage with an amiable and beautiful wife. And it must be admitted that the Koran elevates woman considerably beyond her previous position in Arabia, which was that of a mere chattel, passing with the estate of husband and father, so that a son frequently married the wives of his deceased father as of right. A number of passages in the Koran speak of men and women as equal in regard to their religious duties and ultimate blessedness. They are to be treated with equity; but men are acknowledged to be superior to women on account of various natural gifts.

Position of wives.

The Koran allows divorce on grounds of aversion; the divorced woman must be generously treated and must not remarry till four months are past.

Our previous quotations have given comparatively little indication of the elevated, rhetorical, and impassioned style of much of the Koran. The following quotations will illustrate this:—

Rhetorical passages.

"When the heaven is cleft asunder, and when the stars are scattered, when the seas gush together, and when the tombs are turned upside down, the soul shall know what it has sent on or kept back.

"O man, what has seduced thee concerning thy generous Lord, who created thee and fashioned thee and gave thee symmetry, and in what form He pleased composed thee? Verily the righteous are in pleasure and the wicked are in hell; they shall broil therein upon the judgment day, nor shall they be absent therefrom (lxxxii.).

"Blessed be He in whose hand is the kingdom, for He is mighty over all: Who created death and life, to try you, which of you does best; for He is the mighty, the forgiving! who created seven heavens in storeys: thou canst not see any discordance in the creation of the Merciful."

There is a singular analogy between the following and Christ's parable of the ten virgins. "On the day when the hypocrites, men and women, shall say to those who believe, 'Wait for us that we may kindle at your light,' it will be said, 'Get ye back and beg a light.' And there shall be struck out between them a wall with a door; within it shall be mercy, and outside before it torment. They shall cry out to them, 'We were not with you!' They shall say, 'Yea, but ye did tempt yourselves, and did wait, and did doubt; and your vain hopes beguiled you; and the beguiler beguiled you

about God. Wherefore to-day there shall not be taken from you a ransom, nor from those who misbelieved. Your resort is the fire; it is your sovereign, and an ill journey will it be." Those who desire further quotations of this kind must be referred to translations of the Koran.

It is singular how few aphoristic sentences, proverbs, or gems of moral truth are to be found in the book. Apart from its claim of inspiration, it ranks by no means high as to literary form. It is a mixture of longer and shorter chapters, some including a great many subjects, almost unconnected in many cases. Mahomet does not appear to have written anything down himself; and some at least of his passages seem to have been the outpouring of uncontrollable excitement, giving the greatest show of probable "inspiration." Dr. Noldeke, one of the best authorities on the Koran, says (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, xvi. 598), 'We must bear in mind that he (Mahomet) was no cold systematic thinker, but an Oriental visionary, brought up in crass superstition, and without intellectual discipline; a man whose nervous temperament had been powerfully worked on by ascetic austerities, and who was all the more irritated by the opposition he encountered, because he had little of the heroic in his nature. Filled with his religious ideas and visions, he might well fancy he heard the angel bidding him recite what was said to him. There may have been many a revelation of this kind which no one ever heard but himself, as he repeated it to himself in the silence of the night (lxxiii. 4). Indeed, the Koran itself admits that he forgot some revelations (lxxxvii. 7). But by far the greatest part of the book is undoubtedly the result of deliberation, touched more or less with emotion, and animated by a certain rhetorical rather than poetical glow." With the exception of the word "undoubtedly," the foregoing passage is perhaps near the truth. It is quite evident in reading the Koran that numerous passages contradict or repeat one another; and the abrogation of certain passages or the alteration of their effect by subsequent revelations may be taken as proof of the lack of justification for the idea of infallible inspiration of the Koran; but of course this presents no difficulty to the Moslem, for to him God is a being who can and does change His edicts at pleasure, and who might prescribe opposite things in succession if it pleased Him.

Structure of Koran.

One of the most singular evidences of Mahomet's lack of literary perception is furnished by his delineation of the old prophets, who are in effect duplicates of Mahomet himself. "They preach exactly like him, they have to bring the very same charges against their opponents, who on their part behave exactly like the unbelieving inhabitants of Mecca" (N.). Mahomet further shows his ignorance of the Jewish scriptures by his mistakes, such as naming Haman minister of Pharaoh, making the fertility of Egypt depend on rain, and not on the Nile. We will not further pursue the literary analysis of the Koran, being concerned here chiefly with its religious import.

Delineation of old prophets.

Although it is by no means arranged in chronological order, it is very possible to mark out most of the chapters of the Koran, according as they

were delivered at Mecca before the flight or at Medina; and they have still further been subdivided into six sets characterising different periods. In the earliest, while the Prophet was still meditating on evil and the terrors of the Last Day, his style is more poetic, fragmentary, and impassioned, with brief sentences and rapidly changing rhymes. To this period belongs the Moslem prayer which opens the Koran. With these are some most vivid pictures of hell and the judgment. A second series marks the opening phases of the Prophet's ministry; in one chapter, when Mahomet has been bidding his clan accept the truth, Abu Laheb exclaims, "Perdition to you!" and in answer the Prophet curses him and his wife (cxi.). The later Meccan chapters deal largely with the same subjects which had been dealt with more briefly in earlier ones, with the addition of many narratives from the Jewish Scriptures and Rabbinical and Arab legends. "A sermonising tone predominates. The suras are very edifying for one who is already reconciled to their import; but to us at least they do not seem well fitted to carry conviction to the minds of unbelievers. . . . In reality these longer Meccan suras appear to have been peculiarly influential for the propagation of Islam" (N.). The Medina chapters are mostly connected with some definite historical event, or some circumstance which called forth the particular revelation. "At one time it is a summons to do battle for the faith; at another, a series of reflections on recently-experienced success or misfortune, or a rebuke for their weak faith, or an exhortation to virtue. He often addresses himself to the doubters, some of whom vacillate between faith and unbelief; others make a pretence of faith, while others scarcely take the trouble even to do that. . . . A part of the Medina pieces consists of formal laws belonging to the ceremonial, civil, and criminal codes, or directions about certain temporary complications. The most objectionable parts of the whole Koran are those which treat of Mahomet's relations with women" (N.). We must not omit to state that the Koran bears testimony to itself in more than one emphatic passage; thus, "If men and genii were assembled together that they might produce a book like the Koran, they must fail" (xvii. 90).

Chronological sequence.

As regards miracles, the Koran does not assert that Mahomet worked them, and only a few which are incredible have been attributed to him by his followers. In xxix. 49, we read, "They say, Why are not signs sent down to him from his Lord? Say, signs are in the power of God alone, and I am only an open warner." In xvii. 92–97, where the unbelievers are represented as asking for miracles, Mahomet is directed to say, "Praise be to my Lord. Am I more than a man, and an apostle?" Mahometan commentators refer to the cleaving of the moon (liv.), the assistance of angels at the battle of Bedr (iii.), the night-journey to heaven (xvii.), and the revelation of the Koran itself as miracles recorded in the Koran. And indeed the reverence with which Mohammedans regard the Koran corresponds with this belief. "They dare not touch it without being first washed and purified, and they read it with the greatest care and respect, never holding it below their girdles. They swear by it,

Miracles.

Reverence for Koran.

consult it on all occasions, carry it with them to war, write sentences of it on their banners, suspend it from their necks as a charm, and always place it on the highest shelf or some place of honour in their houses." Whatever defects we find in the Koran, it made Arabic a literary language, it has influenced the belief and conduct of countless millions of men, and it is at this day reverenced and obeyed by an increasing number of persons.[1]

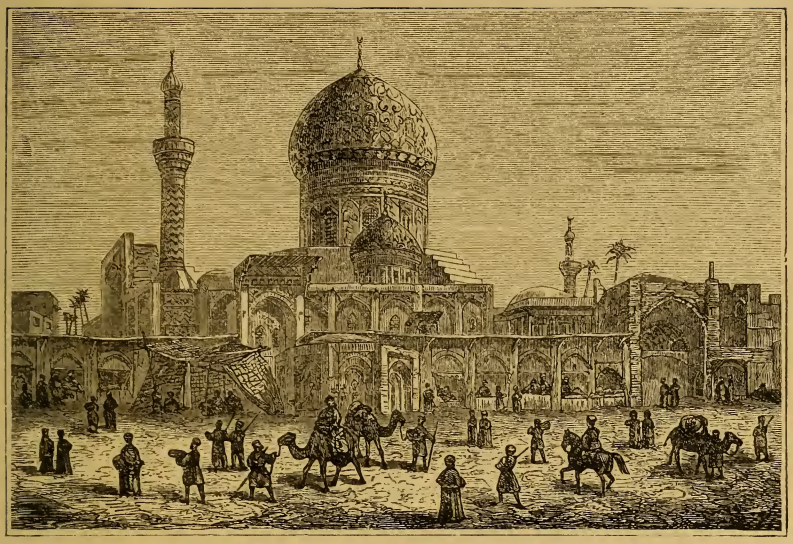
Versions.

The Koran was first printed in Arabic at Rome in 1530, but was either burned or remained unpublished. In 1649 an edition was published at Hamburg, and there have been several subsequent editions. The Mahometans themselves have issued versions, interlinear with the original, in Persian, Pushto, Urdu, Turkish, and numerous other languages. A translation of the Koran into Latin was made in 1143 for Peter, the Abbot of Cluny, but was not published till 1543 at Basle. This version was afterwards further translated into Italian, German, and Dutch. The first French translation was done in 1547; this was translated into English in 1649–1688. The well-known English translation by Sale appeared in 1734. The Rev. J. M. Rodwell published a translation into English in 1861, distinguished by the arrangement of the chapters in their supposed chronological order. Palmer's translation (1880) is more literal and less elegant.

Commentaries.

Commentaries in Arabic upon the Koran were made very early, and probably the Commentary of Tabari (839–923) contains much of their substance. Thousands of commentaries have since been written, and many of them are most important aids to understanding obscure passages. There are many other Arabic works connected with the Koran, its spelling and pronunciation, its beauties, the number of its verses and letters, etc. The devotion of Moslems to their sacred book is natural when we consider that they believe it to have been eternally existent and uncreated in the Divine thought.

[1] Rodwell's Koran; Palmer's Koran ("Sacred Books of the East," vols. 6, 9). Hughes, "Dictionary of Islam,"—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 17, Art. "Mohammedanism," section, "Koran," by Dr. Noldeke. "Islam," *Quarterly Review*, vol. 127, by E. Deutsch.



MOSQUE OF AHMED KHIAGA AND MARKET PLACE, AT BAGDAD.

CHAPTER VI.

Modern Islam. Part I.

The First Caliphs—The Ommyads—The death of Hosain—The Abbaside caliphs—Harun-al-Raschid—The Fatimite dynasty—Caliphs in Spain—Saladin—Fall of Bagdad—Various Sultanates—Sunnites and Shiites—Distribution and numbers—Various Sects—Motazilites—Jabarites—Kharijites—Malikites—Hanifites—Shafiites—Hanbalites—The Ulema—Imams—Extra-Koranic beliefs—The exalted name of God—The essence of the Deity—Sins—Mahometan oaths—Abstinence—Restrictions on eating—Ablution—Public prayer—The sermon—Circumcision—Marriage—Divorce—Concubinage—Slaves—Death—Burial—Funeral processions—The immediate fate of the soul—Mosques—Endowment and government—The Sacred Mosque at Mecca—The Sacred Hajj, or pilgrimage—The Prophet's Mosque at Medina—The Mosque of Omar—The Dome of the Rock—Great mosque at Damascus—The Mosque of Cordova—Mosques and tombs at Cairo—St. Sophia at Constantinople—Indian mosques and tombs—The Jummoo Musjid at Delhi—The Taj Mehal.

INASMUCH as the religion of Mahomet speedily became inextricably mingled with political history, in accordance with the injunctions frequently repeated in the chapters of the Koran revealed at Medina, to spread Islam by the sword, we shall but briefly refer to its historical advance, both because it is better dealt with in works of general history, and because we are principally concerned with marked developments in its religious aspect.

Islam was consolidated in Arabia by means of the wars which at once arose after Mahomet's death, to secure the predominance of the Caliphate, and the wars of extension by which it was successively or simultaneously carried into Syria, Persia, and Egypt. The Gospel of Christ was in these lands for a time overwhelmed; and the people, who had but slightly assimilated it, readily threw it off at the bidding

The First Caliphs.

of their conquerors. The names of Abu-bekr (632–634), Omar (634–644), Othman (644–656), and Ali (656-661), the first four caliphs, are mainly associated with this rapid career of conquest, Omar especially having consolidated the Arabian State at Medina. At the beginning of his reign he uttered a sentence which has become famous: "By God, he that is weakest among you shall be in my sight the strongest, until I have vindicated for him his rights; but him that is strongest will I treat as the weakest, until he complies with the laws."

By a strange stroke of fate, the family of the Koreish which furnished the leader, Omayya, in the battle of Ohod, and to which one of Mahomet's most violent opponents, Abu Sofyan, belonged, gave rise to the great Ommyad line of Caliphs, which lasted from Othman's murder in 661 to the death of Merwan II. in 750. Moawiya, the first of the line, made Damascus his capital; his religion, like that of most of his successors, became largely subservient to his political aims. Long war raged between them and the adherents of Ali's descendants, the cousin of Mahomet and husband of Fatima, the only child who survived him. The Ommyads plundered Medina, took Mecca, and burnt the Kaaba, which, however, was soon rebuilt. The slaughter of Hosain, the son of Ali, on the 10th Moharram (Oct.) 680, at Kerbela, has given rise to one of the most sacredly observed festivals in certain Mohammedan countries. Early in the eighth century the power of the Ommyads had extended to the borders of China, over North Africa, and all Spain. Before 720, the Abbaside movement had arisen, named from Abbas the paternal uncle of Mahomet. His descendants enjoyed the greatest consideration among the Moslems, and on Ali's son's death remained nearest of kin to the Prophet. The Ommyad Caliphs, however, insulted them so shamefully that they conceived the idea of supplanting the ruling dynasty, and allied to themselves Ali's party, by giving out that one of his descendants had appointed an Abbaside, Mohammed, his heir. The advance of the Moslems into Europe was now first checked by Charles Martel in 732, who defeated Abd-el-Rahman near Poitiers, and afterwards drove the invaders back into Spain.

The Ommyads.

The death of Hosain.

Various provinces of the Arab Empire broke away and set up for themselves. The Ommyad dynasty fell in 750, and Abu 'l-Abbas became Caliph at Cufa on the Euphrates. The establishment of the dynasty cost, it is said, 600,000 lives. The next caliph, Mansur, transferred his capital to Bagdad, which was long the most famous Moslem city. Meanwhile Africa and Spain revolted from the power of the Abbasides, but they made great progress in Asia Minor. The most celebrated Eastern caliph, Harun-al-Raschid (786-809), was devoted in his religious duties, especially in pilgrimage, and attempted to secure the succession to the Caliphate to his three sons in order, by a deed which he hung up in the Kaaba, which, however, his eldest son destroyed, and in consequence lost his crown and his life five years after his accession. The second son of Harun, Maimun, after a stormy beginning, led a life

The Abbaside Caliphs.

Harun-al-Raschid.

ENTRY OF OMAR INTO JERUSALEM.

of literary ease, encouraged authors, and set himself to overthrow the widespread doctrine that the Koran was the uncreated word of God; and his successor continued the same policy. From their time the power of the Eastern Caliphate declined. Razi (934–940) was the last Caliph who led prayers and preached to the people. In 910 the Fatimite dynasty was founded in Egypt, by Obaid Allah, surnamed the Mahdi, "the directed one," hence fit to guide others, and assuming to be a descendant of Fatimah, and consequently entering into the rights of Ali. The empire of the Fatimites lasted in Egypt and North Africa till 1171. The Ommyad Caliphs of Cordova, in Spain, maintained their rule from 755 to 1236, and the Moorish Caliphs, or Sultans, of Granada held sway from 1238 to 1492.

The Fatimite dynasty.

Caliphs in Spain.

Meanwhile the Crusades had contributed greatly to the decline of the Eastern Caliphate. At first the Arab conquerors of Palestine, in the seventh century, allowed Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem to build a church and a hospital. Under the Fatimite Caliphs, who conquered Palestine and Syria in the tenth century, the position of Christians was less favourable. In 1065 the Seljuk Turks from the Caucasus, new converts to Islam, overrunning Palestine, committed great atrocities on Christians. This resulted in the first Crusade, which was successful in wresting Syria, Palestine, and much of Asia Minor from the Mahometans (1099). But this dominion was practically won back by Saladin, a Kurdish chieftain who had made himself Sultan of Egypt, and the Christians remained free to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem exempt from taxation. A still more formidable enemy to the Caliphs, however, approached from the north and east, in the person of Jenghiz Khan and the Mongols. Finally Hulaga, the Mongol sovereign, took Bagdad in 1258, and destroyed the Eastern Caliphate. Before this, however, governor after governor of dependent provinces had become practically independent; and hence we find one power at Kairwan, in Tripoli, another in Fez (Morocco), another in Khorasan, and others in various parts of India. The Ottoman Turks set up their dynasty in Constantinople in 1299, and it still continues.

The Crusades.

Saladin.

Fall of Bagdad.

Various sultanates.

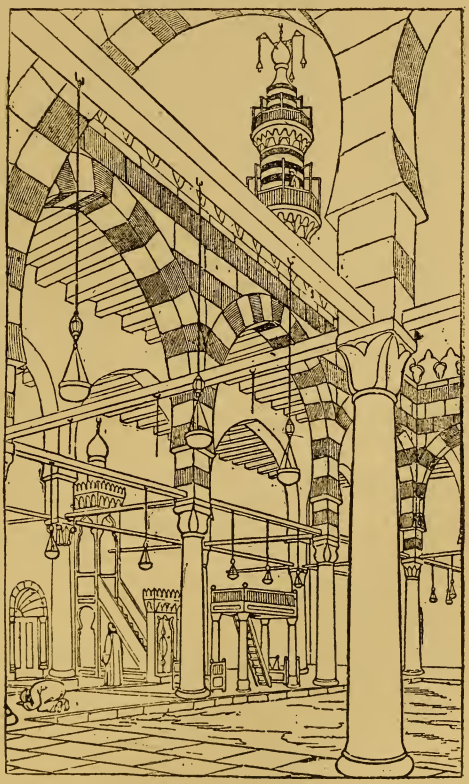
In giving an account of modern Islam, we must first direct attention to the two predominant and hostile divisions into which it is divided, and which date back to the early times of the Caliphate. The Sunnites, followers of the Tradition or path (Sunnah), acknowledge the first four caliphs as rightful successors of Mahomet, and accept the six "authentic" books of tradition, in addition to the Koran, as the guide of faith and conduct. This does not imply that the Shiites, the other great division, reject the Traditions, but the Sunnites have appropriated the name; while the Shiites, or "followers" of Ali, reject the right of the first four caliphs as true successors of the Prophet, and reckon Ali, Mahomet's cousin, as the first true imam or caliph. They call themselves the true believers, and are also known as the imamiyahs, believing that Islam consists in knowledge of the rightful imam. They have traditions

Sunnites and Shiites.

of the nomination of Ali to succeed him by Mahomet, and believe that special revelations were made to Fatima, Ali's wife, which were inherited by the last imam, the Mahdi. They recognise in all twelve imams, including Ali, his sons Hasan and Hosain, Ali son of Hosain, and seven of his descendants, the last, Mohammed, the so-called Mahdi, or Director, being supposed to be still alive, though withdrawn from sight, to reappear in the last days, according to the Prophet's prediction.

Distribution and numbers.

The Sunnites are the majority in Arabia, Turkey, North Africa, India, Turkestan, Afghanistan, and Eastern Asia, and in all they number something like 150 millions; while the Shiites are most numerous in Persia and in India, though scattered here and there throughout Islam. They are variously estimated at between ten and twenty millions. Besides these, there are the Abadiyeh of Oman and Zanzibar, and the Zirdites of Yemen, estimated by Mr. Blunt at four and two millions respectively, and the Wahhabis in Nejd and some other regions, said to number eight millions. Consequently the followers of Mahomet at the present day cannot be reckoned fewer than 175 millions.



INTERIOR OF A MOSQUE, CAIRO,
(*Showing the Pulpit and the Kiblah*).

Various sects.

Besides the existent sects, we may mention among those of the past, the followers of Hasan of Basra, in the first century of Islam, who set himself to settle dogmatic difficulties which the Koran left unsolved. One of his disciples, Wasil, founded the sect of the Motazilites (dissentient), or Kadarites, recognising man's power (kadar) over his own actions, in contradistinction to the orthodox view of predestination. Wasil denied the eternity of the attributes of God, reasoning that if they were eternal, they constituted so many independent deities. Wasil objected to predestination, that it was incompatible with the belief in future

Motazilites.

rewards and punishments; he also admitted a purgatory. Another sect, the Jabarites, agreed with the Motazilites as to the attributes of God, but maintained the most uncompromising view of predestination, denying to man the slightest share in shaping his own conduct. Somewhat like the Calvinists, they believed that every man was predestined to heaven or hell, and, more consistent than the Calvinists, they denied human responsibility. A third sect, the Sifatites, partisans of the attributes, interpreted the Koranic accounts of God literally, and were gross anthropomorphists.

Jabarites.

Another form of dissent from the Koran and its orthodox upholders arose in the middle of the seventh century, among the partisans of Ali. It refused to acknowledge the exclusive right of the Koreish to furnish a Caliph and Imam to Islam, and maintained that the origin of the leader of the faithful was a matter of indifference, if he did his duty well. This sect, known as the Kharijites, were truer followers of Mahomet than the orthodox; they held that a man was responsible for his actions, in spite of predestination, and that a great sinner could not be a good Moslem. They were ultimately suppressed in Asia, but long continued to have much influence in northern Africa. These sects, together with the Shiites, subsequently described, were the "protestants" to whom, by antagonism, much of the character of Mohammedan orthodoxy is due.

Kharijites.

The Sunnis are divided into four principal sects, the Malikites, Hanifites, Shafiites, and Hanbalites; named after their founders, Malik, Abu Hanifa, Shafii, and Ibn Hanbal. These were all established under the Abbaside Caliphs, and really differ comparatively little from one another. The first great collection of the traditions of Mahomet was made by Malik, at Medina, in the eighth century. These he regarded as superseding human judgment. Abu Hanifa, his contemporary, who died at Bagdad in 770, eclipsed him in fame, being the main pillar of the deductive method, which undertook to create precedents in Moslem law by analogy, in agreement with the spirit of the Koran, the Tradition, and the decisions of the first four caliphs. His system, known as the Hanifite law, is the most followed of any. Shafii (born 770), a descendant of the Prophet's grandfather, a pupil of Malik, founded an intermediate system between the deductive and the traditional. One of his pupils, Ibn Hanbal, founded the fourth orthodox sect, which was a kind of puritanism, aiming at restoring the primitive purity of religious observances. His followers are now comparatively few, though it is alleged that the Wahhabis represent the spirit of his teaching.

Malikites.

Hanifites.

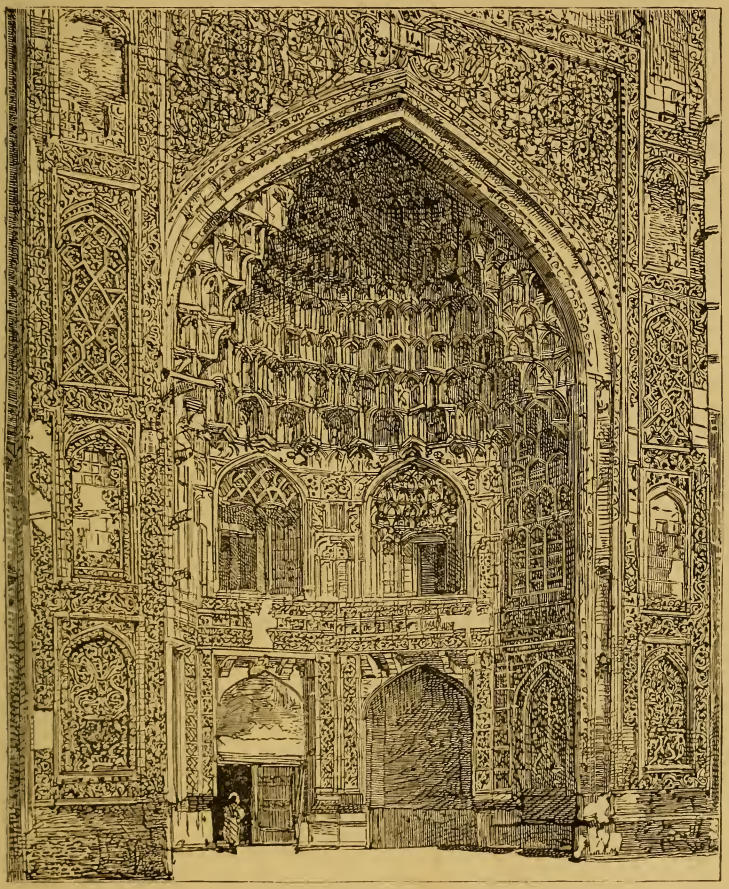
Shafiites.

Hanbalites.

Moslem orthodoxy has become fixed within narrow limits, and does not vary much from century to century or from place to place. Its discussions and learning are confined to a narrow kind of scholasticism, analogous to that of the Middle Age schoolmen. Even more than in the Roman Catholic Church, the believers are in the hands of a clergy, the *ulema*, or knowers (singular *alim*), who, without being endued with any temporal power, and without having any ordination or apostolical succession, constitute a spiritual hierarchy of despotic power and enormous

The ulema.

influence. In fact, they are much more powerful, socially and politically, than the temporal rulers of Moslem countries. As a specimen of their strong self-assertion, we may quote the declaration of the ulema in Spain, when the Sultan Mansur threatened them for opposing him: "All the evil you say of us applies to yourself; you seek unjust gains, and support your



ENTRANCE TO THE MEDRESSÉ (COLLEGE) OF ABDUL AZIZ KHAN, BOKHARA.

injustice by threats; you take bribes and practise ungodliness in the world. But we are guides on the path of righteousness, lights in the darkness, and bulwarks of Islam. We decide what is just or unjust, and declare the right. Through us the precepts of religion are maintained. We know that the Sultan will soon think better of the matter; but if he persists, every act of his

government will be null, for every treaty of peace and war, every act of sale and purchase, is valid only through our testimony." Leaving the vizier's presence, they were followed by the Sultan's apology before they had passed out of the palace gate.

The mode in which the numbers of the ulema are kept up is by a sort of university education, which is now chiefly obtainable at the famous mosque of El Azhar, at Cairo, but formerly from the famous universities of Damascus, Bagdad, Kairwan, Seville, Cordova, etc., where there were thousands of students. They almost all come from the lower classes, in whom fanaticism is most abundant, and not unfrequently obtain permission to sleep in the mosque, and receive daily rations from the funds of the mosque. They enter their names according to their respective sects, and attend the lectures of their professors, which are given around the pillars of the great court. The subjects are Arabic, Mohammedan dogma, the Koran, tradition, and the law. The Hanafite decisions are most effective in law-courts; but nevertheless the Shafiite and Malikite students are much more numerous, and there are very few Hanbalites. The work of a professor is not mentally onerous, for, strange to say, they merely give explanations from commentaries, being forbidden to add anything of their own. There are various standard compendiums and treatises of great length, consisting chiefly of arguments like those of the medieval school-men, which the students have to master. A few other subjects, such as rhetoric and logic, may be taken up; but the general course is very narrow, and confirms the natural narrowness of the pupils. All that does not directly appertain to theology is regarded as superfluous or injurious. Theology, being considered to be already perfect, can supply no opportunity of progress beyond a certain narrow limit. "All originality is crushed out, and a blind and ludicrous dependence on written tradition—even in things profane—takes its place." The students, after three or four years thus spent, having obtained certificates from the professors, gain a government appointment in a law court, or become teachers, prayer-leaders, cadis, or muftis in the smaller towns, or occupy themselves in the various offices for which a theologian is required. There are many sources from which an income may be derived, gifts being not the least abundant of these; and the higher ulema back up their brethren in all ways, so that they form in effect a powerful corporation. There is no charge for the instruction given in El-Azhar, and there is no endowment for the professors. In Bokhara there is still a considerable attempt at theological education, and there are eighty colleges or schools attached to mosques; but they are for the most part centres of mere fanatic ignorance. In India every considerable mosque has its college of divinity students, and their heads are generally termed mollahs (or maulawis); some of them are good Arabic scholars, but are otherwise very ignorant.

Considering their unofficial position, it is surprising how great a power the ulema wield. This is in consequence of their representing the spiritual influence of the Prophet; while even the Sultan of Turkey, though he calls himself "the successor of the Prophet," cannot exercise the powers of a pope.

He however nominates the Sheikh-ul-Islam (senior or president of Islam), or mufti of Constantinople, who represents him among the ulema, and whose judgments on points of faith and law cannot be appealed against. But the choice of this personage is limited to the mollahs, or chiefs of religious bodies; and as no one can become one of the ulema but by examination and certification by older ulema, and thus the priesthood is animated by a powerful *esprit de corps*.

Imams.

The imams, or leaders in prayer, are the most important essential officials of the mosques. The true imam, or caliph of all the Moslems, is the deputy or representative of the Prophet, and should perform almost every function which Mahomet performed; but the term has become applied to the leader of any system or school of theology or law, and to leaders in prayer at all mosques. There is no ceremony of ordination, nor is any ministerial act performed by the imam, except that of standing in front and repeating the prayers and reciting the Koran. In fact, wherever there are three worshippers, one of them must act as imam and the other two follow him. Tradition says that the Prophet spoke thus: "Let him act as imam to a congregation who knows the Koran thoroughly; and if all present should be equal in that respect, then let him perform who is best informed in the rules of prayer; and if they are equal in this respect also, let him act as imam who has fled for the sake of Islam; and if equal in this respect likewise, let that person act who is oldest; but the governed must not act as imam to the governor."

Extra-Koranic beliefs.

Passing now to the teachings and beliefs of these "clergy" and of intelligent Moslems,—although they rely so much on the Koran, they have imperceptibly developed and codified much teaching that is not formally contained therein. For instance, as to the personality and nature of God, their detailed statements are to a large extent worthy of Christian doctors and full of philosophic acumen. Of course, believing so absolutely in predestination and control by the Almighty, they hold doctrines which large sections of Christendom would reject, and which come very near to complete Pantheism. Thus the words "There is no God but God," to the Moslem, to quote Mr. Palgrave's language, "imply that this one supreme Being is also the only Agent, the only Force, the only act existing throughout the universe, and leave to all beings else nothing but pure unconditional passiveness, alike in movement or in quiescence, in action or in capacity." Thus even all evil, so-called, is His creation. Yet "He has with respect to His creatures one main feeling and source of action, namely, jealousy of them, lest they should perchance attribute to themselves something of what is His alone. Hence He is ever more prone to punish than to reward, to inflict pain than to bestow pleasure." (*Central and Eastern Arabia.*) It is a consequence of this position, that no pre-eminence can rightfully be claimed before God by any man; all are equally His servants.

There is one exalted name of God, supposed only to be known to the prophets and great saints; and it is said that Mahomet declared that whoever

calls upon God by that name will obtain all his desires. Consequently the Moslem fakirs and mystics spend much of their time in trying to find it out; those who assert that they know it gain great influence over the superstitious. The attributes of God are classified under the heads of "Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Hearing, Seeing, and Speech."

The exalted name of God.

As a specimen of the best kind of Moslem theological statement, we may quote from the famous scholastic divine Al-Ghazzali in the eleventh century (1058–1111). He writes thus of the essence of God: "He is one, and hath no partner; singular, without anything like Him; uniform, having no contrary; separate, having no equal. He is ancient, having no first; eternal, having no beginning; remaining for ever, having no end; continuing to eternity, without any termination. He persists without ceasing to be; remains without failing, and never did cease, nor ever shall cease to be described by glorious attributes, nor is subject to any decree so as to be determined by any precise limits or set times, but is the First and the Last, and is within and without. . . . He is too holy to be subject to change, or any local motion; neither do any accidents dwell in Him, nor any contingencies befall Him, — but He abides through all generations with His glorious attributes, free from all danger of dissolution. As to the attribute of perfection, He wants no addition to His perfection." And so on through a long exposition. This is quoted, not as proving any originality in the Moslem beliefs, but as showing the high level attained in some directions, and as a proof that, so far as regards the Divine attributes, Christians have much in common with Moslems—a fact which should moderate denunciations or censure, and give rise to an attitude of tolerance.

The essence of the Deity.

MOSLEM POSTURES OF PRAYER.

With such beliefs as to the absoluteness of Divine control, it is surprising that Mahometans should admit the possibility of sin; but they do this, although there have been long discussions on predestination, and strong endeavours to reconcile it with man's responsibility. Learned Mohammedans divide sins into two classes: the kabirah, or great, which condemn the sinner to a purgatorial hell; and saghirah or little sins, inherent in man's nature. The great sins are generally stated as seventeen in number: infidelity, despairing of God's mercy, considering oneself safe from His wrath, bearing false witness, constantly committing little sins,

Sins.

falsely charging a Moslem with adultery, taking a false oath, drinking wine, practising magic, defrauding orphans of their property, usury, committing adultery, unnatural crimes, stealing, murder, cowardice in battle with infidels, disobedience to parents.

Mahometans are considerably given to oaths, and, it may be imagined, at times run great risks of condemnation for perjury. The Koran itself contains many extreme oaths, and it is not surprising that Mahomet's followers imitate him in this. There are many fine distinctions drawn, after the Talmudic manner, as to the various kinds and qualities of oaths, and the guilt of breaking them. The most effective oaths are, saying three times "By the great God," taking hold of the Koran and saying "By what this contains of the Word of God," placing a sword on the Koran and saying "I impose on myself divorcement." Notwithstanding this, lying is pretty frequent among "the faithful." **Mahometan oaths.**

MOSLEM POSTURES OF PRAYER.

As to abstinence from wine and intoxicating liquors, this is one of the most characteristic Moslem virtues; but in many cases the rule of abstinence is broken through. It is to the credit of Moslem consistency, that opium and tobacco have been recognised as included under the same ban as wine; but the supposed prohibition is less regarded than in the case of intoxicants. **Abstinence.**

One of the special prohibitions generally observed, is that which forbids eating pork; and there is reason in this in hot climates. Moreover various animals' flesh is forbidden as food, the list being very like that of the Mosaic code. The Koran says (ii. 167) "O ye who believe, eat of the good things with which we have supplied you, and give God thanks if ye are His worshippers. Only that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that over which any other name than that of God hath been invoked, hath God forbidden you." But no flesh may be lawfully eaten unless the animal has been killed in orthodox Mahometan fashion, *i.e.* by cutting the windpipe and gullet through, repeating at the same time, "In the name of God, God is great." According to the traditions, beasts and birds of prey may not be eaten. Moslems have no religious objection to eating with Jews and Christians, provided the meat or drink be lawful for them, and in fact eat with them in various countries, but not in India, where hatred of a conquering race has established the custom of exclusiveness. **Restrictions on eating.**

The extreme attention of most Mahometans to ablution of the hands, mouth, and nose before eating, is well known. It is a religious ceremony, depending on the traditional precepts of the prophet. His followers are to eat in God's name, to return thanks, to eat with their right hand, and with their shoes off. The devil, it is said, has power over that food which is eaten without remembering God. Before beginning, it is necessary to say "Bismillah!" (in the name of God), and after finishing, "Glory to God!" Ablution is also essential before worship. The Koran (v. 8) says, "O Believers, when ye prepare yourselves for prayer, wash your faces and hands up to the elbows, and wipe your hands and your feet to the ankles." The detail of this ablution is elaborate, but with practice it is performed in three minutes, the worshipper reciting prayers or pious ejaculations meanwhile. The full ablution is not insisted on before each prayer time, if nothing unclean has been touched and no impurity contracted. When water cannot be had, ablution may be performed with dust or sand. In special cases washing of the whole body is prescribed, and among these occasions are the admission of a convert, Friday prayers, the great festivals, and the washing of the dead. The Tradition says, that he who performs ablution thoroughly will extract all sin from his body, even though it may be lurking under his finger nails.

Ablution.

The Moslem rule is, that public prayer shall be entirely in Arabic, and the place of prayer must be free from impurity. Before it commences the muezzin or crier gives the call to prayer from the minaret or outside the mosque, adding in the early morning "Prayer is better than sleep." The first recitation is given by the imam's "follower," or by the crier, and is the same as the call to prayers, with the addition, "Verily, prayers are now ready." The regular prayers then begin, all standing, with the following: "I have purposed to offer up to God only, with a sincere heart this morning (or afternoon, or evening), with my face towards the kiblah, two (or more) rakeh prayers." The word *rakeh* signifies a form of prayer; *farz* are prayers enjoined by God; *sunnah*, those founded on the Tradition of Mahomet; *nafl*, the voluntary performance of two *rakehs*. The number of *rakehs* to be said varies for the different hours of prayer; at night seven are said after all the usual series have been gone through. A devout Moslem will go through the same form of prayer seventy-five times in the day. Any travelling of the eyes or mind, a cough, etc., vitiates the prayer, and the worshipper must recite all again. Yet a late-comer, after reciting the preliminary, and the "God is great," may join the congregation at the stage which they have reached.

Public prayer.

The *subhan* follows, ascribing holiness and praise to God and praising His name, followed by the declaration, "I seek refuge from God from cursed Satan." Then follows the first chapter of the Koran, after which the worshipper may repeat as many chapters of the Koran as he desires, but at least should say one long or two short verses. Very frequently the 122nd, a short chapter, is chosen: "Say: He is God alone: God the Eternal. He begetteth not and is not begotten; and there is none like unto Him."

"God is great," and "I extol the holiness of my Lord, the great," are repeated frequently in various attitudes of devotion. After every two rakehs the following prayer is offered: "O God, have mercy on Mahomet and on his descendants, as Thou didst have mercy on Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and Thou art great"; and also, "O God our Lord, give us the blessings of this life, and also the blessings of life everlasting. Save us from the torments of fire." At the end of prayers follows the salaam: "The peace and mercy of God be with you!" repeated once with the head turned to the right and once to the left, followed by the supplication, a series of prayers from the Koran or the Tradition, and not infrequently said in the vernacular.

EGYPTIAN FUNERAL PROCESSION.

There are also special prayers for Friday, for a traveller, at funerals, during the fast, during eclipses, etc.; but the specialty consists rather in the number of extra *rakehs* than in the substance of the prayers. There are many directions for prayers in the Traditions, and promises or assertions of blessing for special acts of prayer. One curious regulation is as follows: "When any one of you says his prayers, he must have something in front of him, but if he cannot find anything he must put his walking-stick into the ground, or if it be hard, place it lengthways before him; but if he has no staff, he must draw a line on the ground, after which there will be no detriment to his prayers from any one passing in front of him." Sincere as the Moslem may be, one cannot but see how mechanical and superstitious his devotions tend to become when governed by such multitudinous formalities and repeated so often; and, in fact, the lip-service of a large proportion of Mohammedans is notoriously combined with deceit and evil.

The Friday sermon is given at the time of noonday prayer, and on the two great festivals at the prayer after sunrise. There is usually a special preacher who delivers this, after the first four sets of prayers. It is in Arabic, and includes prayers for Mahomet, his companions, and the sovereign. Its nature is a matter of choice with the preacher, but it consists very largely of assertions of the various Moslem doctrines. An eloquent New Year's Day sermon given in Lane's "Modern Egyptians" contains the following passages: "O servants of God, your lives have been gradually curtailed, and year after year hath passed away and ye are sleeping on the bed of indolence, and on the pillow of iniquity. Ye pass by the tombs of your predecessors, and fear not the assault of destiny and destruction, as if others departed from the world and ye must of necessity remain in it. Ye rejoice at the arrival of new years, as if they brought an increase to the term of life, and swim in the seas of desires and enlarge your hopes, and in every way exceed other people in presumption; and ye are sluggish in doing good. Oh, how great a calamity is this! God teacheth by an allegory. Know ye not that in the curtailment of time by indolence and sleep there is very great trouble? Know ye not that the night and day divide the lives of numerous souls? Ye are now between two years. . . . Is any of you determining upon diligence in doing good in the year to come? or repenting of his failings in the things that are passed?" etc. In the latter half of the sermon: "O God, assist the forces of the Moslems, and the armies of the Unitarians [*i.e.* believers in the one God]! O God, frustrate the infidels and the polytheists, Thine enemies, the enemies of the religion! O God, invert their banners and ruin their habitations, and give them and their wealth as booty to the Moslems!" etc. "O Lord, we have acted unjustly towards our own souls, and if Thou do not forgive us and be merciful to us we shall surely be of those who perish."

The sermon.

Circumcision, usually performed on boys between the ages of five and twelve, is not a sacred rite, though ordained by the Tradition. There is nothing about it in the Koran, and no record of Mahomet's circumcision. Marriage also is celebrated with very little religious ceremony; at the making and signing of the marriage contract the opening chapter of the Koran is recited, together with an address or exhortation and some Koranic prayers and recitations. The actual marriage may be performed with much or little religious ceremony, according to the discretion of the cadi or other person performing it; and the ceremony does not take place in a mosque. The bridegroom usually repeats after the cadi, "I desire forgiveness of God;" four short chapters of the Koran, the creed, and a profession of belief in God, the angels, the Koran, the Prophet, the Resurrection, etc. The bridegroom then formally consents to the marriage, and the cadi prays that mutual love may reign between the couple, as between Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Joseph and Zuleika, Moses and Sarah, Mohammed and Ayesha, Ali and Fatima." The legal regulations about marriage are more properly political than religious; four lawful wives are permitted. Divorce is easy, needing

Circumcision.

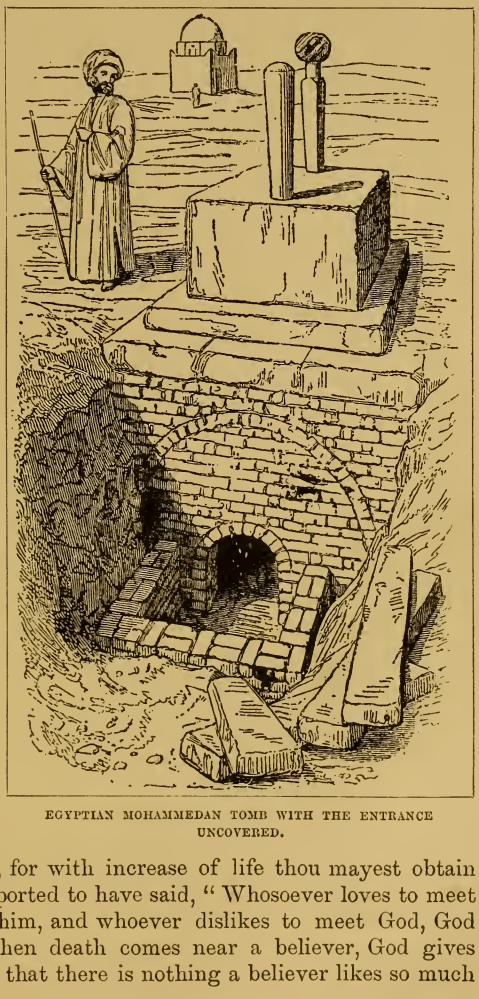
Marriage.

only that the husband should say to his wife, "Thou art divorced," after which three months' waiting is enjoined, when the divorce is permanent. A husband may divorce his wife after any misbehaviour, or without assigning cause. In some few cases a wife may obtain a divorce. Concubinage with any woman held as a slave is lawful; and among the Shiahs, temporary marriages, for a few hours, afford the most degrading form of concubinage. In other respects slaves are usually well treated, and often attached to their masters and mistresses. The Tradition praises and blesses the emancipation of slaves, and they are not infrequently emancipated, especially at the death of the owner. But the absolute power which a Moslem master has over the life and person of his slave is most deleterious to the character of both; and this, together with the looseness of matrimonial relations, constitutes perhaps the most evil feature of Islam.

Divorce.

Concubinage.

Slaves.



EGYPTIAN MOHAMMEDAN TOMB WITH THE ENTRANCE UNCOVERED.

The Koran teaches that the hour of death is fixed for every one; and in the Tradition Mahomet teaches that it is sinful to wish for death. "Wish not for death, not even if thou art a doer of good works, for peradventure thou mayst increase them with an increase of life. Nor even if thou art a sinner, for with increase of life thou mayest obtain God's pardon." He is also reported to have said, "Whosoever loves to meet God, God will love to meet him, and whoever dislikes to meet God, God will dislike to meet him. When death comes near a believer, God gives him a spirit of resignation, so that there is nothing a believer likes so much as death."

Death.

When a Moslem is about to die, some skilled reader of the Koran is sent

for, that he may read the 36th chapter to tranquillise the soul. The creed is also said aloud by all present. Early burial is the rule in Islam, as the sooner the dead are buried the sooner they are believed to reach heaven; while the bad man must be buried quickly that his lot may not fall upon his family. The burial service is believed to be based on the practice of Mahomet. It may properly be recited by the nearest relative, but is usually led by the family imam or the cadi. It is said in a mosque or in some open space, and includes many of the ordinary prayers, with prayer for the soul of the deceased, after which the people say: "It is the decree of God," to which the chief mourner replies, "I am pleased with the will of God," and then says to the people, "There is permission to depart." After this the body is placed on its back in the grave, with the head to the north and the face turned towards Mecca, the words of burial being, "We commit thee to earth in the name of God, and in the religion of the Prophet." On the third day after burial it is usual for the relatives to visit the grave and recite selections from the Koran, the whole of it being sometimes recited by mollahs paid for the purpose.

Burial.

Funeral processions on foot are the rule with Moslems, and it is a meritorious act to carry the bier. This is done at a quick pace, that the righteous may arrive soon at happiness. The elaborate funeral processions of Egypt are well described by Lane ("Modern Egyptians," *Minerva Library*,) and we must refer readers to this book for many excellent accounts of Islam in Egypt.

Funeral processions.

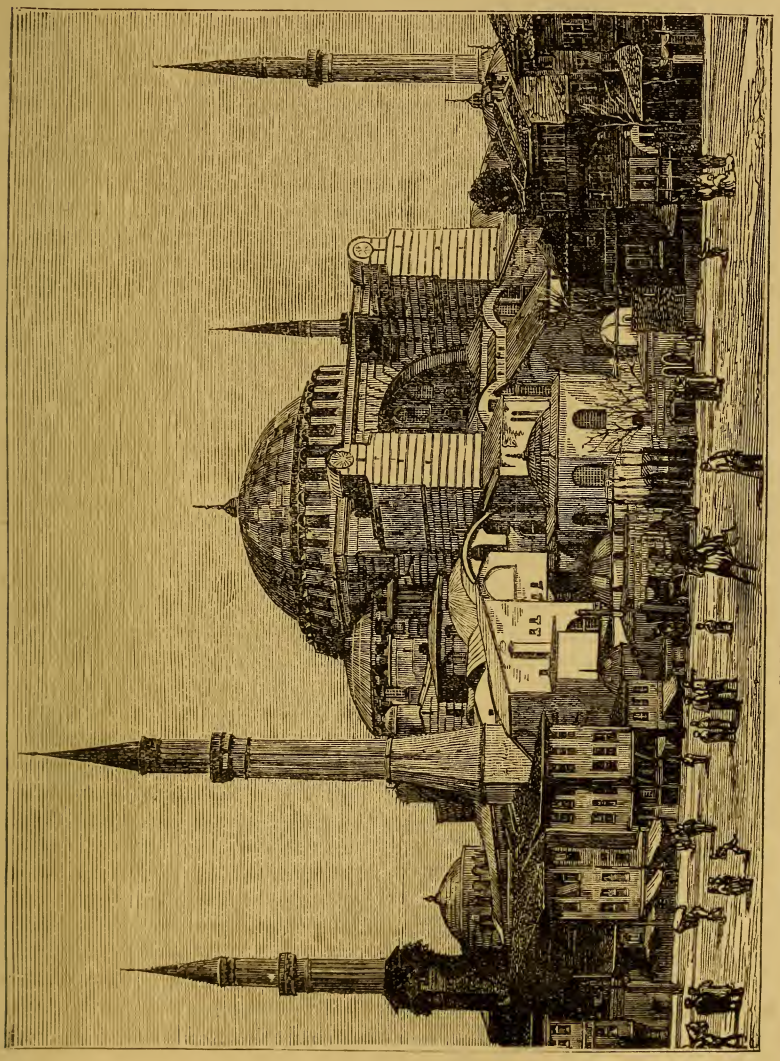
We have already given an account of the Moslem doctrine of Paradise, but we may here give a summary of what Mahomet is alleged to have said about the immediate fate of the faithful dead. At death, white-faced angels descend to meet them, and at first sit apart, while the Angel of Death comes and calls the pure soul to come forth to God's pardon and pleasure. When the soul comes out, the Angel of Death takes it, but the other angels take it from him immediately, and carry it upwards to heaven, where it is received by God, his name is inscribed in the register of good Moslems, and then the soul is returned again to the body to wait for the resurrection with joy. Similarly an infidel is attended by black-faced angels, after which the Angel of Death comes and bids the impure one come forth to the wrath of God. The angels take the soul up to the highest heaven, when God says, "Write his history in Sijjin," that is, the lowest earth; and the soul is thrown down with violence. It is again replaced in the body, and endures misery, and begs that the resurrection may be delayed. There can be no doubt that the Moslem believes seriously in a future life and state of rewards and punishments; but his idea of paradise is usually very material, and it can largely be secured by ceremonial and formal merits.

The immediate fate of the soul.

Mohammedan mosques are much less varied and complex in their structure than Christian churches. They are usually square buildings of stone or brick, with an open central court-yard, and cloisters and cells around for students. In the centre of the wall turned towards

Mosques.

Mecca and farthest removed from the entrance, is a niche, the kiblah, which indicates the direction of the Kaaba; and the pulpit is placed to the right



MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

of this. A large tank is in the court-yard, at which ceremonial ablutions can be performed. Frequently in Egypt, Turkey, and Syria, however, the mosques are completely covered buildings. The side turned towards Mecca

is the only extensive covered area in most mosques. In front of the pulpit there may be a raised platform from which exhortations are chanted, and lecterns for the reading of the Koran. There are also minarets, or peculiar turrets not diminishing regularly in size, but only at successive stages marked by external galleries, from the uppermost of which the muezzin or crier sounds the calls to prayer day and night. Blind men are often employed in this office, since they cannot see into the privacy of houses from their elevated station.

The mosques are often most costly buildings, decked with elaborate carving in marble or other stone, inlaid with mosaics, agates, etc. The kiblah and the pulpit are elaborate works of art, and many forms of gorgeous ornament are lavished upon various other parts of the mosque. Windows of rich tracery pierced in marble or stucco, filled with richly coloured glass in small pieces, often occur. Many mosques have rich treasures of valuable Arabic manuscripts.

Endowment and Government.

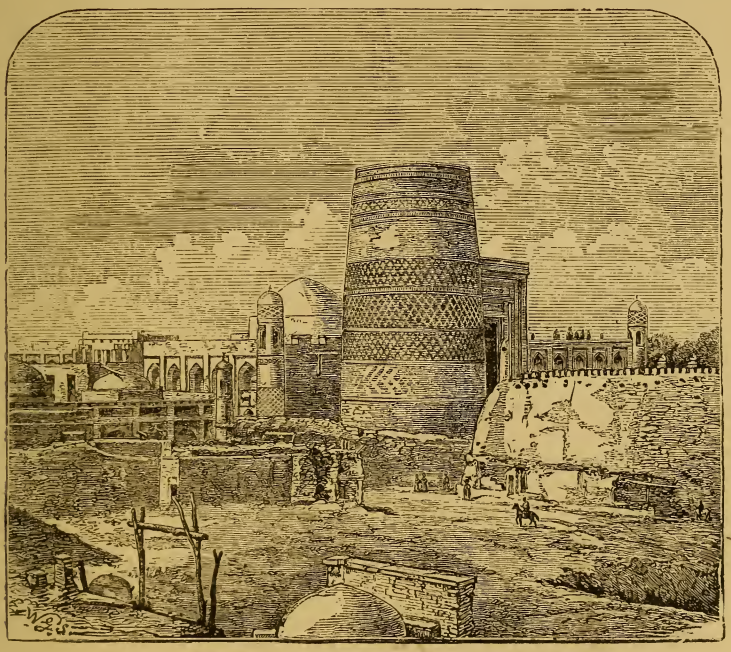
Most mosques have considerable endowments, managed by an officer who often appoints the imams, of whom one recites the Koran and leads the daily prayers, while the other, known in Arabia and Egypt as the khatib, preaches the Friday sermon. The imams usually have some other occupation, such as school-teaching or trade. The mosques are used as places of general resort; and between prayer-times people are to be seen discussing secular topics, and even eating and sleeping in them, contrary to the precepts of the Prophet. They are also very generally used as places of rest and abode for travellers.

The Sacred Mosque at Mecca.

The Sacred Mosque at Mecca and the Prophet's Mosque at Medina must be more particularly described. The former, which contains the Kaaba, (Cube-House) or House of the Sacred Black Stone, is 250 paces long by 200 broad, enclosed on all sides by a colonnade with quadruple rows of pillars more than twenty feet high on the east side, and triple rows on the remaining sides. Above every four pillars, supported on pointed arches, rises a small dome, externally whitened. These domes are said to be 152 in number. Lamps hang from every arch, some being lighted every night, and all during Ramadan. A great outer wall encloses the colonnade: parts of this are ancient, having escaped the various destructions and repairs which have occurred. Some of the walls are gaudily painted in stripes of red, yellow, and blue, as also are the minarets. The style of the columns is in general coarse Saracenic.

Seven paved causeways converge towards the Kaaba, an oblong building which might almost be called a low tower, eighteen paces long, fourteen broad, and thirty-five to forty feet high; the roof is flat. It is roughly built of grey stone, the present building dating from 1627. There is only one door into it, on the north side, about seven feet from the ground, and it is only opened two or three times a year. The famous "Black Stone" is let into the wall at the north-east corner of the building, about four or five feet from the ground. Burckhardt described it as an irregular oval about seven inches in diameter, with an undulated surface, composed of about a

dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, joined by a little cement and surrounded by a silver setting. It appears to be a meteoric stone; but its present surface does not show its nature, for it is greatly worn by the millions of touches and kisses it has received. Its colour is a deep reddish brown, approaching black. On the north side of the Kaaba near the door is a little hollow in the ground lined with marble, in which it is thought meritorious to pray, as it is the spot where Abraham and Ishmael, the fabulous builders of the Kaaba, are said to have kneaded their chalk and mud for mortar.



MOSQUE OF THE PALACE, KHIVA.

In continuation of a pre-Moslem custom, a covering (the kisweh or veil) of black silk stuff conceals the exterior of the walls of the Kaaba (the roof being bare), openings being left to show the black stone and another stone at the south-east corner. A new veil is put on every year, in the first month, after the Kaaba has been left bare for about a fortnight. At first it is tucked up high by cords, afterwards it is gradually let down, but is not fastened tightly, so that any wind moves it slowly. These movements are treated by the worshippers as signs of the presence of its guardian angels.

Opposite the four sides of the Kaaba are four small erections, used respectively by the imams of the four orthodox sects to lead the devotions of

their followers. One of these for the Shafiites is over the well Zamzam, which yields an everflowing supply of water for drinking and ablution to the Meccans, and is believed by the Moslems to be the well found in the wilderness by Hagar. This building is beautifully ornamented with coloured marbles. At one time the shereef of Mecca exacted a high price for this water; but one of the first acts of the Wahhabis was to abolish this payment, and the water is now distributed gratis, except that a small charge is made when it is drawn up and presented by the regular water carriers. It is regarded as a certain cure for all diseases, and a great improver of health, rendering even prayers to God more acceptable. Enormous quantities of it are drunk by some persons; many strip themselves and have bucketsful thrown over them; and few pilgrims leave Mecca without taking some of this water to drink in illness or for their ablution after death.

A movable wooden staircase on wheels is used for entering the Kaaba, being ordinarily kept at some distance. Not very far from this is the pulpit, of white marble, highly ornamented, the preacher's station being surmounted by a gilt polygonal steeple. Here several of the elder ulemas in Mecca preach in rotation, girt in a white cloak covering head and body, and with a stick in the hand as if prepared against a sudden surprise, as in the early ages of Islam. Round the base of the pulpit the congregation deposit their shoes. Besides one or two other less important buildings, the enclosure of the sacred mosque contains a small one which is said to contain the sacred stone upon which Abraham stood to build the original Kaaba, and believed to show an impression of his foot; but this stone is always kept entirely covered. At this building worshippers regularly pray for the good offices of Abraham.

The larger part of the enclosure consists of gravelled spaces which, together with part of the marble pavement surrounding the Kaaba, is covered at evening prayer with carpets from sixty to eighty feet long and four feet wide, which are rolled up after prayers. Other parts are covered with pilgrims' own carpets, or with mats which they bring with them. During the pilgrimage this vast space is sometimes nearly half filled, although the Meccans believe that the mosque could contain all the faithful at once. Burckhardt could never count more than ten thousand persons in it at one time. The mosque has no fewer than nineteen gates, one of these, the Bab-es-Salam, being that by which every pilgrim must enter it. None are ever closed; indeed they have no doors. Burckhardt entered at all hours of the night and always found people there, either at prayers or walking about. There are seven minarets on the exterior of the mosque. A number of houses which formerly supported the wall of the mosque are now private property, mostly let out to the richest pilgrims, and with windows looking into the mosque, giving the privilege of performing Friday's devotions in their own houses.

This sacred mosque is the one true temple of the Mohammedans, and inasmuch as it contains the Kaaba towards which every Moslem turns in prayer, it is the only place of prayer where believers can turn in any

direction they please and yet fulfil the law. It will be very evident from the description of other mosques, how different they are in plan from this. It is a striking commentary on the aim of Mahomet to uphold the unity and spiritual worship of God, that an Arab idol of long standing should be the object most venerated by his followers. Sura ii. 144, 145 says, "From whatever place thou comest forth, then turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque; for this is a duty enjoined by thy Lord."

Here is the most convenient place for describing the Sacred Hajj, or

MOSQUE OF OMAR, "DOME OF THE ROCK," JERUSALEM.

pilgrimage to Mecca. Just as the old Arab idol, or fetish, is the central object of Moslem reverence, so the pilgrimage to Mecca, which had existed long before Islam, has become the greatest function of the religion. Every Moslem is properly bound to make a pilgrimage to Mecca once in his life, and it should be completed in the twelfth month of the Moslem year, although an ordinary pilgrimage may be made at any season. Most essential features are the visits to sacred spots in the neighbourhood of Mecca, and the pilgrimage ends with a visit to the Kaaba. We cannot detail the numerous features of interest attending the setting out

The Sacred Hajj, or pilgrimage.

for Mecca from distant countries, the troubles and inconveniences of the journey or voyage, the sacrifices which good Moslems will make to accomplish this great life-object. We will simply note that the number who reached Mecca in 1880 was computed by Mr. Blunt as somewhat over 93,000, of whom 33,000 were Arab pilgrims, 15,000 British subjects from India, 12,000 Malays chiefly from Java and other Dutch possessions, 9,500 subjects of the Ottoman sultan, 8,500 Persians, 6,000 Egyptians, 6000 North Africans, 2,000 Soudanese negroes, and 1,000 Zanzibaris, etc. Thus in fifty years about five millions of pilgrims may visit Mecca. Probably only 3 or 4 per cent. of Moslems ever see Mecca; but multitudes of others long for the opportunity.

There are three points essential to the lawful completeness of the pilgrimage: the wearing of no garment but the *ihram*, consisting of two seamless wrappers, one girding the waist and the other loosely thrown over the shoulders; to stand in Arafat, the Mount of Recognition, twelve miles from Mecca, where Eve is related to have been found by Adam; and to make the circuit round the Kaaba. There are five other observances which are obligatory, but their omission does not constitute absolute infidelity, although it is a sin. These are, to stay in Al Muzdalifa, halfway between Mina and Arafat; to run between the hills of Safa and Marwah; to perform the ceremony of casting the pebbles at Mina; to make an extra circuit of the Kaaba, if not Meccans; and to shave the head at the end of the pilgrimage.

When the pilgrim arrives at the last stage, near Mecca, the ceremonies begin by his bathing, saying two rakeh prayers, then putting on the pilgrim's garb, after which he neither anoints his head, pares his nails, nor shaves until the whole of the ceremonies are over. Facing Mecca, he says aloud what is termed the intention: "O God, I purpose to make the hajj; make this service easy to me and accept it from me." He then goes to the city, reciting or singing the pilgrims' song (p. 523), enters the sacred mosque, kisses the black stone, and makes the circuit of the Kaaba seven times, three times at a run, four times slowly, each time kissing the black stone and touching the other sacred stone. He then says two prayers at the station of Abraham, returns and once more kisses the black stone. He next goes to the so-called hill of Safa, 76 paces from the mosque, and three times recites the Moslem creed, adding, "He hath performed His promise, and hath aided His servant, and hath put to flight the hosts of infidels by Himself alone." He then runs from this hill to that of Marwah seven times and back, repeating the same sentences each time on each hill. This is usually done on the sixth day, and on the seventh the khutbah or sermon at the mosque is listened to. On the eighth day the journey is made to Mina; on the ninth the pilgrim goes to Mount Arafat, and after saying prayers and hearing a sermon, stands on the hill and shouts Labbeik, and recites prayers and texts till sunset. Early on the next day a second stand is made by torchlight for a short time round the mosque of Muzdalifa between Mina and Arafat; but the chief ceremony on this day is at Mina.

This is the day of sacrifice, on which the pilgrim throws seven stones at each of three pillars in Mina, saying, "In the name of God the Almighty, I do this, and in hatred of the devil and his shame." Then a victim has to be slain at Mina, from a sheep to a camel, according to the pilgrim's means,

ENCAMPMENT OF PILGRIMS IN THE VALLEY OF MINA.

part of the flesh being given to the poor; and finally Mecca must be visited again and the black stone kissed. At this time a great fair takes place at Mina, and the sacrifice may be made on any day of the fair. The pilgrim then gets shaved, takes off his pilgrim's garb, and the pilgrimage is over.

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Shiites allow performance of the pilgrimage by deputy, and it is considered very meritorious to pay the expenses of one who cannot afford it. But any Moslem who has not made the pilgrimage may leave money to some one else to make the pilgrimage, and is thus considered to have fulfilled his duty. The pilgrim becomes known as a hadji, and retains that title ever afterwards before his proper name. Notwithstanding ablutions, the Meccan assemblages are dangerous centres of infectious diseases; and Mecca is reported to be a hotbed of vice.[1] The whole Meccan pilgrimage strikes an outside observer as a strangely meaningless superstition, one that does not elevate the character of the worshippers, and only produces an inordinate self-satisfaction on its completion. Its great utility to Mohammedanism is evident, in giving it a centre and a uniting impulse.

A visit is very generally made to Medina after the pilgrimage is over, except by Wahhabis, who regard such a visit as idolatry. The Prophet's mosque is a very extensive building, much larger than the original one; it is between 400 and 500 feet long by about 300 in breadth, with an elaborate principal gate leading into a deep portico with ten rows of pillars, along the southern wall. Near the farther end of this is a walled enclosure without doors, believed to contain the graves of Mahomet, Abubekr and Omar, and close to this is a similar building which encloses the tomb of Fatima. Both are enclosed within an iron railing covered with brass wire-work. Through some small apertures pilgrims address prayers for intercession to the prophet and the other saints. The idea of Mahomet's coffin being suspended in the air by magnets is an European fable. There is a great dome above the prophet's tomb, and there are striking minarets; but otherwise the mosque is not very remarkable in construction, and is not more than 400 years old.

The Prophet's mosque at Medina.

The Mosque of the Caliph Omar, at Jerusalem, built soon after his entry into the city in 637, was supposed to be built upon the site of Solomon's Temple, and to be the place to which Mahomet was carried from Mecca on his celebrated "night-journey." The original small building still exists, though it is uncertain whether it is a chamber east of the next mentioned, or that to the west, known as the Mosque of the Mogrebins. Abd el Malik, Caliph of Damascus, built another mosque here in 691. It is a square covered building with seven aisles, as large as many of our cathedrals, and it lacks the square court usually found in mosques. Its north porch was added in the fourteenth century; the rest of the building is very barn-like.

The Mosque of Omar.

The building called by Europeans "the Mosque of Omar," is certainly not Omar's, and it is rightly termed "the Dome of the Rock," according to Moslem nomenclature. It is a beautiful octagonal building of 160 feet diameter, with a high circular dome, and it is according to Fergusson a nearly unaltered Christian building of the 4th century, erected by the Emperor Constantine. Its pillars are of the most precious marble,

The Dome of the Rock.

[1] For interesting speculations as to the origin of all the ceremonies at Mecca, see W. Robertson Smith, art. "Mecca," *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

either from Herod's or Hadrian's temple; and exquisite mosaics and magnificent painted glass windows combine to make it one of the most beautiful buildings in the world.

The great mosque at Damascus, successively a heathen temple and a Christian church, was, in the first century of Islam, used jointly by Christians and Moslems. The present splendid building was then erected by the Caliph Walid. It is 508 feet by 320, enclosing a very large court. The covered side has three aisles, and is 126 feet wide. **Great mosque at Damascus.**

One of the finest mosques of the typical form was that at Cordova, in Spain, built in 786–796, now transformed into the cathedral. The original main covered part has no fewer than twenty rows of marble columns, and they are so arranged as to appear to stretch without end in every direction, like the Hall of pillars at Karnak. Moreover, formerly rows of orange trees formed aisles in the open court continuing the lines of the columns. Among the notable mosques of this normal type are those of Amr, Old Cairo, that of El-Azhar at Cairo, the great mosque of Old Delhi, and those of Fez and Kairwan. **The Mosque of Cordova.**

The mosques of most complex structure are those of Cairo, the reason being that subsidiary buildings, such as schools, colleges, courts of justice, hospitals, etc., have been aggregated around them. The mosque of the Sultan Hasan (14th century) is cruciform in plan, the central court open, the eastern arm forming the place of prayer and preaching, and the domed tomb of the sultan being east of this. There is a splendid entrance on the north-west, with a very high arch. Many pages might be devoted to these splendid mosques; but we must only notice the tomb-mosques of the Egyptian sultans, outside the walls of Cairo. They have beautiful domes and minarets; and they owe much to Byzantine, Persian, and even Christian gothic architecture, Islam itself having produced few great original architects. There are over four hundred mosques in Cairo. Northern Africa has many fine mosques. Persia has but a few fine early mosques remaining. At Ispahan there is the splendid Masjid Shah, built by Shah Abbas I. (1585–1629), with a very large pyriform dome 165 feet high. **Mosques and tombs at Cairo.**

When the Turks took Constantinople, in 1453, they at once appropriated seven or eight of the chief Christian churches as mosques, and at the head of them St. Sophia, which they sincerely admired and set to work to imitate; 100 different mosques at Constantinople testify to the influence of this type. We may briefly describe it here as an actual Mohammedan mosque, though constructed as a Christian church by the Emperor Justinian, in 532–537, the architect being Anthemius. It is almost a square of 250 feet added to a nave of more than 200 feet long. Externally it has little beauty, and its great beauty is internal, the great dome being continued by two half domes east and west. The arches on which the great dome rests are about 100 feet across and 120 feet high. The pillars are of the most precious marbles or porphyry, the capitals admirably carved; all the flat surfaces are covered with exquisite mosaics. Fergusson calls it the **St. Sophia at Constantinople.**

most perfect and beautiful Christian church. The mosque of Suleiman the Magnificent adopts the combined dome form, has a great fore-court, and on the opposite side a large garden containing the tombs of the founder and members of his family.

Indian mosques and tombs.

Indian mosques and tombs are among the most splendid and varied buildings of that country, rich in splendid buildings as it is. The Moslems, carrying the dome and minaret ideas with them, elaborated and adapted them to the native architecture, and produced a succession of styles, as numerous as all European styles, and all worthy of notice. We can only mention a few remarkable features. The mosques and tombs of Ahmedabad, of Bejapore, the tomb of Mahmoud, with its extraordinary dome larger than that of the Pantheon at Rome, externally 198 feet high, and the mosques of Agra and Delhi compare even with the exquisite Hindu temples. The great mosque (Jummoo Musjid) at Delhi, with its grand porch with pointed arch, its lofty minarets and three great pyriform domes, its courtyard with open colonnades, was, like the Pearl Mosque at Agra, built by Shah Jehan. The latter is entirely of white marble from base to summit, without any ornament. The Taj Mehal at Agra is the most perfect mausoleum perhaps in the world, also erected by Shah Jehan to contain the remains of his favourite wife, Minutaz Mehal, who died in 1631. He meant to build a more splendid one for himself, but died before accomplishing his intention, and he now rests beside her in the Taj Mehal. The whole is enclosed in exquisite gardens; within is a very large court with splendid gateway, leading to a platform 18 feet high and 313 feet square, upon which are two beautiful detached minarets, and the mausoleum 186 feet square, with the corners cut off. The dome is 58 feet in diameter and 80 feet high, covering the show-tombs, a vault beneath containing the true tombs. Light is admitted through marble trellis-work of exquisite design. Indeed, the whole building is of white marble, and visitors say that no words can express its beauty. All the important parts are inlaid with precious stones in exquisite designs.

The Jummoo Musjid, Delhi.

The Taj Mehal.

CHAPTER VII.

Modern Islam. Part II.

The Bairam festival—Ramadan—The breaking of the fast—The Kisweh and the Mahmal—Other fasts and festivals—The Moharram fast—The holy war.—The dervishes or fakirs—Various orders—Rifayeh—Dancing dervishes—Performance in Tashkend—Various rites—The Dóseh—Saints—Worship of deceased saints—Sufism—Relation to pantheism—The Shiites—Their chief distinctions—Their mollahs and colleges—Persian dervishes—Passion plays—Babism—Ali the Bab—Abadites and Zeidites—The Wahhabis—Their founder—His teaching—His champion—The Wahhabi kingdom—Mecca and Medina taken—Defeats by Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim—Extension in India—Special doctrines and defects—The Druses—Origin—Hakim—Durazi—Hamza—Recent history—Tenets—Seven great duties—The Akals—Meetings—Turkey—Kerbela—Meshed—India—China—North Africa—Central and Eastern Africa—Contrast between Pagan and Moslem Negro—The Koran unifies and elevates the Negro.

THE year of twelve lunar months is still observed by Moslems, and is eleven days short of the solar year; thus it brings round all the festivals in turn to different seasons. For ordinary purposes of life, however, the solar year is used. The festivals and fasts of the Mohammedan year are of great importance. They have already been incidentally referred to, and we need only here describe certain special points. The Feast of Sacrifice, in Turkey and Egypt known as the Bairam festival, is the great festival of the year. As part of the Meccan pilgrimage we have already described it, but it is observed all over Islam on the same day, the tenth of the last month of the Mohammedan year, as a time of great rejoicing. A special place outside the city is chosen for the special festival prayers, which are led by the imam, and afterwards a sermon is delivered, emphasising the significance of the day, and commending the offering of sacrifices as capable of carrying the believer across the narrow bridge or road to Paradise. On returning home, the head of each family takes an animal, a sheep, cow, goat, or camel, according to his means or the number of his family, turns its head towards Mecca, and says, "In the name of the great God: verily my prayers, my sacrifice, my life, my death, belong to God, the Lord of the worlds. He has no partner: that is what I am bidden; for I am first of those who are Moslems:" after which he kills the animal. One-third of the flesh is kept for the family, one-third is given to relations, and one-third to the poor.

The Bairam festival.

The fast of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Moslem year, has been already explained. Its observance in the letter is rigorously necessary for all good Moslems, except the sick, the infirm, nursing and pregnant women, young children, and travellers. When the month falls in the hot season, the day-long fast is extremely trying, for not a

Ramadan.

drop of water may be drunk during the day; also twenty additional rakehs or forms of prayer must be gone through after the night prayer. It is

A DERVISH.

PILGRIM TO MECCA.

customary for good Moslems to stay for considerable periods in the mosques during this month, reading the Koran, and refraining from conversation on

worldly affairs. It is imagined by many that the Mohammedan fast of thirty days was derived from the Christian Lent.

The Feast of Alms, or minor festival, is kept on the day after Ramadan is over, and is called the Festival of Breaking the Fast. After the general distribution of alms, there are special prayers outside the city, followed by a sermon, special petitions for remission of sins, recovery of the sick, rain and abundance of corn, safety from misfortune, and freedom from debt. After the service the people salute and congratulate one another, and then spend the day in feasting and rejoicing. In Egypt it is a custom to visit the tombs of relatives on this or the following days, the visitors often carrying palm-branches to lay on the tombs, reciting the creed, and more or less of the Koran. This is not the custom in India, where tombs are visited in the Mohurram festival. **The breaking of the fast.**

There is a considerable festival in Cairo a few days after this, when the Kisweh, or covering of the Kaaba, is conveyed from the citadel to the mosque of the Hasanein, to be sewn together and lined before the pilgrimage. An elaborate procession which escorts it is well described by Lane. The Mahmal, or canopy, is carried at the same time, but has also a grand procession of its own two or three weeks later, before the departure of the great caravan of pilgrims. The Mahmal is a covered litter or canopy borne on a camel, as an emblem of royalty originally sent to represent a sultana of Egypt in her absence. **The Kisweh and the Mahmal.**

A festival largely observed in India, is the fifteenth day of Shaban, the eighth month, when it is said that God registers all the actions of mankind, and all births and deaths for the coming year. Originally intended to be observed as a fast, it has become a festival, and is a great occasion for letting off fireworks. New Year's Day is a great festival of the Persians. The last Wednesday of Safar, the second month, is observed in some parts of Islam as a feast, commemorating a mitigation of Mahomet's last illness and his last bath. The birthday of Mahomet on the twelfth of the third month, is kept in Turkey, Egypt, and some parts of India, alms being distributed and additional religious exercises being performed. **Other fasts and festivals.**

The first ten days of the first month, Moharram, are kept in memory of the martyrdom of Hasan and Hosein, as days of lamentation, by Shiites only; but the tenth day is kept as a fast by Sunnites generally, as being the day on which heaven and hell, life and death, Adam and Eve, were created. **The Moharram fast.**

There can be no doubt that the propagation of Islam by the Jihad, or holy war, has been one of the most potent means of securing its success. It is enjoined in the Koran as a religious duty. But there is nothing which forbids the spread of Islam by peaceful persuasion and example, and at the present day this is largely the method by which the Moslem faith is being diffused in Africa. It is enjoined, however, that when an infidel country is conquered, the people shall be offered the option of becoming Moslems, of paying a poll-tax for protection (except in the case of **The holy war.**

Arabian idolaters and apostates), or death by the sword. It is held by the Hanifites that the injunction is sufficiently obeyed when any one tribe of Moslems is engaged in spreading the religion by the sword. It is not held right to attack any infidels without previously calling upon them to accept the faith. There are many detailed regulations for the conduct of a sacred war in the books of Mohammedan law.

The fakirs or dervishes are very prominent characters in Islam, answering in some ways to the Christian monks in the middle ages. The word dervish—more accurately *darweesh*—is a Persian word, signifying those who beg from door to door; the Arabic *fakir* means "poor" before God, not necessarily poor in a worldly sense. Both terms are in general use for those who lead a religious life, with special practices or exercises. There are many fakirs or dervishes who, while professing to be Mahometans, do not follow the Koran; those who obey the Mohammedan law are of very varied types or orders, all having special rules, many of which it is impossible to ascertain, being known only to the votaries themselves, and kept strictly secret. It is claimed, but without foundation, that they deduce their origin from the brotherhood which was formed in the first year of the flight between the emigrants from Mecca and the citizens of Medina, establishing a community of property and common religious rites of penitence and of mortification. These men took the name of Sufis (the meaning of which word is uncertain), and it now designates any Moslem devoted to religious contemplation, exercises, and painful rites. They practically include the fakirs. A long history might be given of the various orders of dervishes, their founders and their history; and their existence is a standing contradiction of Mahomet's command, "Let there be no monasticism in Islam." Tradition says that Mahomet declared, "The retirement which becomes my people is to sit in a corner of a mosque and wait for the time of prayer." We can only give a few details out of many.

The dervishes or fakirs.

One order, the Baktashiyeh, which was founded by a native of Bokhara, and which gave rise to the Janissaries, is marked by the mystic girdle, which the members put off and on seven times: saying at the successive times, "I tie up greediness, and unbind generosity;" "I tie up anger, and unbind meekness;" "I tie up avarice, and unbind piety;" "I tie up ignorance, and unbind the fear of God;" "I tie up passion, and unbind the love of God;" "I tie up hunger, and unbind (spiritual) contentment;" "I tie up Satanism, and unbind Divineness."

Various orders.

The Rifayeh dervishes, very numerous in Egypt, include a sect who pretend to thrust iron spikes into their eyes and bodies without injuring themselves, to pass swords through their bodies and thick needles through their cheeks without wound or pain. Another of their sects handle serpents with impunity (but have first extracted their fangs); it is this sect whose head or sheikh performs the ceremony of the dóseh (see p. 570).

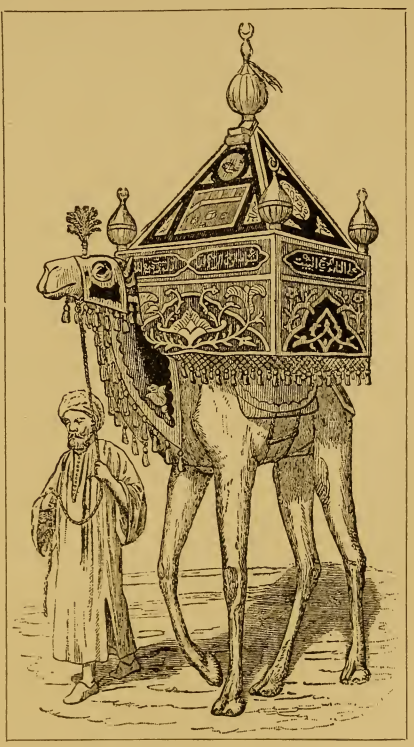
Rifayeh.

The Dancing or Whirling Dervishes are the most popular order in the

Turkish empire. Their usual services take place every Wednesday and Sunday at two o'clock. Their special exercise consists in spinning round, dancing, and turning with extraordinary speed, their bell-shaped petticoats thus acquiring a whirling umbrella shape. **Dancing dervishes.**

Mr. Eugène Schuyler, in his book on Turkestan, has graphically described the exercises which he saw in the mosque at Tashkend. A considerable number of men were on their knees in front of the kiblah, reciting prayers with loud cries and violent movements of the body, the prayers being as follows: **Performance in Tashkend.**

"My defence is in Allah! May Allah be magnified! My light, Mohammed — God bless him! There is no God but God!" These words were chanted hundreds of times over in a low voice, the devotees' heads being violently thrown to the left over the shoulder, then back, then over the right shoulder, then down. The movements, at first slow, continually increased in speed, till the performers were exhausted. "When their voices became entirely hoarse with one cry, another was begun, and finally the cry was struck up of 'Hai, Hai! Allah Hai!' (Live, Allah, the immortal), at first slowly, with an inclination of the body to the ground; then the rhythm grew faster and in cadence, the body became more and more vertical, until at once they all stood up; the measure still increased in rapidity, and each one placing his hand on the shoulder of his neighbour, and thus forming several concentric rings, they moved in a mass from side to side of the mosque, leaping about, and always crying, 'Hai, Allah Hai!'" and this was only a small part of one performance.



THE MAHMAL (*p.* 567).

Some of the rites of the dervishes are observed only by particular orders, some by many orders. Some observe a forty days' fast occasionally (that is, from daybreak to sunset each day), others confine themselves in a cell in a sepulchre-mosque north of Cairo, remaining there three days and nights, scarcely eating during that period, on the occasion of the festival of the saint of the mosque. During this time they **Various rites.**

continually repeat certain special forms of prayer, coming out of their cells into the mosque to join in the five daily prayers, and making no answer to any one who speaks to them but "There is no God but God."

Almost all the dervishes in Egypt, says Lane, are tradesmen, artisans, or agriculturists, and only occasionally join in the ceremonies of their orders. Some do nothing but perform their special religious exercises at the festivals of saints and at private entertainments, and chant in funeral processions. Some are water-carriers, a few wander about and subsist on alms, wearing fantastic or characteristic dresses. Many Turkish and Persian wandering dervishes in Egypt are among the most importunate for alms.

A volume might be filled with accounts of the dervishes, but we can only give in any detail a notice of the ceremony of the *Dóseh*, or "treading" on prostrate dervishes by the horse of the sheikh or chief of the Saadiyeh dervishes, preacher of the mosque of the Hasanein. After noon prayers on a certain Friday, when the Prophet's miraculous ascent to heaven is celebrated, the sheikh, seated on a horse of moderate size, goes to visit the sheikh El Bikree, who is the head of all the dervishes of Egypt. Before he reaches his destination, a considerable number of dervishes lie down upon the ground, side by side, as close as possible, with backs upward, legs extended, and arms placed together beneath their foreheads, and constantly murmuring "Allah!" Twelve or more dervishes then run along over their backs, some beating little drums and exclaiming "Allah!" Then the sheikh approaches on his horse, and with some little difficulty the animal is urged over the prostrate bodies, being led by two men who themselves also run over the bodies. Apparently no one is hurt, and all jump up and follow the sheikh immediately. Each receives two treads from the horse, and their escaping injury is considered to be a miracle granted specially to the sheikh of this order. Another remarkable performance of a dervish order is the chewing of a mouthful of red-hot charcoal without showing any sign of pain. Epileptic fits often occur during some dervish performances.

The dóseh.

Nearly akin to the regard paid to dervishes is the worship of reputed saints, both living and dead. Many of the reputed saints of Egypt and other Mahometan countries are harmless lunatics or idiots whose mind is imagined to be in heaven. Some even go about naked, others in the strangest or most absurd garbs. The term *wali*, properly applicable only to a very eminent saint, has consequently become degraded to mean also "fool" or simpleton. Any privilege and reverence is readily accorded to such; and it is believed that there exists a certain most holy wali, who is not known as such, and who may perhaps be seen anywhere. He is reported to be almost constantly seated at Mecca on the roof of the Kaaba, and at the gate of Cairo called Bab Zuweyleh. Many persons when they pass this gate recite the Moslem prayer, and give alms to a beggar seated there. Persons having headaches drive a nail into the door to charm away the pain; sufferers from toothache extract a tooth and insert it in a crevice of the door. The holiest wali is believed to be able to transport himself in an instant from Mecca to Cairo, and also to wander at will

Saints.

through the world, distributing, through other walis, blessings and evils. Many walis, who often live in desert places, are regularly supplied with food by the faithful. In numerous cases they are believed to have the power of working miracles.

Deceased saints are venerated and even worshipped more than living ones. Large mosques are erected over the tombs of the more celebrated; and even minor saints in Egypt are honoured with small square white-washed buildings crowned with a cupola. Over the saint's vault is an oblong monument, usually covered by silk or linen, with some words from the Koran worked upon it. The most notable memorial of a saint in Egypt is the great mosque of the Hasanen, in which the head of Hosain, the son of Ali and grandson of Mahomet, is said to be buried. The people regard the deceased saints as interceding for them with God, and consequently make offerings and pay visits of veneration to them, reciting the Moslem prayer before the door of the monument and on each of its four sides, also saying, "O God, I have transferred the merit of what I have recited from the excellent Koran to the person to whom this place is dedicated," and prayers are said in which the saint's help as intercessor is besought. Almost every village in Egypt has some patron saint, whose tomb is visited by the people on a particular day of the week, making various offerings or vows; and all the chief saints have anniversary festivals or molids, when varied special observances are gone through, when many persons visit the tombs to obtain special blessings, and dervishes perform their exercises or portions of the Koran.

Worship of deceased saints.

Sufism as a form of mysticism is far from being exhausted by an account of the dervishes or of reverence for saints. They all agree in giving a mystic spiritual meaning to the Koran, and consider that their system has existed since the foundation of the world. In fact, it is a Moslem adaptation of the Vedanta Hindu philosophy, and the allied philosophy of Buddhism, together with some influence from the early Christian anchorites. They all profess implicit obedience to a spiritual guide, and that they are either inspired by God Himself, or are in union with God. The leading doctrines of Sufism may be thus expressed: God alone exists, and is in all things, and all things are in Him. All beings are an emanation from Him, and are not really distinct from Him. There is no real difference between good and evil, all being from and in God, who fixes man's actions. The soul existed before the body, in which it is constrained, and longs to be set free by death to return to the Divinity. The main occupation of the Sufi is to meditate on the unity of God, to perform the exercises of his special order, and to progress rightly in the journey of life. This journey is described in different stages, the lowest of which is the observance of the law. Later, in answer to his prayers, he reaches the true love of God, followed by the desire for seclusion, which by contemplation leads to knowledge. Often this produces ecstasy, during which direct revelation of truth from God may be received, through which union with God may be reached even in the present life. It is this union which the eccentric exer-

Sufism.

cises of the dervishes are designed to promote. There is a considerable literature describing Sufi thought, for which subject Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam," and Palmer's "Oriental Mysticism," may be consulted.

Poetry is a very prominent feature in Sufism; and indeed the poetry of Saadi and the odes of Hafiz are as a sort of Scripture to the Persian Sufis. The author of the "Masnawi" (A.D. 1302) thus expresses some Sufi doctrines:—

"Are we fools? We are God's captivity.
Are we wise? We are His promenade.
Are we sleeping? We are drunk with God.
Are we waking? Then we are His heralds.
Are we weeping? Then His clouds of wrath.
Are we laughing? Flashes of His love."

Mahmoud writes:—

"All sects but multiply the I and thou;
This I and thou belong to partial being.
When I and thou and several being vanish,
Then mosque and church shall find thee nevermore."

A poem of another author has the following lines:—

"Joy! joy!" I triumph now; no more I know
Myself as simply me. I burn with love.
The centre is within me, and its wonder
Lies as a circle everywhere about me."

Thus we see that Sufism is really a form of pantheism, and, strangely like the Buddhist, the votary seeks to lose his own identity. Sufism is not true Mohammedanism, but rather an erection starting from it, of a mystic creed in which the inner light or some spiritual teacher becomes paramount, and which can dispense with moral law. Consequently one Sufi sect openly neglects morality, and professes community of property and women. Such people regard any sin they are inclined to as imposed by fate; and do not consider themselves guilty whatever they may do.

Relation to pantheism.

We pass by a natural transition to the Shiites, who abound in Persia, the stronghold of mysticism. The word Shiah literally means "followers," that is of Ali, the husband of Fatima. They maintain, as we have already said, that Ali was the first true imam or caliph, and that true religion consists in the knowledge of the rightful imams. Of these the leading sect, or Twelveans, recognise twelve; the last, Mohammed Abu l'Kasim, being supposed to be still alive, and to be about to appear as a precursor of the Day of Judgment. This is why pretenders to this title appear at various times, and, if favoured by circumstances, gain such a large following. But the apparently simple faith of the Shiites has admitted of much controversy and schism, and there are nearly as many sects of them as of Sunnites.

The Shiites.

The principal differences between Shiites and Sunnites, says Prof. A.

Müller in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, depend on their legitimistic opinions (*i.e.* their opinion as to the rightful imams or caliphs), or are accommodations of the rites of Islam to the Persian nationality, or else are petty matters affecting ceremonial. Thus they reject all the "Traditions" of the Sunnites as being compiled under illegitimate caliphs, and they have their own body of tradition, alleged to be compiled under Ali, but not genuine. They add to the ordinary Moslem creed, "and Ali is the Wali (vicegerent or confidant) of God." Some of their sects regard Ali as Divine, and many of them recognise him as partaking of the Divine nature. Those who have deeply studied Persian Mohammedanism, like Sir Lewis Pelly, have discovered that the Shiite schism is really an expression of the race antagonism between the Iranian Aryans of Persia and the Semites.

Their chief distinctions.

THE DÓSEH.

The Shiites reject the conclusions of the four great schools of Sunnite law founded on the Traditions, and derive all their law from the Koran; but they depend upon their mollahs or religious teachers to declare its correct interpretation. The mollahs are trained in madrasas, or colleges attached to the mosques; but their training is inferior to that of Cairo and Bokhara. The most noted Shiite madrasa is at Kerbela, 50 miles south-west of Bagdad, in the Turkish dominions, said to be the scene of the martyrdom of Hosain the son of Ali. The students, when passed out of the colleges, become local mollahs, and later may join the college in a larger town, each of which has a chief mollah known as the Sheikh ul Islam. Certain presidents of the chief mosques are known as *mujtahids* or "enlightened doctors," and their opinion is taken as final in all matters of Moslem law and

Their mollahs and colleges.

doctrine. In Persia the cadi is an inferior judge who acts instead of the Sheikh ul Islam in special cases; a mufti, or solicitor for the court, prepares cases to come before the cadi. There was for long a sort of war between the Government of Persia and the Mohammedan doctors; and the Government has good ground of offence in the corruption of the courts, while the rights of spiritual asylum and protection by the clergy are most valuable to the common people.

Persian dervishes.

The Persian dervishes belonging to the Shiites are, it is said, more immoral and unworthy of respect than any others. "At the great feasts especially they quarter themselves impudently in wealthy houses, and deafen the indwellers with their unceasing cry of *Yá hakk* ('O truth!' the mystical equivalent of 'O God!'). The wise and modest dervish who in Saadi's poems tells the greatest Sultan the truth as to the hollowness of his royal state has degenerated into the half-mad and insolent hanger-on who thrusts himself into audience-chambers and claims the seat of honour beside the grandees. The multitude of these motley vagabonds, some harmless, others dangerous, is explained by the love of idleness, buffoonery, and story-telling, which is even more marked in Persia than in other parts of the East." (M.)

Undoubtedly Islam as practised in Persia is a very degenerate cult. The great majority of those who profess it belie it by their lives. They attach much more importance to their distinctions from Sunnites and Jews than to the teaching of the Koran. The Persian "natural turn for lying and hypocrisy" comes out very evidently in their religion. Private drunkenness and mere temporary "marriages" are very common among them, and the mollahs even countenance them.

Passion plays.

The Persians set great store by religious festivals and shows. While they celebrate the great sacrificial feast or Bairam festival, they attach the greatest importance to the Moharram (see p. 567), which is celebrated by passion-plays, consisting of several parts, one of which is enacted on each successive day of the mourning. In these are most pathetically and vividly set forth the events of the life of Hosain and the tragedy of his death; and the spectators become fanatically excited as they witness the successive scenes. "I have seen some of the most violent of them," says Morier, "as they vociferated, 'O Hosain!' walk about the streets almost naked, with only their loins covered, and their bodies streaming with blood, by the voluntary cuts which they have given to themselves, either as acts of love, anguish, or mortification." The Shiites, who are very numerous in Oude and in other parts of India, also celebrate the martyrdom of Hasan and Hosain at the Moharram festival by miracle plays, which are fully described by Sir Lewis Pelly in his "Miracle Play." We illustrate the Moharram festival at Bombay by a representation of a procession.

Babism.

Yet there is some vitality remaining in Persian Mohammedanism, as evidenced by the growth of sects which aim at purifying or improving the popular religion. Some hold Ali to be a divine incarnation, others explain away the resurrection. The most remarkable of

the modern sects, however, is that founded by Ali, a young man of Shiraz, in 1843. He taught a sort of communism and pantheism, the unity of God, and the re-absorption of all things in Him; that God reveals His will by a series of messengers who are divine as well as human, each being the revealer of some new truth. Of these Moses, Jesus, Mahomet, and himself were the chief, while he looked for a greater to come after him, the great Revealer. A fanciful theory of numbers, especially connected with the number 19, was one of his specialities. He chose 18 chief disciples, who with himself made up 19. The great work of revelation was to contain 19 chapters, of which he wrote eleven, leaving the rest to be written by his successor, etc. His person was most attractive, his life pious and regular, and his doctrine gained such sway that the State became alarmed. He took the title of "the Bâb," that is "the Door," the only one through which men can reach God. He discountenanced polygamy, forbade divorce, and abolished the veiling of women. He also sternly exposed the vices of the mollahs: and consequently they were his bitter enemies. This fact secured him toleration by the Government for some time, and his converts spread his cult widely in Persia. One of his chief followers, Hosain, formed a camp of Babis, as the new religionists were called, at Castle Tebersy, which in 1848 was stormed and Hosain killed. In various provinces the Government attacked the Babis, imprisoned and martyred men, women, and children, and killed the Bâb himself under circumstances of great cruelty and contumely on 18th July, 1849. A new Bâb, indicated by supposed divine signs, was chosen by his followers, named Yahya. A further massacre of the Babis took place in 1852, since which time the sect has not dared to show itself openly, though zealously propagated in secret. It is unknown whether the new Bâb is still living, and how many Babis there are is doubtful. A recent traveller puts them at 100,000 (see *Contemporary Review*, Dec., 1885). They write many books, which are secretly circulated, and their teachings are said to have taken the greatest hold of the most intelligent classes in Persia.

Ali, "The Bâb."

We must briefly mention two heretical sects, possibly descended from the Khawarij, who revolted from Ali after the battle of Siffin, being offended because he submitted his right to the Caliphate to human decision, when according to them it ought to be left to Divine arbitrament. They also believed that any man might be made Caliph, of whatever tribe or nation, provided he were a just person, and also that a Caliph who was a wrong-doer might be put to death or deposed. The Abadiyeh of Oman and Zanzibar hold this doctrine at the present day, and are said to number four millions. They reject a vast quantity of Sunnite traditions, and have no communion with Sunnites. The Zeidites of Yemen are probably akin to them in belief, rejecting the traditional Caliphate, but passing themselves off as Sunnites when on pilgrimage. They do not number more than two millions.

Abadites and Zeidites.

The Wahhabi movement, now nearly two centuries old, has been one of the most potent that has ever arisen in Islam, and is by no means ex-

tinct, though shorn of much of its former influence. It arose by the preaching of Mohammed Abd el Wahhab, the son of Wahhab, whose name has been given to the movement, since his own proper name would have confused it with that of the Prophet. He was born in the centre of Nejd, the great desert tract in Arabia, in 1691, was educated as a Hanbalite, visited and studied at Mecca, Basra (Bassorah), Bagdad, and Medina, and returning home started his mission as a religious teacher. Fired with zeal for primitive Islam and hatred for the extravagances, excrescences, and evils he had noted in various Moslem countries, he taught the pure unity of God, rejected all the traditions except those derived from the Companions of the Prophet, and claimed the right of private judgment as to the Koran and the Traditions. He abolished the invocation and worship of saints and the dead, and forbade the use of intoxicants and tobacco, the wearing of silver and gold, and every practice forbidden by the Koran. Thus his movement partook both of Puritanism and Protestantism.

The Wahhabis. Their founder. His teaching.

The new teacher began to preach at about forty years old, and soon drew down upon himself great opposition. He had to take refuge at Deraieh, with Mohammed ibn Saood, who espoused his cause eagerly, and sought to establish his own conquests on the basis or pretext of the new doctrines. He began a career of conquest which extended the Wahhabi principles and the rule of his own dynasty over the greater part of Arabia. On Ibn Saood's death in 1765, Nejd was a strong kingdom, and his son's successor, Abd-ul-Aziz, assumed the titles of imam and sultan. The founder of the Wahhabis lived on till 1787. Abd-ul-Aziz continued his conquests till 1803, when he was murdered by a Persian fanatic. His son Saood took Kerbela, containing the tombs of the Shiite caliphs, and destroyed everything that savoured of idolatry, from the golden dome of Hosain's tomb to the smallest tobacco pipe. In 1803 he took Mecca and performed similar destruction, though without any personal outrage on the people. Medina was taken in 1804, and the dome over the Prophet's tomb was destroyed. The usual pilgrimages were now suspended, none but those who conformed to Wahhabi views being allowed to approach the holy places.

His champion. The Wahhabi kingdom. Mecca and Medina taken.

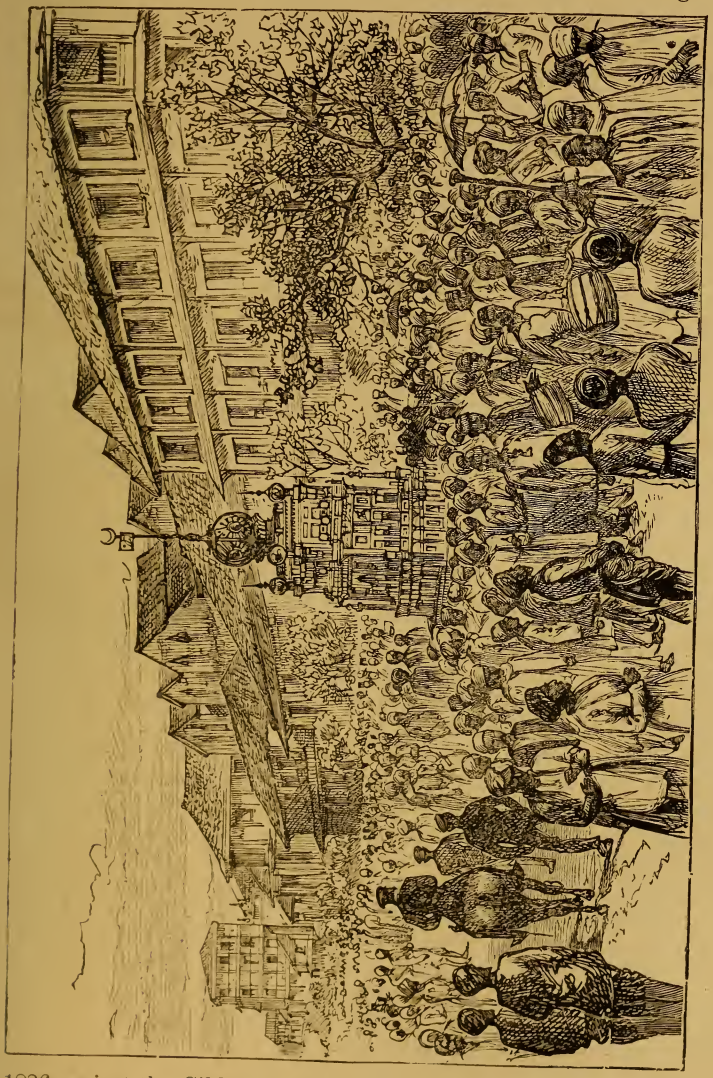
The Sultan of Turkey was at last roused to vigorous action, and in a succession of campaigns under Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim Pasha, lasting from 1811 to 1818, the Wahhabi dominion was practically crushed, and Deraieh, its capital, destroyed. In a short time, however, the Wahhabis showed signs of revival, and Riad in Nejd became its stronghold, and the capital of a kingdom which gradually extended over the greater part of the central desert land of Arabia, although it never regained its supremacy in Oman, Bahrein, and Yemen.

Defeat by Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim.

When it appeared destined to extinction, the Wahhabi faith was still taught by some teachers at Mecca; and Seyyid Ahmed, a freebooter of Bareilly, but a descendant of the Prophet, learning the truth from them, returned from Mecca in 1822 resolved to reclaim Northern

Extension in India.

India to the true belief of Islam. He was hailed as the true caliph or mahdi, propagated the Wahhabi doctrines widely, started a religious war



SCENE IN THE MOHARRAM FESTIVAL, BOMBAY. (See Page 573.)
A Taboot (model of Hosein's tomb) carried in procession.

in 1826 against the Sikhs, but failed after some years' time. But in more recent years Wahhabism has been still more widely spread in India by books, and is now exercising a powerful influence there.

Some of the doctrines of the Wahhabis, beyond those already mentioned, are: that at the last day Mahomet will obtain permission of God to intercede for His people; that no prostration or perambulation of saints is lawful, not even of Mahomet's at Medina; that women should not visit graves, because of their excessive weeping; that only four festivals should be observed—those of the Sacrifice, of the Breaking of the Fast (after Ramadan), the 10th Moharram, and the Night of Power.

Special doctrines.

No doubt Wahhabism has some strong features; but it is too completely reactionary and puritanical. Its end, if it were successful, would be to spread a Moslem propagandism over the world; and it would refuse to recognise anything not known during the early years of Islam. What injured it more than anything, was its capture and exclusive possession of Mecca and Medina, and the destruction of venerated objects and relics there.

Its defects.

The Druses may be most conveniently mentioned here. They inhabit the mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and the Hauran to the east of the Sea of Galilee, and extend as far north as Beyrout, and east to Damascus. Altogether they number about 70,000, having over 100 towns and villages of their own, and occupy more than twice as many in common with Christians. They appear to have originated from mixed Arab, Kurd, and other—even Indian—tribes, who aggregated there in a spirit of lawlessness and self-defence, beginning as far back as pre-Moslem times.

The Druses.

Origin.

The sixth Fatimite caliph in Egypt, Hakim Biamrillah, who began to reign at Cairo in A.D. 1019, a tyrannical and half-insane ruler, believed that he had direct communication with the Deity, and indeed was an incarnation of the Divine. In 1029 these claims were publicly asserted in Cairo, and supported by his confessor Darazi. The latter had to fly, owing to the popular indignation. He took refuge in Western Hermon, and propagated his belief considerably. A little later, however, Hakim's vizier, Hamza, a Persian mystic, was more successful in elaborating the new doctrine with various additions of his own, and succeeded in getting it widely accepted. Hakim was at last assassinated, in 1032; but it was given out by Hamza that he was only gone for a time, and that his followers were to expect his coming again with confidence. Darazi was termed a heretic by Hamza, and is still hated by the Druses, who probably derive their name from him, while Hamza is revered as the founder of their faith. We cannot detail their subsequent history, which is told in Churchill's "Druses and Maronites," 1862. They have nearly always been at war among themselves, with the Christians, or with the Turks. In modern times they became bitterly hostile to their neighbours the (Christian) Maronites, and the most cruel warfare was carried on for many years between them (1841–1861). It was at last composed on the appointment of a Christian governor independent of the district (1864), since which time disturbances have practically ceased.

Hakim.

Darazi.

Hamza.

Recent history.

The Druses are extremely conservative, and do not seek to make

converts. Their doctrines include, together with much of the Koran and Sufism, a considerable infusion from the Pentateuch and the Gospels. They believe in one God, without seeking to define His nature or attributes, and call themselves Unitarians. God has, according to them, been at different epochs manifested to mankind in a human form, without weaknesses or imperfections, Ali and Hakim being among these The latter was the last and final incarnation. Finally, when the troubles of the faithful have reached their fulness, Hakim will come again and overcome the world, so that the true religion may reign supreme. The first of God's creatures they name Universal Intelligence; he is always manifested together with the Divine Incarnation, and Hamza was the last of such manifestations. He alone has direct communication with God, and imparts his knowledge and gifts to all subordinate ministers. He will be the medium of Hakim's conquests, and will distribute rewards and punishments. The Universal Intelligence is also held to be the creator of every soul. At death souls pass into other bodies, and rise to a superior degree if truly attached to truth, or descend if they have neglected religious meditation.

Their tenets.

The seven great duties of the Druses are: (1) Truth in speech (towards one another only), (2) mutual protection, (3) rejection of all other religions, (4) separation from all who are in error, (5) belief in the unity of God, (6) resignation to His will, (7) and obedience to His commands. Prayer is considered to be an impertinent attempt to interfere with God's designs; but the freewill of man is clearly held. The faithful are commanded to keep their doctrines secret from unbelievers, and to this end they are permitted to make outward profession of any religion which prevails around them.

Seven great duties.

There is a special class of Druses who alone are admitted into the deeper knowledge of the religion, known as the Akals. This class, constituting 15 per cent. of the whole people, is open to any one after a year's probation and proof that he will strictly keep the laws of the religion. All these abstain from tobacco and wine, and wear no gold or silver or gorgeous clothing. They are often ascetics, wear a distinctive white turban, and show great devotion and purity. Friday being their day of rest, as among the Mahometans, on Thursday evenings the Akals assemble in their plain meeting-houses in retired spots and read their religious books. These meeting-houses have revenues belonging to them, devoted to the poor and to showing hospitality. Their sacred books, which are numerous (in manuscript), are marked by a high tone of morality; and there is no proof of the allegations of nefarious practices which the Maronites have brought against them. For hospitality, charity, and fidelity to guests they stand high. Polygamy is forbidden; near relations often marry. Divorce is freely allowed. Those who die in righteousness are buried in their own houses. Numerous manuscripts of the Druses are to be found in European libraries.

The Akals.

Meetings.

A brief review of the distribution of Islam must suffice. The Sultan of Turkey is reputed the only true successor to the caliphs, and bears the

title "Successor of the Prophet." But he is very much under the control of the ulemas, headed by the sheikh-ul-Islam (or grand mufti), whom, however, he nominates as his deputy in the imamate. But he must choose him from among the mollahs or superior ulemas; and from his judgment on matters of law and religion there is no appeal. The conservative and dilatory spirit of the ulemas of Constantinople is one of the great obstacles to Turkish reform. The Turkish official and ruling classes are very largely hypocrites, unbelievers, or formalists; such reality as is found in Turkish Islam is chiefly to be met with in the lower classes. The ordinary Turk of Roumelia or Asia Minor to a large extent really believes and practises his religion. The very general profession of Islam in Arabia, Persia, and Syria will have been gathered from what has gone before. Kurdistan, Turkestan, and Tartary are mainly Mohammedan, as are Afghanistan and Beluchistan. Kerbela, not far from Bagdad, is the most holy place of the Shiites, having the tomb of Hosain, the son of Ali. They believe that whoever lives or dies there will have nothing to fear in the world to come; and many Shiites leave instructions in their wills that they shall be buried there. Besides the numerous caravans bringing dead bodies for burial, Kerbela is visited by many pilgrims.

Turkey.

Kerbela.

Next to Kerbela the Shiites revere Meshed, the capital of Khorasan, the burial place of the Imam Ali or Riza, the eighth imam. His shrine is annually visited by 100,000 pilgrims, and he is dealt with as if actually living. Kum, between Teheran and Ispahan, is almost equally famous, as the shrine of Fatima, his sister.

Meshed.

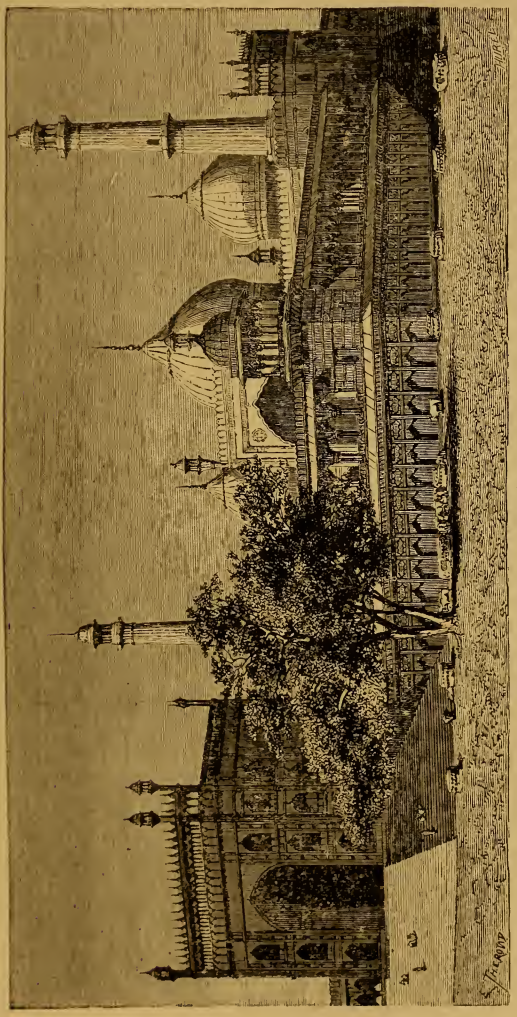
The Mohammedans of India are largely found in Bengal, the North-west Provinces, and the Punjab, and approach 50 millions in number. They have a vast influence, and are among the most zealous adherents of their faith. They have many magnificent mosques and mausoleums, as the Jummoo Musjid at Delhi (p. 581), the Taj Mehal at Agra (p. 583), etc., which we figure. Even in Benares, the great centre of Hinduism, there are 330 mosques.

India.

Even in China Mohammedans exist in large numbers, though it is very difficult to estimate them exactly. In some parts of North China, however, they form a third of the population; but they are largely of foreign extraction, Turkish or Persian, and their settlement in China took place chiefly after A.D. 1000. They keep up the exclusiveness of their religion, sometimes marking their houses or signs with the words Hwei-hwei (Mahometan); but they are not unfrequently to be found in the Government service, and in office conform outwardly to the State religion. They read the Koran in Arabic, which is taught in the schools attached to the mosques; but the tenets of their religion are also learned from Chinese works. For their mosques they adopt the Chinese style, with some Western features; and they are ornamented with Arabic and Chinese inscriptions painted on monumental boards. The people are certainly not so attentive to daily prayer as in other countries, and they

China.

do not now make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Several million Malays are Mohammedans, mostly under Dutch rule.



JUMMOO MUSJID, DELHI.

In North Africa, Islam shows some of its least inviting aspects, especially in Morocco. Here exclusiveness and antagonism to Christians are

most markedly displayed. The Sherifs, or so-called descendants of the Prophet, hold sway and insult others with impunity; and the Marabuts or Saints claim and gain great reverence. In Tunis, the holy city of Kairwan is a noted almost exclusive domain of Islam, and has one of the finest mosques in Northern Africa.

North Africa.

In many countries Mohammedanism seems to be decaying, and to have lost all power to elevate the people; in Central Africa it is seen in most vigorous life, and it has succeeded where Christianity, as hitherto presented,—together with small-pox and the gin bottle,—has failed. No unprejudiced person who has compared the descriptions of the Mohammedan countries of the Soudan and Western Africa with that of pagan negroes, can fail to admit that the former include the most active, intelligent, progressive of the Negro races. This may be partially due to admixture of Semitic, Abyssinian, or other non-negro blood; but this admixture is often slight, and many of the most zealous African Moslems are pure negroes. Who can deny that the fetishism of the Fantis and Ashantis is far lower than the belief in one God, the simple, regular Moslem prayers, the devoutness of mosque worship? or that the abstinence from intoxicants which Islam preaches is preferable in tropical climates to the indulgence of the European, to which he tempts his African brethren? The simplicity of the creed makes it easy of comprehension by the untutored African. In Islam "everything," as Mr. Joseph Thomson says (*Contemporary Review*, vol. 50, p. 883), "is within the range of the negro's comprehension—a very terrible One God, who sits in judgment, and a very real heaven and hell."

Central and Western Africa.

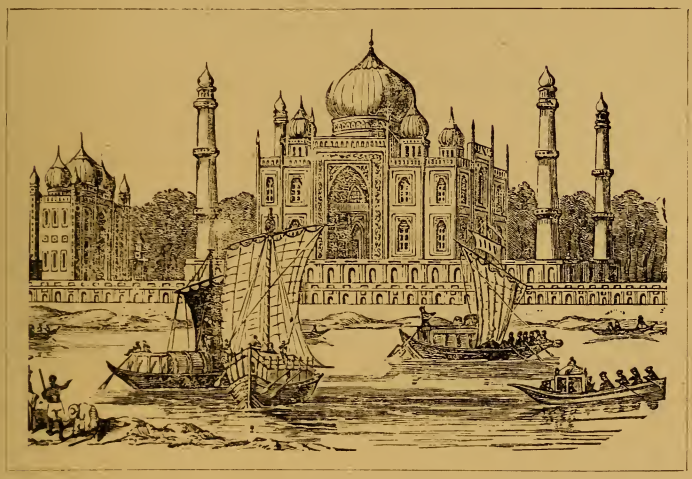
From the tenth century onwards Mahometanism has been advancing continuously in Africa, from Egypt and Abyssinia, spreading westward and southward, until now nearly all the large States stretching across the Soudan to the West Coast are under its sway. Many Christian observers testify to the contrast between a Mahometan and a heathen negro State. "The love of noisy terpsichorean performances, so noticeable in pagan communities," says Dr. Blyden, himself a negro Christian of high character and abilities, "disappears as the people come under the influence of Mohammedanism. It is not a fact that 'When the sun goes down, all Africa dances'; but it might be a fact, if it were not for the influence of Islam. Those who would once have sought pleasure in the excitement of the tom-tom, now repair five times a day to the mosque, where they spend a quarter of an hour on each occasion in devotional exercises. After the labours of the day they assemble in groups near the mosque to hear the Koran recited, or the Traditions or some other book read." In every State schools have been established, in which the usual Moslem education is given; and few villages are now without several men who can read or write Arabic. In some cases they even go for further education to Cairo. The polygamy which Islam sanctions is not attended with the seclusion or veiling of women imposed in other countries, and there are several other respects in which Islam in the Soudan is more tolerant

Contrast between pagan and Moslem negro.

than elsewhere. Still there have been many religious wars in the Soudan; and in Bornu the position of non-converts has been aggravated by their being always liable to be carried away into slavery. Even in Lagos Mahometan schools are to be found, as well as followers of the Prophet who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The influence of the Koran as an educator has been very marked in Africa, especially in unifying, supplying common ground for study and worship, and inspiring a common antagonism to paganism. "Even where the ideas are not fully understood," says Dr. Blyden, "the words seem to possess for them a nameless beauty and music, a subtle and indefinable charm, incomprehensible to those acquainted only with European languages." No translations could replace it, and thus Arabic is now spreading far and wide. Moreover, just as Islam in former

The Koran unifies and elevates negro.



THE TAJ MEHAL, AGRA.

times produced many a hero-prophet, so in modern times has it been in Moslem Africa, although Europe has known nothing of it. Among those in the middle of this century may be mentioned the Sheikh Omaru Al-Hajj, a native of Futah Toro, between Timbuctoo and the West Coast. He was a great proselytiser and religious leader, banished paganism from Sego, and elevated and purified the Mahometanism of several Fulah nations. He wrote many Arabic works in prose and poetry; and his poems are recited and sung in many Moslem towns and villages from Sierra Leone as far inland as Kano. And the feeling he had is shared in a degree by all negro Moslems. To propagate Islam is the one object worthy of enthusiasm, whatever sufferings they or their opponents may have to endure. While Christian missions in Africa are an expensive exotic, only to a slight extent permanently impressing the negro nature, the natives of the Soudan keep

up mosques, services, schools, etc., and contribute to support the missionaries who come to them from Arabia or elsewhere; and this even in Sierra Leone. Good observers attribute this partly to the fact that Mohammedans do really place the negro convert on a moral level with themselves, give him a career that inspires him with ambition, and practically make him respect himself. Moreover Islam has done in Africa what it has scarcely done anywhere else except in China, it has adapted many of its customs to suit the negro. The Arab type has been grafted on the negro, and has not wrecked it. Since the influence of Timbuctoo, which was a replica of Morocco, has given way to that of Kuka and Kano, the negro amalgamation has gone on rapidly, and much stability as well as power of spreading has been imparted to African Islam. Perhaps, above all, the Arab constitution has suited the climate of Africa; the Arab has found his way everywhere. His skin has not repelled the negro nor contrasted too greatly with his. The two races have understood one another far better than the higher European.

Thus on the whole we may anticipate a great future for Islam in Africa and in India. Even in other regions, where religion seems sunk in evil, we may yet witness an uprising of moral and spiritual reform which may revivify the popular religion. Christians may and should acknowledge freely the important elements of truth which they hold in common with Mohammedans; yet they cannot shut their eyes to the evils of slavery and fatalism, of polygamy and the subjection of women, which largely prevail throughout Islam, though not so extensively as many imagine.

[*Encyclopædia Britannica*: "Sunnites and Shiites," Prof. A. Müller (M.); Palmer, "Oriental Mysticism"; Lane's "Modern Egyptians;" W. S. Blunt, "The Future of Islam;" J. P. Brown, "The Dervishes;" Lady Anne Blunt, "A Pilgrimage to Nejd;" Eugène Schuyler's "Turkestan;" Edkin's "Religion in China," chap. xv.; Morier, "Second Journey through Persia;" "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race," E. W. Blyden, LL.D.]

MOUNT HOREB, OR SINAI.

BOOK VI.

THE JEWISH RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

Early History—Moses.

Old Testament the chief authority—Its growth and editing—Elohist and Jehovist narratives—The cosmogony of Genesis—Dean Perowne's view—The Jehovist narrative of creation—The fall variously interpreted—History of Adam's descendants—Longevity of man—The deluge—The covenant with Noah—The confusion of tongues—The history of Israel begins—Abraham's migration—His worship of God—Abraham and Melchizedek—Divine appearances—Abraham's character—Sacrifice of Isaac—Jacob and special providence—Sacred stones and household images—Jacob's great struggle—Patriarchal moral character—Jacob's dying blessings—Israel in Egypt—Egyptian influences—Education of Moses—His long residence in Midian—The Divine commission—The plagues of Egypt—Passage of the Red Sea—The decalogue—Character of Moses.

WE must preface our remarks upon the Jewish religion by saying that it is outside the scope of this work to offer any discussion on the question of the inspiration of the Bible, respecting which so many different views are current, even amongst divines. It is simply sought to give an account of Jewish religion and its growth in the same manner as has been done with some other religions, noting the principal features of Old Testament teaching, and their historical development, and especially those points in which a comparison can be made with other religions. For this

purpose it is, of course, necessary to examine the historical records of the Old Testament in a manner as unprejudiced as possible by theories of inspiration, which on any theory acted through human instruments.

Old Testament the chief authority.

It is somewhat singular that the Old Testament is almost the only authority for much of the history of the Jews, owing to the absence of contemporary records in stone, and of relics of buildings, etc., which in other countries have thrown light on religion; and it is in the religious history of Chaldæa, Assyria, Philistia, and Egypt that the most interesting facts have come to light which illustrate the development of religion among the Jews.

Its growth and editing.

Taking the Pentateuch and the Historical Books of the Old Testament as a whole, it is pretty generally agreed that, whatever be the date of their arrangement and promulgation in the form in which we have them (and this is variously placed in the period between Hilkiah's discovery of the Law in Josiah's reign, in the seventh century B.C., and its recitation by Ezra about B.C. 445), the compilers or authors had before them previous records, some of which may be distinguished from one another by their language, while of others we have only the names, such as the Book of the Wars of Jehovah. There are many indications in the Pentateuch that it was at least extensively revised long after the date of Moses; and, indeed, there is nowhere in the Pentateuch any assertion that Moses wrote the books which have generally been attributed to him, and which speak of him in the third person. Discussion as to how much Moses has contributed to the Pentateuch would be out of place here. It is stated in numerous passages that Moses wrote records of events, and of the commands of Jehovah; and in several passages of the Old Testament this is definitely attributed to him. Great knowledge of Egypt and Egyptian customs is shown by the writer, thus according with the opportunities Moses had of gaining such knowledge. The value of the historical works of the Old Testament as sources of history is extreme; and many facts therein recorded have been remarkably confirmed by archæological and geographical investigations, especially by those of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Elohist and Jehovist narratives.

A most conspicuous result of modern criticism of the Pentateuch, is the discernment of at least two authors or documents, one describing the supreme God as Elohim, "the Mighty," a plural title which was well understood by the peoples surrounding the early Israelites, and among whom the briefer El was a common designation for their own chief deity; the other using the term Jehovah, or Jahveh, translated "the Lord." A third variation is found when the names are coupled together. The passage in Exodus vi. 3, where Jehovah says to Moses, "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty (El Shaddai), but by My name Jehovah I was not known to them," appears to fix all narratives in which the name Jehovah is used as later than that revelation to Moses; but this is by no means agreed upon by critics. We may, however, study the religious development of the Jews in

two periods—that in which the name of the Deity was some form of El or Elohim, and that in which it was Jehovah.

The first book of the Pentateuch, commonly termed Genesis, in the first place gives a cosmogony (i. to ii. 3) in which the Creator is spoken of as Elohim. It is undoubtedly superior to any other ancient cosmogony. It describes every act of creation as directly the work of Elohim, and this is the predominant note of the narrative. An orderly procession of events is traced, and identified with days which may be referred to immense periods of time, though there is no evidence that the narrative was originally understood in any sense but that of days consisting of evening and morning, or twenty-four hours. The narrative appears to imply, though it does not expressly assert, the creation of the world out of nothing, and it represents the Creator as in express relation to His work, regarding it as "good," and "very good." Many attempts have been made in modern times to bring the statements as to the "days" of creation into connection with distinct or marked geological periods; but all these appear to fail. In the one case we have a graphic representation of the order of creation, drawn out on broad lines appreciable by mankind in an early stage of literary development, and by children and the unlearned of all ages; on the other we have an attempt at inductive and detailed history. The present writer regards the attempt to draw out a detailed correspondence between the two as futile. Nor does it appear necessary that even those who regard the narrative of creation in Genesis as an inspired and infallible document should read into it all the discoveries of modern science in order to establish or confirm its value and interest. In any case, we have a grand series of pictures, ending with the creation of man, or "Adam," male and female, on the sixth day, and a conclusion which gives a foundation and sanction for the Sabbath as observed by the Jews, by attributing to the Creator "rest" on the seventh day, and the sanctification of the day. Bishop Harvey Goodwin (*Contemporary Review*, vol. 50, p. 524) argues that the week did not take its rise from the sacred history, but that the form in which the history was cast depended on the writer's knowledge of the division of time by weeks, and of the Sabbath as an institution already existing long before the time of Moses. Bishop Goodwin regards the story of creation as either a speculation, or a poetical picture, or the record of a vision accorded to some gifted seer. The narrator, requiring some framework for his vision, and knowing the division of time by weeks, naturally used it as the most appropriate.[1]

The cosmogony of Genesis.

In this connection we may quote Dean Perowne's words in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" (article *Genesis*). "It is certain that the author of

[1] Bishop Goodwin further observes that "when we speak of the 'literal interpretation' of this portion of Holy Scripture, we are using language which, when examined, has no definite meaning. The whole history of creation is necessarily supra-literal. 'The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' What *literal* meaning is there here? 'God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' How can we assign to such transcendental language any sense which can properly be called *literal?* And so on throughout the whole creative history."

the first chapter of Genesis, whether Moses or some one else, knew nothing of geology or astronomy. It is certain that he made use of phraseology concerning physical facts in accordance with the limited range of information which he possessed. It is also certain that the Bible was never intended to reveal to us knowledge of which our own faculties rightly used could put us in possession. And we have no business, therefore, to expect anything but popular language in the description of physical phonomena. Thus, for instance, when it is said that by means of the firmament God divided the waters which were above from those which were beneath, we admit the fact without admitting the implied explanation. The *Hebrew* supposed that there existed vast reservoirs above him corresponding to the 'waters under the earth.' *We* know that by certain natural processes the rain descends from the clouds. But the *fact* remains the same, that there are waters above as well as below." It must, however, be admitted that the extent to which modern science is consistent with the broad outlines of the picture in Genesis is remarkable.

Dean Perowne's view.

The section Genesis ii. 4 to iii. 24 is admitted to be very distinguishable from the preceding, especially in its using the form "Jehovah or Jahveh Elohim" for the Deity twenty times. This combination is only found elsewhere in the Pentateuch in Exodus ix. 38. The name Elohim is also used three times by itself. The narrative begins by a very different and condensed account of the creation of the world and of living things, with a particularisation of man as "formed of the dust of Adamah, or the ground," whereas he is previously described as "created in His own image," and "male and female." The second account goes on to describe the primitive dwelling of man, the separate command to Adam or the Adam to refrain from eating of a particular tree, on pain of death, the naming of all cattle and fowl by Adam, the framing of a woman as his help-meet out of his side, this being made the basis for the recognition of husband and wife as "one flesh."

The Jehovist narrative of creation.

It is not necessary to repeat here the story of the Fall, which has been so differently interpreted by thinkers of all ages since criticism began. Many interpret it allegorically, as signifying a deep spiritual truth, of which, however, various accounts may be given. Apart from questions of theology, it is of great interest as showing the early Hebrew mode of accounting for the presence of sin in the world. The description of the garden in Eden may be referred to some tract of Mesopotamia, from which region the ancestors of the Israelites migrated; but it is impossible to identify with any certainty the limited tract that is meant. The narrative appears to describe the creation of animals after that of man, but it is evident that it does not attempt to give a chronological account. Altogether, the description is one showing many marks of antiquity, whether or not we suppose the name "Jahveh" to have been inserted at a later date. The conception of the Deity "walking in the garden in the cool of the day," and taking part in a series of dialogues, is an anthropomorphism which of itself indicates a state of mind which is

The fall variously interpreted.

paralleled in many primitive races, whose inward impressions are heard as outward voices, and attributed to spirits or gods. The connection of the first wearing of clothing with the first consciousness of sin, the representation of the loss of a primeval state of bliss and ease, the exclusion from the garden by cherubims and the flaming sword, the idea of a possible seizure of immortality by man,—all these denote an early stage of self-conscious reasoning upon the phenomena of life, which has been presented to us in such simplicity and charm by no other religious book. We may note that the serpent had in the East a reputation for sagacity which has not stood the test of later investigation.

NOAH'S SACRIFICE.

History of Adam's descendants.

Genesis iv. contains the story of Adam's family through Cain down to Lamech, with the murder of Abel by Cain, and narrates the early occupations of mankind, pastoral and agricultural, the development of the use of metal for cutting implements, and the invention of musical instruments. The two main varieties of early offerings to God are here already established, namely "the fruit of the ground," and "the firstlings of the flock, and of the fat thereof," and the superiority of the latter is implied in their acceptance. The punishment of murder on earth by a severer sentence than death is indicated, and the power of conscience is strongly asserted. In this narrative the name Jahveh

is used, and at the close, after describing the birth of Seth as the progenitor of the chosen people, we are told that "then men began to call upon the name of the Lord." Chapter v. is essentially a genealogical chapter, beginning with a third brief account of the creation of man, "male and female," and termed collectively "Adam." Here the name "Elohim" is used, except in ver. 29. We have in this chapter mainly that record of longevity which Owen and many other eminent zoologists and physiologists declare to be incompatible with the present physical structure of man, especially of the teeth, while no traces of men with any structure admitting of such length of days can be found. Of course, if the early calendar was reckoned on some other basis than ours, this difficulty disappears; but, humanly speaking, it is useless to look for modern scientific accuracy in a record dating from very early times; in fact, the power of using considerable numbers is a comparatively advanced achievement. These records are best looked at as representing the ancient genealogy of the Jews preserved in the most authentic form they knew about; and to attempt to reconcile them with modern views on the antiquity of man is a fruitless endeavour. We know that names were left out and genealogies drawn up in round numbers of generations by the Jews, of which there are numerous examples in the Bible. It has been suggested that the account of Enoch's translation represents an interesting stage of the mode by which heroes become deified in many countries.

Longevity of man.

In the history of Noah we come into closer contact with the traditions of other nations, and especially with the Chaldæan deluge story, already referred to (p. 494). Moral evil had risen to a great height, owing, as the early Hebrews believed, to an intermixture of the daughters of the Adam with a powerful race, the sons of Elohim, or the mighty ones, giving rise to "giants." Jahveh is represented as "repenting" of having made man, and as threatening his extinction. Noah, a righteous man, was selected to be preserved during the impending destruction, and was instructed to make a great "ark" in which he could save his family, and two of "every living thing," an expression which must be taken with obvious limitations. We need not follow the details of the Flood, but note that it is obviously impossible that this can have been a universal Deluge in the sense in which that term would now be understood. The conception of a plain only broken by comparatively low hills, covered by water as far as the eye could see, suffices to adequately fulfil the conditions really demanded. The "mountains of Ararat" are rendered the "mountains of Armenia" by many, and it is nowhere said that the highest mountains were meant. Noah's offering of a burnt sacrifice to God consisting of "every clean beast and every clean fowl" is of great interest as showing religious advance, and as indicating that a sort of classification of animals into clean and unclean had been made. The narrative, among other anthropomorphisms, represents the Deity as "smelling a sweet savour."

The Deluge.

The great covenant which Noah now received and promulgated is of prime interest in whatever way it may be regarded, whether as a direct

Divine revelation, or as an evidence of a stage in natural religious development. A very orthodox commentator regards the covenant as expressing Noah's strong inward convictions in answer to his prayers during his sacrifice. They express hopefulness of future good, notwithstanding the evil so prone to arise in man's heart, and confidence in God's beneficence. They contain a sort of charter of man's supremacy on the earth and over animals, which in its broad lines is unique at such an early period. The responsibility for human life is laid down as a fundamental human obligation, resting upon man's brotherhood, and his relationship to God as being made "in His image." Noah, appalled by the late destruction, was reassured that neither men nor beasts were to be cut off by a flood in future. The rainbow was to Noah the sign of this covenant, a fact by no means implying, what so many have imagined, that the rainbow then first appeared, an idea incompatible with the laws of light. In the history of Noah, then, we trace the broad outline of the conception so much developed and filled in later in the Jewish and Christian religions, of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

The covenant with Noah.

The next great cosmological conception in the Book of Genesis is in the story by which the variety of languages was accounted for. It is closely paralleled by some fragments of Babylonian tablets in which are described the anger of Bel at the sin of the builders of the walls of Babylon and the mound of the tower or palace. The builders, whose attempts were directed against the gods, were confounded on the mound, as well as their speech. The winds are said to have finally destroyed the impious works. This story may very well have had its origin in the building of the great temple on the mound of Birs Nimroud or some other notable temple raised in successive stages. Primitive peoples regarded such huge enterprises as impiety against the gods, much as the originators of railways were denominated impious. The divergence of language between people a few miles apart, which must have been far more marked then than in modern civilised countries, was similarly considered an act of vengeance directly due to the gods. In Genesis, to quote another orthodox divine, Dr. Payne Smith, "Jehovah is described as a mighty king, who, hearing in his upper and heavenly dwelling of man's ambitious purpose, determines to go and inspect the work in person, that having seen, he may deal with the offenders justly." And in order to defeat men's unlimited ambition, diversity of speech was brought about, so that men were not intelligible to one another.

The confusion of tongues.

The history of Israel now properly begins with the narrative of the life of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the three great ancestral patriarchs of the Jewish people. Some scholars, who cannot believe that any ancient narrative at all closely corresponds with fact, have imagined these to be mythical beings, and have given fanciful interpretations of their biographies. But the sober style of the narrative lends little countenance to such ideas, while much confirmatory evidence from language, antiquities, geography, etc., gives support to the belief that we have here the

The history of Israel begins.

most authentic early biographical records which have come down to us, although it cannot be expected that they have been transmitted with perfect accuracy in all details. Leaving questions of general criticism aside, we will trace the conception of the Divine power and of religion which the narratives convey. Abraham's migration from Mesopotamia is undertaken by Divine command, and is inspired by a great hope of founding a nation which shall become a blessing to all the earth. At Sichem, in the centre of Canaan, it was shown to him that his seed would possess the land; and he built an altar to Jehovah, "who appeared unto him." It is impossible to settle in what form the Divine manifestations to Abraham may have been made; it is equally impossible to doubt that the narrative represents a genuine belief in their reality. Abraham built altars to God in various places afterwards historically famous as places of worship; and on one occasion is represented as signalising a covenant with God by dividing a heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, into halves, a ceremonial implying the most solemn ratification. Abraham on this occasion begged for a confirmation of his having an heir born to him in his old age. In a deep sleep following his watch over the exposed animals, Abraham saw a symbol of fire pass between the divided halves, and received a promise of the future greatness of his posterity, in connection with which is narrated a prediction of their servitude "in a land that is not theirs."

Abraham's migration.

His worship of God.

An interesting episode in Abraham's life, showing that he did not feel himself cut off from the local worship of El under different names, is his conduct after his return from the slaughter of the confederates of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. Abraham received a blessing and gave a proportion of his booty to Melchizedek, whose title King of Salem (Melek-Salem) is by some understood to mean "King of Peace," as his first name Melchizedek means King of righteousness. It is impossible to be certain that by Salem the site of Jerusalem was signified. Whatever his local habitation, Melchizedek officiated as priest of El-Elion, "God most high," and represented El-Elion as having delivered Abraham's enemies into his hand. Abraham, according to the narrative, identified the God he worshipped with the God of Melchizedek, and here again rose beyond conceptions of local or tribal gods towards that of a Supreme and Universal Deity.

Abraham and Melchizedek.

All through the narrative of Abraham we have records describing familiar intercourse between the Deity and Abraham, whether by undefined "appearances," by the intervention of "the angel of the Lord," or of human figures. Thus we see how deep-seated was the belief in direct Divine intervention and appearances in the time from which these records date. In the Elohistic narrative of Genesis xvii., which gives the ancient authorisation for the circumcision of the Hebrew males, we find the name El Shaddai, El All-Powerful or Almighty, applied to God. There is evidence that circumcision was known and practised by other nations long before this; but its adoption by Abraham was an important epoch in the development of the Jewish religion. The idea of the Almighty as coming down from His high enthronement above the earth is still prominent,

Divine appearances.

as in the phrase, "He went up from Abraham." The birth of Isaac is promised expressly, as the heir of the covenant made with Abraham.

The position of Abraham at the head of the Jewish religion and in the regard of Christians is assured. To quote Dean Stanley ("Jewish Church," i. 16), "it is true that Abraham hardly appears before us as a prophet or teacher of any new religion. As the Scripture repre- **Abraham's character.**

MOSES AND AARON BEFORE PHARAOH.

sents him, it is rather as if he was possessed of the truth himself, than as if he had any call to proclaim it to others. . . . He was the first distinct historical witness, at least for his own race and country, to Theism, to Monotheism, to the Unity of the Lord and Ruler of all, against the primeval idolatries, the natural religion of the ancient world." No doubt he is the first

great exemplification of that which henceforth distinguished higher from lower religions, faith in the Supreme Being and in ultimate good, first for himself and his descendants, and secondarily for all mankind. His intended sacrifice of Isaac,—related probably to the frequent Canaanitish immolations of the eldest son,—is explicable by his intense belief that the command came from God; and viewed in this light it highly strained his belief that Isaac was the divinely-given heir of the future of his race. One commentator puts it thus, in reference to the Canaanitish practice: "The question might easily arise within, 'Wouldst thou be able to do the like to please thy God?'" The substitution of a ram for Isaac was of fundamental importance in establishing the antiquity of the later Jewish sin-offering, and the sanctity of Mount Moriah, the subsequent site of the Jewish temple. Moral strength, mixed with some moral weakness, first rises to distinct portraiture in Abraham, whose character, clearly related to features still familiar in Semitic life, has become almost equally precious to Mohammedans and Christians. His date, somewhere before or after 2000 B.C., we cannot attempt to settle.

Sacrifice of Isaac.

In the history of Jacob we find a development of the personal aspect of belief. Special Providence watches over his conduct, appears to favour his designs, and by the stress of events drives him into a more upright path than he had at first sought. The belief in the validity and value of patriarchal blessings is clearly evidenced in both Isaac's and Jacob's dying blessings. We note, too, that it comes upon Jacob as a surprise when he becomes convinced at Bethel that it too, "far from the holy places of his family, is a place of Jahveh's gracious presence," whereupon he raises a stone, after the manner of the Phœnicians and other surrounding peoples, as a memorial, and pours oil upon it, naming it Beth-el, the house of God, long afterwards famous as a place of sacrifice and a sanctuary. We note, also, the continued use of household images, whether mere images of guardian spirits or of ancestors, in Laban's family, and believed to ensure, or be essential to, the good fortune of the household.

Jacob and special Providence.

Sacred stones and household images.

Of great significance in the history of Jacob is the development of prayer, in reliance upon what he believes to be the promises of God; although prayer is still mainly, if not entirely, for temporal benefits. The memorable "wrestling" of Jacob, whatever it may mean physically, has become the type and model of innumerable spiritual struggles, and indicates changes in moral character as the product of earnest resolution. In the view of very many, it stands as a conspicuous memorial of man's elevation by struggle and resolve, ever blessed by the Supreme Power. To Jacob the struggle was a Divine revelation: "I have seen Elohim face to face, and my life was preserved." The personal guidance of God is again brought into view in the later scene when Jacob goes to Egypt by the command of God received in the visions of the night—an example of the powerful influence allowed to dreams and visions in those times.

Jacob's great struggle.

In all this patriarchal period polygamy is nowhere condemned, and is

frequently practised; deceit is approved towards enemies, and even towards hosts, and, with various questionings, towards members of the same household; morals had as yet become comparatively little developed as a corollary of religious belief. We have no account of Divine worship except as associated with special occasions. The outlines of the patriarchs are very differently drawn from those of the heroes and demigods of most other religions. No perfection is attributed to them. They fall again and again into error and evil-doing; yet they rise by exhibiting a faith in the Divine superior to that of their neighbours, and by obeying inward monitions more than others did. They are in no sense raised beyond humanity; they are distinctly human all through; and thus their histories, though probably intermixed with later traditions and edited to an unascertainable extent, contain highly credible and valuable accounts of primitive life and of the rise of religious belief.

Patriarchal moral character.

Now comes the important period of the Israelitish sojourn in Egypt, which must have had considerable effect on the religious development of the people. Yet we hear little of it till the great uprising which led to the Exodus.

Meanwhile the death-bed of Jacob is the occasion for the delivery of characteristic blessings, often prophetic in their character. One clause, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be," has especial significance in the history of the Christian Church, as indicating the person and rule of Christ. Some modern critics translate one phrase, "until he come to Shiloh," in Ephraim, where the ark of the covenant was at one time. Many read "Sheloh," instead of Shiloh, meaning "he whose it is," or "whose right it is." The fact that the Jews themselves interpret the passage as a Messianic prophecy is of moment; and whether the prophecy assumed its present form comparatively later or earlier, it no doubt existed long before the time of Christ.

Jacob's dying blessings.

The residence of the Israelites in Egypt must be esteemed of the highest importance to their religious development, both for what it taught them to dislike and for what it led them to appreciate and adopt. An enormous gulf separates the primitive patriarchal religion, with its open-air altars, its rare sacrifices, its memorial stones, and its sacred trees, from the elaborate priestly religion which grew up on the foundation of Moses. Although it is not expressly stated in the Pentateuch, we find from Joshua xxiv. and Ezekiel xx. that the Hebrews to a considerable extent served the gods of Egypt, and lapsed from the purity of the patriarchal faith. Again and again, in their wilderness-sojourn and in later times, are Egyptian lapses, Egyptian longings made a subject of reproach to them. Accustomed to the worship of the black calf at the Temple of the Sun in On (Heliopolis), and to that of other idols and deified animals, not all the sanction of the Second Commandment nor all the influence of their loftiest leaders could keep them from frequent outbreaks of worship more or less idolatrous; and the symbolism of the Ark of the Covenant, borrowed very closely from Egyptian models, was required to give

Israel in Egypt.

Egyptian influences.

them a centre for their adoration, to satisfy the cravings excited by their Egyptian experiences. On the other hand, the absolute power of the king, and the divine worship which was paid to him, may surely be credited with some part in that reaction which kept the Israelites, though numerous and powerful, so long without a king. Having suffered the extremes of pain and misery at the hands of a god-king, they can scarcely brook for the length of a short war the absolute rule of a military leader; and when at length they submitted to a king, they were far from worshipping him.

Education of Moses.

Again, the education of Moses, as a priest, "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," in itself implies a mighty Egyptian influence upon the Israelites. The foremost intellectual man among them found his force tenfold intensified by his culture. We can imagine him keenly surveying the varied observances and criticising the lore of the initiated priests of Egypt, and selecting from them those parts which seemed conducive to the welfare of the people, and waiting his time to adopt or enforce them in legislation. Their medical knowledge he absorbed and utilised largely in his domestic and sanitary regulations. And since he had no king in his scheme, his priestly class had the more opportunity of enforcing his ordinances and of obtaining the means of support, since there was none of that heavy levy of taxes and forced labour which made life a burden in Egypt. Yet that Moses found much to object to, much to discard in Egyptian religion, is evident from the fewness, on the whole, of the points of agreement between it and the Jewish religion.

His long residence in Midian.

But it was not only the education of Moses in the wisdom of the Egyptians, but also his long isolation and solitary thought in Midian, after his relinquishment of all his Egyptian privileges, that must have matured his intellect and developed his moral courage. It was not an unprepared soul that received the heavenly mission to redeem his people, yet it was one schooled to modest self-depreciation, and capable of a forcible estimate of the difficulties in his way. We need only imagine these latter, to realise how strong must have been the evidence and conviction upon which Moses took up his mission; and it is only natural that this should be accompanied by a deeper insight into the Divine nature which could carry him through countless dangers and human impossibilities. The expression, "I am that I am," otherwise rendered, "I am because I am," "I am Who am," "I will be that I will be," gives a view of the Self-existence, the Uncaused Nature of the Supreme Being, which no previous statement about the Divine nature had done; and whatever view be taken of the miraculous, it is at least certain that the Jews profoundly believed in the miraculous signs granted to Moses in proof of his Divine mission, and in the miraculous nature of the plagues which afterwards came upon the Egyptians. The narrative of Moses's commission is the type of that conviction of Divine support and authorisation which most great religious reformers have felt intensely.

The Divine commission.

We pass over the actual Exodus as not directly concerned in our object, merely noting that the plagues of Egypt need not be deemed the less im-

posing or effectual because they proceeded by means the most natural and the most appropriate in Egypt. The miraculous of one age may appear the natural to another age, which may possibly discern orderly causes for that which formerly terrified a people or authenticated a mission. To many who view all events, all causes as equally the work of

The plagues of Egypt.

THE PASSOVER IN EGYPT.

the Supreme Being, it is nowadays comparatively unimportant to attempt to closely distinguish between miraculous and non-miraculous, supernatural and natural; but that in past times enormous effects were produced by events deemed miraculous, superhuman, supernatural, cannot in the least be doubted; and that many such events occurred, striking terror or producing

conviction, convincing the senses or the mind in ways not to be upset, is equally certain. Thus, even though the crossing of the Red Sea has recently been explained in a most plausible manner as a thoroughly natural occurrence, its effect in the great chain of events culminating in the destruction of the Egyptian army, was not the less striking in fact, and was handed down as a miraculous interposition of Jehovah. And without taking up any dogmatic position, we may be permitted to say, that for human beings, with all their imperfections of power and discernment, to deny that "miracles" have occurred, or the possibility of miracles, is to take up a position of superiority in relation to natural phenomena and causation, and of over-confidence in present knowledge, which is little warranted by past experience of changes of thought and knowledge.

Passage of the Red Sea.

Apart from the customs or systems which welded the Israelites into a nation, we have to seek the most important religious phenomena in the history of Moses. The first place undoubtedly belongs to the Decalogue, and its promulgation and enforcement as a direct Divine revelation. Moses gave the Israelites a series of positive precepts, the "Ten Words," which have kept their place at the head of legislation, and have influenced a large part of the world's population. They have been recognised as right by the higher conscience of the most diverse peoples, and including as they do the monotheistic doctrine which had previously been known, they constitute the greatest contribution to practical morality, apart from Christianity. Perhaps in their original form the longer commandments did not contain the explanatory clauses, as is indicated by divergences in the versions we have; but we still to a large extent fall behind the theology and the morality they enshrine, and thus we are still living in the period of the Decalogue. Till monotheism is universal, the first commandment has its mission; till images and representations which may be worshipped cease to be bowed down to or worshipped, the non-Christian world falls below the Mosaic standard, and such Christian Churches as permit this are behind the Jews; till irreverent or blasphemous employment of the Divine name is no more heard, the third commandment speaks unavailingly to deaf ears. The fourth commandment, like the second, has been exchanged more or less by Christian Churches for another, and is but rarely observed as the Mosaic code intended. The fifth commandment might have been given to the Chinese, for they observed it long before Moses gave it; but its spirit is not quite in keeping with modern democracy, which reads it with qualifications. The precepts of social morality which follow might be justly alleged as condemning vast numbers of professing Christians and Christian States; and breaches of them have too often been condoned by Jesuits and others who consider that the end justifies the means; but no man can truly say that the Decalogue is outworn or dethroned. The progress of mankind since its promulgation has been towards its realisation, especially as interpreted by the simpler and wider commands of Jesus. Simple, pure worship of one God, family order, justice and self-restraint between man and man, with

The Decalogue.

a weekly rest-day, are the elements powerfully set forth in the Decalogue, which, from the human point of view, forms a work of genius of the highest order. Because of beliefs in the Divine truth and communication of the precepts, the merit of Moses, viewed as a man, must not be lessened; the Divine message or inspiration came to him, and he did not reject it, but boldly promulgated it in the most powerful way possible to him. His genius as a legislator must be based on the Ten Commandments, as well as on his other achievements; if we regard him as a mere channel for Divine communications, he becomes no more than a medium.

It may be noted that the Commandments do not in any way favour breaches of morality towards persons of other tribes, which were so common among early peoples. On the other hand, polygamy is not forbidden. The reason for the institution of the Sabbath is, in one place, the Creator's rest on the seventh day, and in another, "that thy manservant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou." The deliverance of Israel from Egyptian servitude is further given as an incentive to keep the Sabbath.

Without attempting a complete characterisation of Moses, we may assign to him a position, as a religious leader and originator, above that of any man we have previously described. He practically created a nation out of an enslaved people, and he did it not merely by adequate government, a task which he found difficult enough many times in his career, but most of all by the elevated conception of the Divine nature which he promulgated, and his strong faith in his Divine mission and in the personal guidance and direction which he received from God. From him was derived, in its essence at least, that sublime conception of a people ruled directly by God, which in its developed form constitutes the grandest ideal of human life; for what conception can be more perfect than that of a race knowing the laws of its Creator and voluntarily obeying them? **Character of Moses.**

As an example of triumph over natural infirmity—timidity, unreadiness, want of eloquence, hesitation—Moses is not less conspicuous than as a man of true self-effacement, only brought to act prominently and individually by Divine impulse and command. With all that has been said as to the genius of Moses, we must couple the narratives of Divine visions and communications to him, which no one is entitled to summarily reject as fabrications. Doubt is of course justifiable wherever narratives can be proved to have been written long after the events described; and here is the crucial point of criticism. It may be pointed out, as regards visions and other communications, that almost all great teachers and spiritual reformers have had them, and in circumstances which throw no doubt upon their veracity and their belief in their reality. Of all men up to his time Moses may be regarded as the man who came into closest relation with the Divine; and if this be granted, modes of appearance, whether subjective or objective, are less important than the truths revealed. Who, for instance, that feels the higher truths can fail to appreciate the teaching, "Thou canst not see My face; for there shall no man see My face and live," or the inspiration which gives rise to the **His Divine visions.** **Revelations to Moses.**

magnificent declaration of Exodus xxxiv. 6, 7, respecting the Name, the Essential Essence of Jehovah, "merciful and gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty." Contemplating the descriptions of such revelations, we cannot wonder at the consensus of earnest theologians longing to be "with Moses on the mount."

Absence of reference to a future state.

What, then, are we to think of the remarkable absence of direct teaching by Moses on the subject of immortality and a future state of rewards and punishments? This has been a subject of abundant discussion and speculation. Are we to consider that because the Egyptians held strongly the belief in immortality, and detailed the stages of the future state, therefore Moses must be understood as consenting to their beliefs, and tacitly assuming them? Or are we to regard him as to some extent a sceptic on that question? The inference has been drawn from the frequent use of the phrases, "went to his fathers," "was gathered to his people," etc., that they imply a belief in the continued existence of the fathers, and this does not seem an unreasonable supposition; but its precise value cannot be ascertained. It is probable that the Israelites, surrounded and influenced by nations who believed in a future state, did not dissent from the prevailing view, or else we should have had it markedly expressed. But Moses was concerned especially to exalt the view of Jehovah as a personal Guide and Ruler in this life; and this may be the reason why the future was not dwelt upon, though it would be too much to deny positively that it is implied in numerous phrases.

Moses as a prophet.

As a prophet, Moses's position is assured by the numerous Divine revelations he was commissioned to make, by his authorship—more or less—of sacred books, by his Law, and by his addresses, which, if authentic, often refer to what will come to pass in a future time in the land of Canaan. We may wonder that Moses was never deified by his countrymen; this fact in itself proves that his teaching about the one God, and the mode in which He must be served, had a powerful effect, and prevented the tendencies that were so strong in Egypt from having their natural effect in relation to him. If we cannot adopt Josephus's statement that "He wrote the account of his own death in the sacred books, fearing lest he should be deified," we must at least allow that he was the most remarkable teacher who has not been worshipped by his followers as a god or a demi-god. That Moses worked miracles is assuredly claimed by the narrative; and those who disbelieve it have a very heavy task in explaining the whole of the events in a non-miraculous sense.

[Among works of importance on this subject are Ewald's "History and Antiquities of Israel," Stanley's "Lectures on the Jewish Church," and the various Commentaries and Bible Dictionaries; Robertson Smith's "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," and the articles "Pentateuch" and "Israel" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition.]

ALTARS IN HIGH PLACES.

CHAPTER II.

The Jewish Religion: Legislation, Festivals, Morals.

Altars and offerings—The Ark of the Covenant—The Tabernacle—Development of the Law—Modern criticism—Various offerings—The trespass offering—The Day of Atonement—The scapegoat—Meaning of Day of Atonement—The Shechinah—The Sabbath—Origin of the Synagogue—Officials of Synagogue—Order of service—The seventh month—The Sabbatic year—The year of Jubilee—The Passover—Passover in later times—Pentecost—Feast of Tabernacles—Feast of Trumpets—Prayer and forms of worship—Vows—Fasting—Nazarites and Rechabites—Consecration of the whole people to Jehovah—Clean and unclean animals—Means of purification—Burial—Marriage limits—Nature the property of Jehovah—Blood-revenge—Cities of refuge—"An eye for an eye"—Usury—Slaves—Treatment of strangers—Parents and children—Wives and concubines—General moral condition of Israel.

ONE conspicuous peculiarity of Moses's earlier religious teaching is, that religion is not made to consist in so many offerings, in formal ceremonies, but in simple worship and reverence to God, and obedience to moral precepts. Yet, to satisfy the spirit of worship, altars of earth or of unhewn stone were allowed, for burnt offerings and peace offerings. The phrase in Exodus xxii. 29, "the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto Me," is understood by some as indicating that human sacrifices were still allowed to exist, while the majority interpret it as meaning simply a dedication to Jehovah, to be redeemed by an offering; in this way Moses may be considered as adopting current forms, and giving to them a pure character. Altars and offerings.

It is impossible here to discuss the complex questions which arise through all attempts, such as those of Kuenen, to trace the Jewish religion

as a growth through centuries, and to assign to their respective periods beliefs and observances which are considered not to have their origin from Moses. In any case the institution of the Ark of the Covenant as well as the Tabernacle must be referred to Moses, with the foundation of the priestly code, and of the laws of ceremonial and of practical conduct.

The Ark of the Covenant.

The Ark of the Covenant, which had a marked resemblance to arks carried in Egyptian religious processions, was an oblong chest of acacia-wood, nearly four feet long, by two and a half broad and deep. It was overlaid with gold both inside and outside, and on its lid was the mercy-seat, or place of Divine communication to Moses, and to the high priest after him. At each end was a golden figure termed a cherub, a compound creature-form with wings extended upwards and faces directed "towards one another, and towards the mercy-seat"; and here ends our knowledge of the nature of this symbol. Whether it had any relation to any one of the numerous symbolic animal-figures of the other Semitic peoples and the Egyptians we cannot tell. The importance of the ark lay in two features: one, that it contained the two tables of stone on which Moses had written the Ten Words; the other was expressed in relation to the region above the mercy-seat, that there Jehovah would meet with Moses, and commune with him. The ark was provided with rings at the corners, through which were passed staves of acacia-wood overlaid with gold, by which certain Levites carried it when it was moved from place to place. Thus the Israelites were furnished with a symbol of the Divine presence, satisfying that demand of human nature which has been exemplified in so many nations and ages, yet never seen except by the high priest.

The Tabernacle.

This ark formed the central or most important object in the Tabernacle, which was erected as the representative of a temple. It was forty-five feet long by fifteen broad, open at the end intended to be pitched eastward as if towards the rising sun, and divided into two parts, the inner or Holy of Holies into which the priest alone entered rarely, divided by pillars and curtains from the larger Holy Place, containing a golden candlestick with seven branches, a small lamp being placed on the end of each, an altar for the burning of incense, and a table overlaid with gold, on which twelve newly-baked loaves were placed every Sabbath, sprinkled with incense, remaining till the following Sabbath, when they were eaten by the priests in the Holy Place. Whether it was thus offered weekly as a symbol of the derivation of bodily nourishment from God, or whether it had other meanings, is undecided. The strict meaning of shewbread is "bread of the faces," and the table is called the "table of the faces." Outside the tabernacle proper was a great oblong court enclosed by screens, in the western half of which was the tabernacle, while in the eastern half was the altar of acacia-wood, overlaid with brass, for burnt offerings, furnished with pans and other utensils, and having four projections or horns at the corners; and between this and the tabernacle was a laver, a vessel in which the priests washed their hands and feet before entering the tabernacle.

Those critics who have separated the narratives in the Pentateuch into

component portions regard the tabernacle which Moses erected as a much simpler structure (Exodus xxxiii. 7–11) than the elaborate tabernacle described, as they assert, by the priestly narrator after the exile of the Jews.

THE MOLTEN CALF.

They claim also that it was devised as a means of giving an ancient sanction to the elaborate ritual of the second temple. According to this view, the simple form of tabernacle continued in use during the migrations of the ark until the building of Solomon's temple; but there is no proof of this.

Without attempting to determine, where the most learned disagree, the precise steps by which the Mosaic code of laws grew to its full development, we may yet note the very general agreement or admission that it did actually develop, even in the view of the narrative as it stands, and that there is a great difference between its presentation in the book of Deuteronomy and in previous books. Again and again we learn how certain regulations originated from particular occasions. While there are various discrepancies between Deuteronomy and the earlier books, as well as important additions in the former—especially noteworthy being the command to worship God and make all offerings at one particular place—there are numerous references to Egypt and Egyptian customs which Moses would be the most competent and likely to make, and we have direct assertions that Moses wrote it. Yet there is no reference to the *Book* of the Law in the books of Judges and Samuel. In the books of the Kings it comes into prominence, and is very plainly described in Ezra and Nehemiah. The difference of style between Deuteronomy and other parts of the Pentateuch is a difficulty for those who regard all as the work of Moses; but it is not insuperable if a thorough revision and incorporation of other traditions by a writer in the times of the Kings or of Ezra be allowed.

Development of the Law.

From the time of Ezra, undoubtedly, the Jews possessed the complete Pentateuch very much as we have it, and they believed that it had existed from the first in that form. But it is held by many modern writers that various records in the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as well as in the Pentateuch itself, are incompatible with the complete early promulgation of the contents of the Pentateuch. The Israelites either disobeyed the extended law, or did not know of it. Especially was this the case in regard to the worship of Jehovah at local sanctuaries and high places, instead of at the one central place, the existence of images in the worship of Jehovah, and the admission of other gods as at least worthy of toleration, though secondary. That which defenders of the traditional view regard as simply the measure of the defection and degeneration of the Israelites from the truth, modern critics regard as proving that the fully detailed law of the Pentateuch had not yet been promulgated, that not taking place till the times of Josiah and of Ezra. They in fact say that the Levitical Law continued the work of the earlier prophets, and was in large part unknown to the prophets. No doubt, they say, when made known to Ezra, it professed to be the Law of Moses; but this is explained as referring to its embodying the kernel of Mosaic legislation, with old priestly decisions handed down in their families, having been given or arrived at as necessity arose.[1]

Modern criticism.

[1] It will be convenient to give here separately Prof. Robertson Smith's grouping of the laws in the Pentateuch, in his "Old Testament in the Jewish Church." There is (1) Exod. xxi. to xxiii., directly connected with the revelation of the Ten Commandments, "containing a very simple system of civil and religious polity, adequate to the wants of a primitive agricultural people:" the title being, "These are the judgments which thou shalt set before them." (2) Deuteronomy: the laws proper, beginning at chap. xii. 1, "These are the statutes and judgments which ye shall observe to do," ending at xxvi. 19;

MOSES RECITING THE LAW BEFORE THE ALTAR AND THE PILLARS.

Coming now to the main features of the law as affecting religion and morals, burnt-offerings formed a prominent feature of the worship. Morning and evening a lamb was offered, with wine, oil, and flour; and in addition males of the herds and flocks, or turtle doves or pigeons, were offered voluntarily as general atonements. The whole of these offer-

Various offerings.

this is described as an independent reproduction of the substance of (1), with extensions and modifications. (3) The Levitical legislation, or priestly code, scattered through Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but capable of removal without making the rest unintelligible. This includes the fully developed ritual for sanctuary, priesthood, sacrifices, etc. "The form is historical, but the essential object is legal. The law takes the form of recorded precedent" in great part. This view assigns the first to Moses, with additions by priestly decisions; the second (it is said) was first made known as the starting-point of Josiah's reformation, abolishing all local sanctuaries; and this reformation and the authority gained by Deuteronomy were based on the teaching of Isaiah and other prophets who had so loudly called for religious reform and amendment.

Prof. Robertson Smith and others see in Ezekiel's scheme of worship (ch. xl.–xlviii.) the basis on which the Levitical law was fully developed; and this is alleged to be confirmed by Jeremiah, who knew no law of sacrifices. In Ezekiel's scheme the Levites, who had lent themselves to idolatrous practices, are lowered in functions. Regular sacrifices are provided for by the prince out of the fixed tribute received by him. The sin-offering and ritual of atonement are made prominent, the altar requiring to be purged with sin-offerings for seven consecutive days before burnt-offerings can be properly offered on it. Ezekiel also appoints two great atoning services yearly, at the beginning of the first and the seventh months, to purge the temple; and this is alleged to be the first appearance, outside the Levitical code, of anything corresponding to the great Day of Atonement, and Ezekiel's service falls short of its solemnities. This is regarded as a first sketch of the priestly Torah or law, resting on old priestly usage, and reshaped so as to bring it into conformity with the ideas of the holiness of Jehovah expressed by the earlier prophets and by Deuteronomy.

"In proportion as the whole theory of worship is remodelled and reduced to rule on the scheme of an exclusive sanctity, which presents, so to speak, an armed front to every abomination of impure heathenism, the ritual becomes abstract, and the services remote from ordinary life. In the old worship all was spontaneous. To worship God was a holiday, an occasion of feasting. Religion, in its sacrificial form, was a part of common life, which no one deemed it necessary to reduce to rule. Even in Deuteronomy this view predominates. The sacrificial feasts are still the consecration of natural occasions of joy: men eat, drink, and make merry before God. The sense of God's favour, not the sense of sin, is what rules at the sanctuary. But the unification of the sanctuary already tended to break up this old type of religion. Worship ceased to be an everyday thing, and so it ceased to be the expression of everyday religion. In Ezekiel this change has produced its natural result in a change of the whole standpoint from which he views the service of the Temple. . . . The individual Israelite, who, in the old law, stood at the altar himself, and brought his own victim, is now separated from it, not only by the double cordon of priests and Levites, but by the fact that his personal offering is thrown into the background by the stated national sacrifice. . . . In Ezekiel, and still more in the Levitical legislation, the element of atonement takes a foremost place. The sense of sin had grown deeper under the teaching of the prophets; and amidst the proofs of Jehovah's anger that darkened the last days of the Jewish State, sin and forgiveness were the main themes of prophetic discourse. . . . Now, more than in any former time, the first point in acceptance was felt to be the forgiveness of sin; and the weightiest element in the ritual was that which symbolised the atonement, or 'wiping out,' of iniquity. The details of this symbolism cannot occupy us here. It is enough to indicate in one word that the ritual of atoning sacrifice was so shaped by Divine wisdom that it supplied to the New Testament a basis intelligible to the Hebrew believers for the explanation of the atoning work of Christ. Not, indeed, that the blood of bulls and goats ever took away sin. The true basis of forgiveness, in the Old Testament as in the New, lies, not in man's offering, but in a work of sovereign love. It is Jehovah, for His own Name's sake, who blots out Israel's transgressions, and will not remember his sin. But the atoning ritual ever held before the people's eyes the mysterious connection of forgiving love with awful justice, and pointed by its very inadequacy to the need for a better atonement of Jehovah's own providing."—*Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, *pp.* 379–382.

ings was burnt, and the fire on the altar was never to go out. Next in order among usual offerings was the meat-offering, meat referring here to natural produce of the earth, such as unleavened flour, or cakes, oil, and frankincense, of which only part was burnt, the rest being given to the priests. The next and less frequent offering was termed a peace-offering, being either given as a thanksgiving, in fulfilment of a vow, or as a voluntary offering. It consisted of the fat of one of the herd or the flocks, the remainder (excluding the blood) being eaten by the offerer.

The sin or trespass-offering had a more special importance, but was made at any period, for sins of ignorance, vows unwittingly broken, or for ceremonial impurity, or for wilful sins, such as concealment of truth, lying, false swearing, etc. In this case confession had to be made, and various offerings, including money, might be accepted, according to the ability of the penitent; part was burnt, and the remainder belonged to the priests. **The trespass-offering.**

There were other special sacrifices, but that on the great Day of Atonement, once a year, on the tenth day of the seventh month, was the most important, constituting as it did an annual atonement for all the sins of the people, made on a special day of fasting and affliction of soul. On this day only the high-priest, purified and dressed in white garments, might enter the inner sanctum, the Holy of Holies. Besides making offerings on his own and his family's account, he bought two goats on account of the people, and presented them at the door of the tabernacle. He then cast lots upon them, one for Jehovah, the other for Azazel, or, as it is usually translated, the scapegoat. The meaning of the latter name cannot be settled, many imagining it to represent some spirit antagonistic to Jehovah. The goat on which Jehovah's lot fell was offered as a sin-offering; the other was "presented alive before the Lord, to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a scapegoat (Azazel) into the wilderness." The bullock offered for himself and his family having been sacrificed, the high-priest took some of its blood, with a censer of burning embers and a handful of incense, and went into the Holy of Holies. Then, casting the incense upon the embers, he raised a cloud before the mercy-seat, and dipping his finger into the blood, sprinkled it seven times before the mercy-seat. A similar ceremony afterwards took place with the blood of the slain goat. A further sprinkling of blood took place in the outer sanctum, or Holy Place, some of the blood of both victims being sprinkled on the altar of incense. Similarly the outer altar in the enclosure was sprinkled, especially the horns of the altar. The whole tabernacle being thus purified, the live goat was brought, and the high-priest laid both his hands on its head and confessed over it "all the iniquities of the children of Israel, putting them upon the head of the goat"; and finally the goat was sent away, in charge of a suitable man, into the wilderness, that he might carry away all their sins "into a land not inhabited." After bathing, the high-priest offered the two rams, one for himself and one for the people, as burnt-offerings. The fat of the sin-offerings was also burnt, and **The Day of Atonement.** **The scapegoat.**

their flesh was carried away and burned outside the camp. The traditional form of the prayer offered by the high-priest over the head of the goat is thus given in the later treatise of the Mishna, entitled Yoma: "O Lord, the house of Israel, Thy people, have trespassed, rebelled, and sinned before Thee. I beseech Thee, O Lord, forgive now their trespasses, rebellions, and sins, which Thy people have committed, as it is written in the Law of Moses Thy servant, saying that in that day there shall be 'an atonement for you to cleanse you, that ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord.'"

Meaning of Day of Atonement.

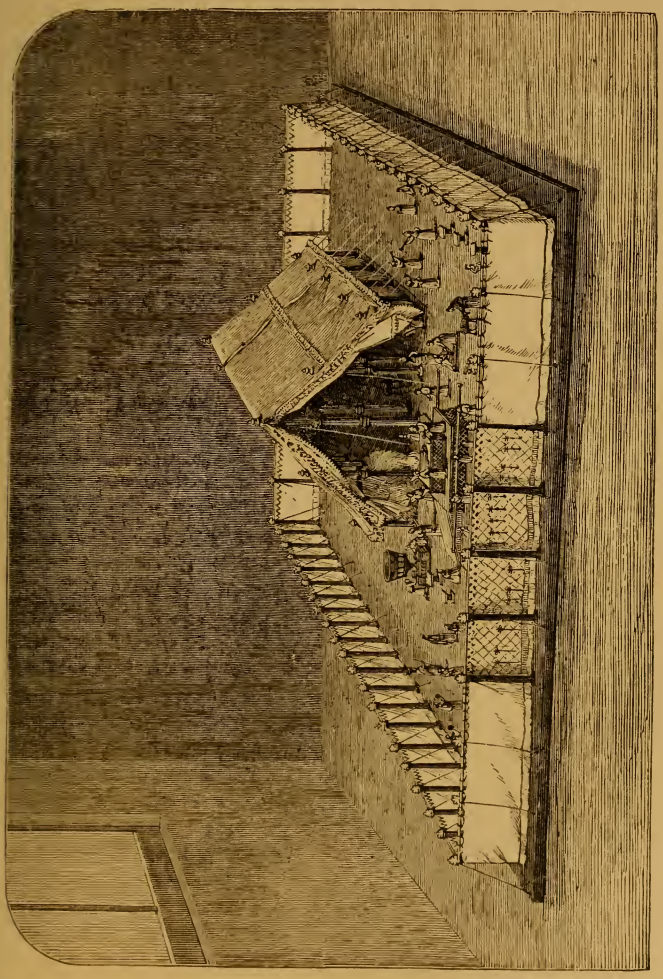
The remarkable significance of this Day of Atonement is evident. In addition to continual expiations of known sins by individuals, together with various voluntary offerings, the whole nation is considered to need confession of sin, atonement, and purification before Jehovah; and the high-priest, as representing the nation, makes atonement, and purifies the sanctuary and the people. The offering of goats and other animal offerings is probably connected historically, though perhaps unconsciously, with the offering of human sacrifices by nations around, and with Abraham's offering of Isaac, and with the idea of substitution of animals for human victims. In any case, such is the natural interpretation of the laying of the hands on the head of the victim while making confession. But we cannot yet, with certainty, explain why there were two goats, and the sending forth of one into the wilderness; for it, like the other, formed part of the sin-offering to Jehovah. Many consider that it was sent into the wilderness to signify the carrying of the sins of the people out of the presence of Jehovah. In any case, we may find in the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement the most impressive of the many solemnities we have hitherto surveyed.

The Shechinah.

Here we may fittingly refer to those visible manifestations in which Jehovah is recorded to have appeared to His people or His priests, often referred to by the name Shechinah (majesty or presence of God), which word, however, is not found in Scripture, and is first found in the Targums, or Jewish Commentaries. It expresses the visible presence of God as dwelling among His people, said to be lacking in Zerubbabel's temple, while pertaining to that of Solomon, and to the tabernacle. The appearance was described as a brilliant light enveloped in a cloud, which alone was for the most part visible. The "glory of the Lord" is stated to have rested upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days; and on the seventh day, "the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel." When the tabernacle was finished, a cloud covered it, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle, so that Moses was not able to enter it. On occasions when he did enter it, the cloud descended to the door of the tabernacle, and "the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend." In Numbers vii. 89 we read that "when Moses went into the tent of meeting to speak with Him, then he heard the Voice speaking to him from above the mercy-seat."

After the Day of Atonement, the two most peculiar observances of the Israelites were the weekly Sabbath and the annual Passover. The Sabbath was no doubt related to a very general Oriental practice, as old as Vedism and Zoroastrianism, and very early in use among the

The Sabbath.



THE TABERNACLE RESTORED.

Semites, of arranging their religious festivals or meetings in accordance with the four quarters of the moon. Abstinence from work was its chief characteristic among the early Israelites. This became a grievous burden; no fire might be lighted on the Sabbath, and it is related that a man was

once stoned to death for gathering sticks on that day. Although, in the writings of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Nehemiah, we read of various infractions of the Sabbath having become frequent, the general practice of the Jews was to obey the law strictly; and in the time of Mattathias (B.C. 168), even fighting in self-defence was abstained from, with disastrous results, until he asserted its lawfulness. The minuteness with which the Pharisees and the Rabbinical schools regulated Sabbath observances in the time of Christ is well known, as well as the resistance which He offered to this. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that no regulations for its observance were given in the writings of the apostles, and that Sabbath-breaking is never denounced by them. The orthodox Jews still maintain the Sabbath of the seventh day, beginning on Friday at sunset and ending with the next sunset.

Regular Sabbath services, such as those of the synagogue, did not arise in Mosaic times, nor indeed till after the return of the Jews from Babylon. The morning and evening sacrifices by the priests were doubled on the Sabbath, and there are grounds for believing that the well-to-do feasted on sacrificial meat on that day. In Isaiah lviii. 13, 14, it is indicated that the Sabbath should be called a delight, and should be honoured by "not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words." The synagogue services may well have arisen as an elevating influence, in reaction from the debased character of the meetings and local observances at a distance from the great religious centre, of which the magnificent ephod made by Gideon, the graven and the molten images and the teraphim of Micah, were some of the apparatus, while groves and high-places were some of the scenes. Although the prophets and prophetical schools appear to have met for sacrifice and praise on fixed days, it is probable that the Babylonish captivity, with its isolation emphasising the need of frequent meetings for mutual comfort and worship, witnessed the true origin of synagogue worship, which after the return played an important part in preserving the Jews as a peculiar people. After the Maccabæan uprising, the establishment of local synagogues spread, until almost every town had one or more synagogues. Inasmuch as it was apart from the temple service, and did not essentially depend on the priests, the synagogue tended to establish a freer atmosphere of study and criticism, and it is significant that the first teaching of Jesus took place in country synagogues, where He met with far less opposition than He immediately received when He taught in the Temple precincts.

Origin of the synagogue.

The synagogue, of varying size, stood if possible on the highest ground in or near the town, and was so arranged that worshippers on entering, and in prayer, faced towards Jerusalem. At its Jerusalem end was placed an ark or chest containing the roll of the Law of Moses, and near this were the chief seats, for which the scribes and Pharisees competed. A lamp perpetually burned near it, while other lamps were brought by worshippers for the Sabbath; the special seven-branched candlestick was only lighted up on the great festivals. Near the middle of the building was a platform, on

the middle of which stood a pulpit. The mass of the people sat, according to sexes, on either side of a low partition.

The officials of the synagogues were an elder, or rabbi, or a chapter of rabbis (rulers of the synagogue), presided over by a chief rabbi; these could excommunicate, or "put out of the synagogue," any who were held to have broken the law, and not purged their offences. **Officials of synagogue.** There was usually a chief reader of prayers and of the law, who was not engaged in business, and was chosen by the congregation, and set apart by the imposition of hands. Each synagogue also had a body of ten men, making up a legal congregation, and attending all the services.

The Law of Moses was read in the synagogues on every Sabbath morning in regular order, so as to be gone through once a year; the Prophetical books were read as a second lesson in like manner. Afterwards came an exposition, or sermon, drawn from one of the lessons, delivered by one of the rulers, or a person appointed or allowed by them. Prayer preceded and benediction concluded the service. This was the principal service. On the Sabbath afternoon, and also on Mondays and Thursdays, there was a reading of the Law, and services were of course held on festivals. **Order of service.**

The Jewish Sabbath was the basis of a series of observances in which the number seven was predominant. Every seventh month, the seventh year, and the forty-ninth or fiftieth (the jubilee year), were specially sacred. The seventh month opened with the Feast of Trumpets, when offerings were doubled, and trumpets were blown throughout the day, instead of merely at the time of sacrifice. This month was further notable for containing the Day of Atonement, and the joyful Feast of Tabernacles. In the seventh, or Sabbatic year, the land was to lie fallow, "that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat." The spontaneous produce of the fields was to be for the poor, strangers, and cattle. In Deuteronomy xv. the Sabbatic year is also a year for the release of debts; but it is not certain that they were abolished, and they may have been merely postponed. Many think the Sabbatic year was only enjoined to be observed the seventh year after the settlement of Canaan, and that it was rarely observed until after the Captivity. We may regard this law as intended to signify an acknowledgment of the Divine ownership of the land. **The seventh month.** **The Sabbatic year.**

The year of jubilee was an extra Sabbatical year, announced on the Day of Atonement by the blowing of trumpets throughout the land. The word "jubilee" either means the trumpet itself, or the sound it produced. Every Israelite was to recover the land originally assigned to his family, however it might have been alienated. The soil was to lie fallow during the year, and only the natural growth was to be gathered. The law of freedom extended also to servitude; all Israelites who had become bondmen recovered their freedom. Houses in the open country followed the law about land, while those in walled cities were not affected by it. Undoubtedly this legislation had a strong tendency to pre- **The year of jubilee.**

vent the accumulation of great wealth in the hands of a few, and was an additional feature distinguishing the Israelites from surrounding nations. We have no knowledge as to how far the Sabbatic and Jubilee years were observed.

Next to the Sabbath the most enduring Jewish observance is the Passover, and the Easter festival in which it is represented by Christians.

The Passover. Thus the Exodus from Egypt is linked with an annual world-wide festival of Christianity. It combined the significations of a harvest thanksgiving and an anniversary of the escape from Egypt; and some critics think the latter association was later than the other. To detail all particulars connected with it would be too lengthy; but the narrative of the Exodus lays stress on the eating of unleavened bread, because of the hurry of departure from Egypt not allowing time for the slow-working leaven to be used, on the killing of a lamb or kid without blemish, the sprinkling of the side-posts and the lintel of the house door with the animal's blood, its being roasted whole, and on keeping the bones unbroken. The haste of the meal, the preparations for a journey, the staff in the hand, are all graphically described; and in memory of this, and the death of the firstborn of Egypt, all male firstborn were consecrated to God, the animals to be sacrificed, the sons to be redeemed.

In later directions for the observation of this festival we find that the offering of the Omer, or first sheaf of wheat harvest, a seven days' eating of unleavened bread, and a series of expensive sacrifices of bullocks, rams, lambs, etc., were ordained. Also the sacrifice of the Passover was to be made only at the national sanctuary. This latter regulation is regarded by those who argue for the late origin of Deuteronomy and of the priestly code as having only arisen when Israel was united under the kings, and when a centralisation took place of all great acts of worship at Jerusalem.

The later Israelitish observation of the Passover began on the 14th of Nisan (part of March and April), when all leaven was put away from dwellings, and every male Israelite repaired to Jerusalem, taking an offering of money in proportion to his means. As the sun set, the lambs offered were slain, and the fat and blood given to the priests; the animals were then roasted and eaten whole, with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (endive, chicory, wild lettuce, or nettles), no portion being left till the morning. On the 15th was a holy assembly, and no work might be done. On this and the following days additional animals were sacrificed, but it is probable that these were omitted in later times. On the 16th the first sheaf was waved by the priest before Jehovah, and the festival ended with a solemn assembly on the 21st. We do not know when the drinking of wine at the Passover meal was introduced; but it became the custom to provide at least four cups of wine, mostly red, to be drunk with water, the cups being passed round at certain intervals. Another addition to the early forms was the singing of a series of psalms of praise, known as the Hallel (a shortened form of Hallelujah); Psalms cxiii. and cxiv. were

Passover in later times.

sung early in the meal, and Psalms cxv. to cxviii. after the fourth cup had been passed round.

The next great festival, following the Passover after an interval of seven weeks from the second day, was that generally known as Pentecost, but also as the Feast of Weeks, or of the First Fruits. This period of seven weeks included the whole of harvest time, from the beginning of barley-harvest to the complete ingathering of the wheat. At this feast, in addition to the regular sacrifices, two loaves of leavened bread made from the new wheat were to be waved before Jehovah by the priests, who afterwards ate them. At the same time seven lambs, a bullock, and two rams, and other offerings were to be sacrificed. This was a more joyful celebration than the Passover, and special directions were given that the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow should share in it. **Pentecost.**

The principal autumn festival was the Feast of Tabernacles or of Ingathering, when the whole of the crops of the year had been gathered in. It lasted seven days, followed by a special day of assembly and sacrifice, sometimes called an eighth day. During the seven days the people were commanded to live temporarily in booths, which were made of the branches of olive, palm, pine, and other trees with thick foliage. In Jerusalem these booths were built on the flat roofs of the houses, in their courts, in the court of the Temple, and in the principal streets. Specially-numerous animal sacrifices were offered throughout the week, including seventy bullocks, in addition to private offerings, so that more animals were slain at this period than at any other. On the eighth morning the booths were dismantled, and the people returned to their houses. The booths may be regarded as a standing memorial of the Israelites' former nomadic life. **Feast of Tabernacles.**

We must not omit to mention that the spring festival or Passover, Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles were the three great national festivals at which every male Israelite in later times was bound to go up to Jerusalem, in earlier times to the place where the tabernacle was pitched. This regular resort to a common centre must have had a powerful influence in uniting the people. Thus we see the rise of one of the great systems of religious pilgrimage still so powerful among the Hindus, Mahometans, and Roman Catholics.

It remains to mention the Feast of Trumpets, which took place on the day of the new moon which preceded by ten days the Day of Atonement. It was one of the seven days of special holy assembly and sacrifice; on it trumpets were blown all day. Possibly it was intended to prepare the people for the solemnities of the Day of Atonement; but it was clearly a sort of New Year's Day, introducing the seventh or Sabbatical month of the Jewish calendar. **Feast of Trumpets.**

To complete here the account of forms of worship, no form of prayer was enjoined by the Mosaic code, and it is from later history that we derive the most emphatic testimony to the habit of prayer among the Israelites; and it is extremely improbable, seeing the abundance of prayers in the Egyptian and Semitic religions, that **Prayer and forms of worship.**

there was any lack of them in early Mosaic times. The beautiful benediction of Numbers vi. 24–26—"Jehovah bless thee and keep thee; Jehovah make His face shine upon thee, and be gracious to thee; Jehovah lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace"—is a very early example of the form of liturgy which arose to such high development in the Book of Psalms, in which are included prayers, praise, confessions, triumphal songs, and formal recitals, traversing the whole field of human experience, often in the loftiest strain of poetry. But in their great days the Jewish people were not given to the vain repetitions of prayers and sacred phrases which afterwards became baneful. A form for use when offering first fruits is given in Deuteronomy xxvi. 5–10, 13–15. Probably prayer was offered after every sacrifice. In later Jewish times individuals appear to have gone up regularly to the Temple to pray, and when away from Jerusalem they prayed with their windows open towards Jerusalem. Numerous remarkable and well-known prayers, both on public and private occasions, are recorded in the Old Testament, among which we may note the prayer of Solomon at the Dedication of the Temple, and that of the priests, in the second Temple, in Nehemiah's time.

Apart from the regular offerings, the consecration of persons and things to Jehovah, and the making and fulfilment of vows, entered largely into the Jewish religion. Ewald ("Antiquities of Israel") thus describes the making of vows: "In order to obtain from God some good thing, the want of which he felt with painful keenness, a man desired to give up on his part something dear to himself; but because his own weakness made him despair of being able to make this sacrifice, or at least because it could not be made immediately, he bound himself through an oath to God, spoken out clearly and with the utmost seriousness, that he would fulfil it. This naturally inspired him with a strength which had previously failed him, and which, perhaps, without this spasmodic flight, he would never have possessed." The occurrence of extraordinary emergencies sometimes, as in other religions, inspired the most tremendous vows—such as the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter—which were fulfilled; but the Law allowed of the annulling of some vows, such as those of a wife or unmarried daughter by the head of the family, and the redemption of others by a valuable offering, according to a scale carefully drawn up. The last degeneration of such a practice was seen in the corban custom at the time of Christ, when a man might prevent himself from giving to another, or even to his parent's utmost need, by vowing his property to God, even without actually resigning its possession and enjoyment.

Vows.

In prohibiting all mutilations or tortures of the human body, excepting that which constituted the rite of circumcision so largely in vogue in South-western Asia and Egypt, the Jewish religion was left with fasting as an important means of self-discipline in addition to vows and offerings. Fasting, individual and national, figured considerably in their system. The annual fast on the Day of Atonement showed the recognition granted to it, and it was often resorted to in times of national

Fasting.

danger or misfortune. Another form of self-discipline was found in the offering of the hair and abstinence from wine; and the period of thirty days' abstinence, during attendance at the sanctuary, became specially commendable. Groups of persons who took certain religious vows were formed from time to time, such as the Rechabites and the Nazarites (more correctly Nazirites), the latter of whom consecrated their bodies and all their powers to Jehovah for a limited time or for life. Wine and even grapes were forbidden to them; no change in their body was allowable, even the hair might not be cut; dead bodies must not be approached. At the end of the period of the vow, special offerings were made in the Temple. Samson, Samuel, and John the Baptist appear to have all been Nazarites for life.

Nazarites and Rechabites.

How far the Jewish religion was from the other religions we have described can partially be judged by comparing them in detail, though our brief survey leaves many topics unnoticed. The deification of heroes or priests, the worship of relics, monasticism, the worship of ancestors, wizardry, and magic, found no home in the Jewish system. And perhaps that which prevented these from arising, and which elevated the nation most in the religious scale, was the declaration and the constant inward sense that the nation and its individuals were holy, consecrated to Jehovah, and must therefore be kept pure from all inward and outward defilement, and when defiled in any way must be purified by appropriate submission, repentance, and offerings. The people are declared in Deuteronomy to be the children of Jehovah; and the dedication of the first-born children and the offerings of firstlings and first-fruits kept in memory and expressed gratitude for the deliverances which Jehovah had wrought for them. Special kinds of food, special laws of purification, and other peculiar personal regulations were devised to strengthen the feeling of separation from other nations, and of exceptional elevation as the children of Jehovah. The Jewish religion had as its birthright the revelation, in a degree far above that which others had attained, "Holy shall ye be, for holy am I." Not a human ideal, but a Divine example was the standard set before the nation. Thus the nation became a household united by one thought, one worship, and thus it attained a strength which long protected its feebleness. Rejecting an earthly sovereign, the ideal of Jehovah as Sovereign was raised above the nation; and laws had so much the more the sanction of public opinion, as they were believed to come direct from God, and to be enforced by temporal punishments and calamities, apart from the decreed penalties by which alone pardon and restoration could be obtained by offenders. And, on the other hand, the laws were the more readily enforced, as it will be seen on close study that the majority of them had the soundest basis in natural laws, and others were at least in accordance with the best wisdom of the time, or represented substantial improvement on practices of the surrounding nations.

Consecration of the whole people to Jehovah.

It may be astonishing at first sight to find that the Jewish law

regarded a large number of animals and natural conditions or objects as unclean which we do not; but in this it only followed the instinct of many peoples and religions, which find certain repulsions inherent, and which create others in virtue of some accidental conditions. Ruminant animals, finny and scaly fish, and locusts were allowed to be eaten; but the camel, hare, coney, and swine, and all the smaller land animals were forbidden. The mode of death, too, was important; any mode which did not allow the blood to be thoroughly drained from the flesh was forbidden, for the eating of blood, in which animal life was supposed especially to reside, was strictly tabooed. All dead animal matter made him who touched it impure. The elaboration of the regulations about impurity and purification is too great for us to deal with here; but they had the object not only of making and keeping the body of the servant of Jehovah clean and pure, but of guarding carefully the purity of the spirit, though, as we know, this object, to a very considerable extent, was not attained. We may note among the means of purification, specially purified water, cedar-wood, threads of scarlet cloth, the leaves and stalk of the hyssop, and a red heifer. One striking particular in which a difference from Egyptian practice was shown, was in the discontinuance of embalming the dead.

Clean and unclean animals.

Means of purification.

Burial was performed at a distance from human dwellings, and, as far as possible, in caves, natural or artificial. The impurity attaching to enemies' possessions, as usually polluted in some way by alien religions, was shown by the frequency with which they were entirely destroyed, instead of being utilised as legitimate booty. Conversely, the touching of sacred objects after they were consecrated was an offence of the deepest dye, often punished by death. It is worthy of remark that many of the Israelitish regulations showed a knowledge, or at least instinct, about the laws of health, which would have done credit to many a nation presumedly much more advanced in civilisation.

Burial.

The relationships within which marriage was allowed were strictly limited; and a man was forbidden to marry two sisters at the same time, although a sentiment about the hereditary descent of property made it a duty for a man's brothers in succession to marry his widow if he died childless. All unnatural lusts were most strictly forbidden and heavily punished; and even the mixture of different seeds in sowing, and the union of wool and linen in the same garment, were unlawful.

Marriage limits.

Through all the Jewish ideas of their relation to Nature we find ruling a belief that it belongs to God. Young fruit trees were not to be cropped till three years had passed; in the fourth year the fruit was offered to Jehovah, and only afterwards did it come into use by man. The ox treading out the corn was not to be muzzled; eggs or young birds were not to be taken from the nest while the mother was there; domestic animals were to share the rest of the Sabbath; and all this that it might be well with the people who belonged to the

Nature the property of Jehovah.

same God whose were the animal and the vegetable kingdoms. Thus we may understand the depth of the feeling which inspired in the 50th Psalm the lines (Perowne's translation):—

> "Mine is every beast of the forest,
> The cattle upon the mountains by thousands.
> I know every bird of the mountains,
> And that which moveth in the field is with Me."

The strength of that feeling in favour of the protection of human life which in so many nations and religions makes revenge of murder an absolute duty, was shown by the permission given to the heirs of a murdered man, and especially the next heir, the redeemer, to execute punishment upon him, though his guilt was first to be determined by a regular investigation, two witnesses at least being required. Blood-money was not allowed to be accepted. When the murderer was unknown, a special mode of expiation was provided, so that the people of the neighbourhood might be cleared from Divine vengeance. Unwitting manslaughter was only purged by fleeing to a sacred city of refuge, which he could not leave, or the avenger might slay him. So strongly was the right of blood-revenge maintained, that even King David could not prevent Joab from putting it in force without the sanction of any court. There is every reason to believe that the Jewish people were unstained by the practices of infanticide, which were so glaring an evil in many Oriental nations.

Blood-revenge.

Cities of refuge.

Minor injuries were to be punished in kind—"eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning," etc.; although later, when the offended person consented, they could be expiated by money payments. Injuries received in a mutual quarrel were satisfied by payment for loss of time. But the Jewish law took cognisance of offences which were followed by no physical injury. Slander, hatred, false witness, unequal honour to the rich, are unsparingly condemned; and many positive precepts show the rise of kindly feelings, of compassion, of tolerance and kindliness towards strangers, as well as of true justice in word and deed, in generous fulness, among the Israelites. The precept, "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man," might have been written in China.

"An eye for an eye."

The references to the year of jubilee will already have explained one feature of the law of property, which aimed at keeping the land in the hands of the same families permanently. The tendency of the Israelites to lend money for interest is strongly marked by the stringent prohibitions of usury which are found in the Law, and the Deuteronomic acknowledgment that interest might be taken from strangers, though not from fellow-Israelites. Already in Exodus the practice of taking pledges for loans was in existence, and it became necessary to forbid keeping a man's outer garment (used as a bed-covering) beyond sunset. A widow's garment might not be taken, nor a handmill, and the creditor might not

Usury.

enter the debtor's house to seize his goods. The service of the debtor who was unable to pay might be demanded, or that of his wife or child; but such Hebrew bondslaves were to be released in the seventh year. Yet the slave could voluntarily renounce his freedom, at the cost of having his ear bored through with an awl against the door or door-post of the sanctuary. Slaves, while placed in a position much better than in other surrounding nations, in fact being treated much as hired servants, were yet somewhat strictly kept in servitude, and their emancipation only appears to have been customary in the year of jubilee. Female slaves also were treated as chattels with regard to marriage or concubinage. After the Babylonish captivity slavery went out of use among the Jews.

Slaves.

The elevation of the Jewish religion above most others is shown in another particular—the treatment of strangers, other than fellow-countrymen. Strictly fair treatment of them is enjoined; nay, in Leviticus we are told, "The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the homeborn among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." The widow and orphan, the poor and friendless, were to be kindly received and succoured, to whatever race they belonged, and they were to be made partakers in the joys of sacrifice to Jehovah.

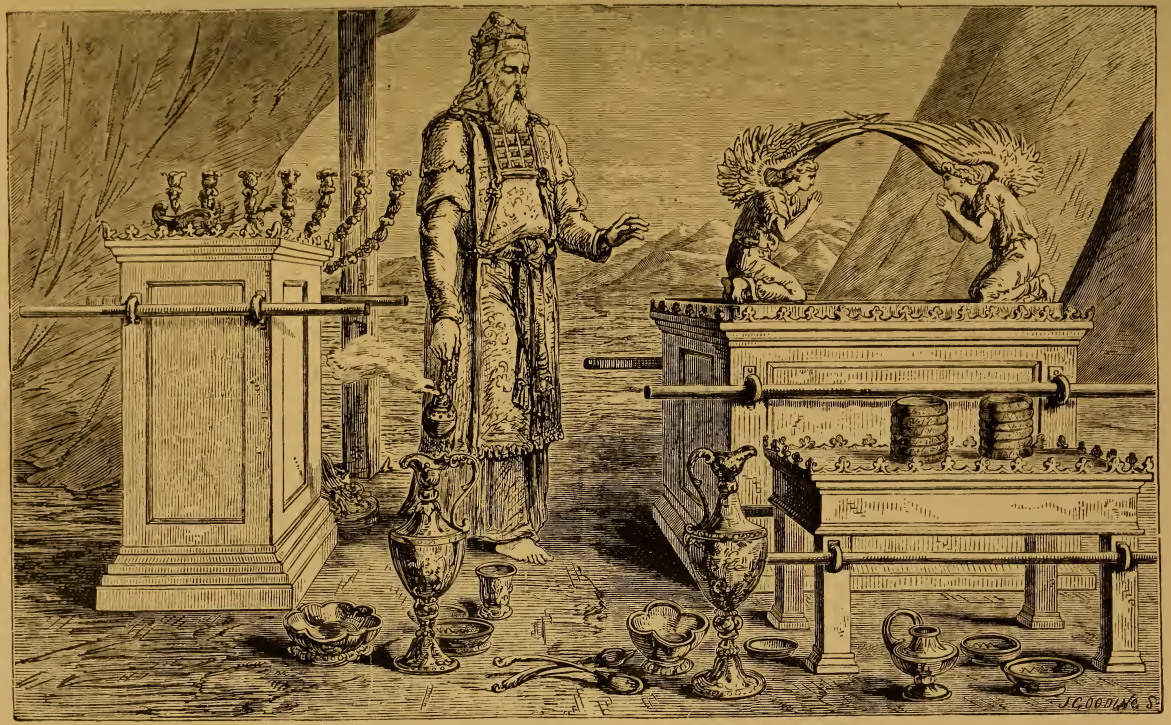
Treatment of strangers.

The relation of children to parents was originally one of as great subordination as that of slave to master; the duty of submission on the part of the child was regarded as so paramount that it received separate mention in the Decalogue; but this did not exclude, nay, it implied a tender regard for children which is exemplified in many Old Testament narratives. On the other hand, the disobedience of a child might be punished with any severity. Death was the punishment of a child that struck or cursed a parent, although in Deuteronomy this punishment might only be inflicted on a rebellious son after a hearing of the case before the elders of a city. Again, a child might be sold or given in pledge for a debt; and in several instances a whole family was destroyed for the sin of the head. In Deuteronomy, however, we read that the children are not to be put to death for the sin of the fathers; and this is interpreted by those who regard Deuteronomy as a late compilation, as indicating a gradual relaxation of the severity of the early law.

Parents and children.

The marriage laws of the Israelites are on the whole so well known that no extended notice is needed; but with marriage the husband gained a powerful command over the wife, and she was often practically bought, and might be divorced with comparative ease. A husband who doubted his wife's fidelity might take her to the sanctuary and demand that the priest should subject her to an awe-inspiring trial by ordeal, giving her a peculiarly compounded drink, "the water of jealousy," which was expected to bring destruction upon a guilty woman. That women by no means occupied the degraded position assigned to them in many Oriental countries is evidenced by numerous instances of women being prophetesses, and even military leaders, and being greatly honoured even by

Wives and concubines.

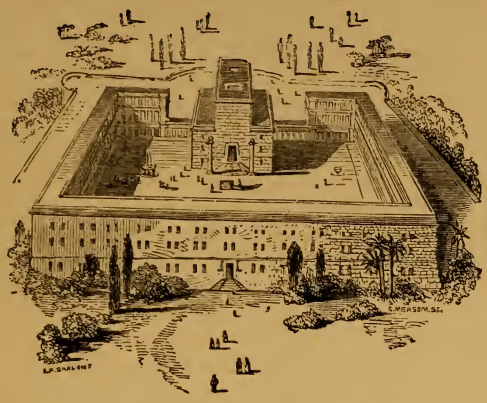


THE FURNITURE OF THE TABERNACLE.

the most renowned prophets. Marriage was viewed as an honourable estate; children were a heritage from Jehovah. Violations of purity cannot have been common; and a great distinction was thus maintained between the Jews and surrounding nations. Concubinage and double marriages were allowed; but these were very different from the licentiousness of many Oriental States. The kings were commanded not to multiply their wives—a command which they evidently disregarded. In later Jewish times monogamy appears to have become customary, although divorce was much abused. Hebrew marriage was not connected with any religious rite.

That the moral condition of the Jews was high compared with most other nations is evident from comparing their histories. That they were largely exempt from the vices which found a home with extreme wealth is undoubted. That they owed much to the examples of their early leaders is equally true. But they owed more to the vivid conception and assimilation of the belief that they were Jehovah's chosen people, who must therefore be holy and pure, and must reject all the practices which His prophets denounced as displeasing to Him. Nowhere else have we found a nation inspired with the ideal of a Divine King, guiding every step and giving every victory. And although this ideal proved to be beyond their strength to realise fully, and they were not skilled enough in statecraft to frame a practicable republic, their ideal lived on even when they had set up an earthly kingdom, and bore especial fruit when an odious foreign domination controlled them. When most held in subjection, they turned their thoughts to a coming Deliverer, Divine yet human, who should release them from bondage and place them in triumph at the head of human affairs.

General moral condition of Israel.



SUPPOSED FORM OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.

CHAPTER III.

The Jewish Priesthood and Temples; the Psalms and Philosophical Wisdom.

The priesthood.—Aaron.—The high priest's dress.—Urim and Thummim.—Special functions of high priest.—The later high priests.—The hereditary priests.—The Levites.—The temple at Jerusalem.—Dimensions and structure.—The ark and cherubim.—The temple services.—Zerubbabel's temple.—Herod's temple.—Religious growth of Israel.—Samuel.—David.—The Psalms.—Testimony of Athanasius, Luther, and Edward Irving.—Interpretation of Psalms.—Messianic Psalms.—Characteristics of the Psalms.—Future life.—Growth of the Psalter.—The five books of Psalms.—The Proverbs.—Praise of utility.—The eulogy of wisdom.—Ecclesiastes.—Variety of opinions.—The book of Job.—Diversity of views about it.—Its loftiness of thought.—Salient problems dealt with.—Job's patience.—Future life and judgment.—Job and Elihu.—The Theophany.

THE original family priests of Israel, when the patriarch ceased to perform all religious rites himself, were the eldest sons; and it was a great change from this system when a special tribe engrossed priestly duties. This is recorded as having been the work of the new religious development which dated from Moses, which, including as it did loftier ideas, more complex observances, and numerous new laws, tended to become from the first associated with that family to which the new ideas and their propagation had been committed. Probably Aaron had, during Moses' absence in Midian, been already stirring up his people to revolt against the Egyptians; but his character, much less original and steadfast than his brother's, so far yielded to opportunism as to become the instrument of the worship of Jehovah under the image of a golden calf, which led to a kind of festival very repugnant to Moses, and to one of the grandest manifestations of the great leader's self-suppression and willingness to give himself for his people. But Aaron's sin having sprung from a desire to yield to popular sentiment in order that he might turn it towards the true worship, he was not therefore incapacitated for becoming the first high priest of Israel; but his ordination was through Moses. It was celebrated

The priesthood.

Aaron.

by a sin-offering, a burnt-offering, and a meat-offering, the putting on of special robes, anointing with oil, the offering of a ram of consecration, and the sprinkling of its blood upon Aaron and his sons as well as upon the altar and its vessels. Aaron's special priesthood was distinctly guarded by the punishment of his sons Nadab and Abihu for "offering strange fire" on the altar, and of Korah and the Levites for rebelling against his supremacy. Aaron's tendency to presumption and self-confidence is shown more than once in the Biblical narrative, and it is typical of the character subsequently maintained by the priesthood, which became conservative of established tradition and of sacerdotal rights rather than possessed of a reforming and elevating spirit.

The high priest wore a special dress, including: (1) A tunic of linen, called an ephod, in two parts, back and front, clasped together at either shoulder by a large onyx, with the names of six of the tribes engraved on it; round the waist it was bound by a girdle of gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine linen. (2) A breastplate, fastened to the onyx-stones and the girdle, and having four rows of three precious stones, each having the name of one of Israel's sons upon it. These stones may themselves have constituted the "Urim and Thummim" (Light and Perfection), which were the medium through which Divine answers were obtained by the high priest. Some think that it was a plate of gold on which the name of Jehovah was engraved, and that by fixing his attention on it, the priest was elevated into the prophetic spirit. A more plausible theory is, that the Urim was a symbol of Light, analogous to the scarabæus similarly worn by the Egyptian priests; while the Thummim was a symbolic image of Truth, such as was worn by the priestly judges of Egypt. This Egyptian origin accords with their not being described in the Pentateuch, as being so well known to the people. Dean Plumptre (Dictionary of Bible, Art. "Urim and Thummim") suggests that the high priest, fixing his gaze on these symbols, concentrated his thoughts on the Light and Perfection they represented, and on the holy name of Jehovah. Thence he passed into an ecstatic state in which all lower human elements were forgotten, and he received a higher insight which was accepted as Divine. (3) A blue "robe of the ephod," worn beneath it, trimmed with pomegranates, in blue, red, and crimson, with a golden bell between each alternate pomegranate. (4) A mitre, or upper turban, having a gold plate fastened to it by a ribbon, and bearing the inscription "Holiness to Jehovah." Besides these, the high priest wore, in common with the subordinate priests, an embroidered coat or tunic, with girdle and drawers. A simple linen turban was worn by the priests instead of the high priest's mitre.

The high priest's dress.

Urim and Thummim.

The special functions of the high priest will already have been partly gathered from the account of ceremonies. To him alone was it permitted to enter the inner sanctuary, or Holy of Holies, once a year on the great day of atonement. During the high priest's lifetime persons who had fled to a city of refuge might not quit it. The high priest was forbidden to rend his clothes for the dead,

Special functions of high priest.

or to follow a funeral. In other particulars his functions might vary greatly with circumstances; but so long as his character commanded the people's reverence, he was the interpreter of the will of God to the people, and cast the sacred lots to determine important questions. But in later times, when the priesthood became more formal and conservative, these functions passed largely into the hands of the prophets, and at times there was antagonism between the priestly and prophetical classes. It is worthy of notice, that in the account of the dedication of Solomon's Temple, the high priest is not mentioned; the new royal power had eclipsed him. Indeed, this was largely the case during the monarchy. After the Babylonian captivity the high priest again became prominent. Jaddua, high priest at the time of Alexander the Great, met him in procession, and was treated reverentially by him. To Simon the Just is ascribed the completion of the Old Testament canon. During his brother Eleazar's priesthood the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was made at Alexandria for Ptolemy Philadelphus. The degeneracy of Eleazar's successors was followed by the brilliant revival of the priesthood in the family of the Maccabees, which lasted from B.C. 153 to 35, when Aristobulus was murdered by order of his brother-in-law, Herod the "Great." Henceforward the high priesthood was more degraded than it had ever been. Herod and his successors made and unmade high priests at will, often men of low birth; and in the 107 years preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, there had been twenty-eight high priests.

The later high priests.

The Jewish priests (*kohen*), as an order, appear to have been constituted especially out of the family and descendants of Aaron. We only read of the consecration of his sons, and afterwards the office was hereditary, until Jeroboam, in founding the kingdom of Israel, appointed a fresh priesthood. They wore linen garments and caps whenever they ministered in the Tabernacle or Temple, where they always went barefooted. No descendant of Aaron with any physical defect might act as priest. They were forbidden to shave their heads, or to imitate other priesthoods either in asceticism or licentiousness. In every way they were trained and designed to be able to clearly distinguish between what was clean and unclean, sacred and profane. After the Captivity, great stress was laid on genealogical proof of true descent and on examination for physical blemishes before the Sanhedrim admitted a youth to take part in the Temple services.

The hereditary priests.

Abundant work was assigned to the priests. Besides assisting the high priests, they had to keep the altar fire and the golden lamp perpetually burning, to offer the regular morning and evening sacrifices, and to be in readiness to receive any worshipper and offer sacrifice, or otherwise do the priest's office for him. The judgment about leprosy, the ordeal of the waters of jealousy, and numerous other decisions were committed to them, and they were in general charged with the religious instruction of the people. In return they received a regular maintenance of one-tenth of the tithes assigned to the Levites, and large portions of the sacrificial offerings. In the time of David the priests were divided into twenty-four courses or sets,

each of which took the services for a week at a time; but this order did not prevent others, out of their turn, from taking a share in the services, particularly at the great festivals. On the return from the Captivity, only four of these courses remained; but the twenty-four were constituted anew out of the remnant. In later Jewish times they largely increased in number, and many of them were poor, ignorant, and despised. It is very probable that the "high places" so often referred to in Jewish history were supplied with priests claiming descent from Aaron; but they went further than this, and officiated as priests of Baal, of the sun and moon, and of the "host of heaven," as the prophets testify.

The priesthood which belonged to the Levites as distinct from the sons of Aaron dated apparently from their rallying round Moses and Aaron after the Israelites had worshipped the golden calf, when they consecrated themselves to defend the Tabernacle and the pure worship of Jehovah. After that they were adopted in place of the first-born as priests, and obtained a maintenance from the other tribes, and numerous privileges. During the wilderness wanderings they carried all the tabernacle treasures, all the appliances of sacrifice. They gained increased influence when the Israelites had settled in Palestine, became diffused in forty-eight cities and their suburbs throughout the land, and received shares of booty taken in war. In the times of David and Solomon they appear as hymn-writers and musicians, taking a prominent part in the services at Jerusalem; but we have no definite information as to how they were replaced from the provincial cities. Later, they appear as scribes, officers, judges, and teachers. In Deuteronomy the offices of preserving, copying, and interpreting the Law are assigned to them, and they were to read it aloud at the Feast of Tabernacles every seventh year, and to pronounce the curses from Mount Ebal. After the formation of the kingdom of Israel they left it to a large extent, and gathered closely into connection with Jerusalem and the Temple, showing themselves in Hezekiah's time more zealous and upright in heart than the priests; thus they acquired greater influence than ever in both Hezekiah's and Josiah's reigns. They were less numerous after the Captivity, and did not take any special part in the formation of synagogues, though they retained precedence in them, and were a majority in the Sanhedrim; but the Levites in general were only the inferior officers of the Temple. After its destruction they sank into the general mass of subdued, captive, or dispersed Jews.

The Levites.

THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.

The change from a wandering and a conquering life to a settled and powerful dominion was marked by the construction of a sacred building which, while not rivalling in architecture and magnificence the great temples of Egypt and Mesopotamia, was yet a splendid monument of royal devotion. The design and planning of the Temple are in large part ascribed to David, who collected much of the treasure and engaged many of the workmen. Its site was Mount Moriah, north-east of Mount Zion, the

altar being placed where David offered sacrifice on the staying of the pestilence which followed his census. This site being uneven in its upper portion, and not squared into areas suitable for the temple-courts, its dimensions were corrected by Solomon, who built gigantic walls as a substructure to support the upper buildings.

The idea of the new Temple was plainly borrowed from that of the Tabernacle, whose dimensions it doubled. The Holy of Holies measured twenty cubits every way; the outer court was forty cubits long by twenty broad, but it was raised to thirty cubits in height to support three outer stories of chambers for the priests and temple servers; while the east end had a porch ten cubits in depth, and decorated with two immense bronze pillars with magnificent lily-shaped capitals. The roof was probably flat, and any openings for light could only be made in the part of the Temple wall that rose above the side stories. Probably the Holy of Holies was quite dark. Outside the Temple proper was a great court of similar shape. The internal ornamentation of this Temple was magnificent; but we must leave details to be gathered from the narrative in 1 Kings.

Dimensions and structure.

Within the Holy of Holies was placed the Ark, as it had been handed down for centuries; but to accord with the greater magnificence of the Temple, two huge cherubim were set up in it, whose wings were of such dimensions as jointly to stretch entirely across the building. They were placed at a height of ten cubits above the floor, and could not be seen through the door from the Holy Place. In this latter was a gilded altar and a table for shew-bread, and, according to 2 Chronicles, ten tables with a golden candlestick on each. There were, besides, a huge bronze altar in the fore-court, and a vast laver of bronze, with vessels termed bases, in which water could be conveyed thence wherever needed. The consecration of this Temple, after seven years and a half had been occupied in its erection, was the most magnificent ceremony in Israelitish history. The sacrifices were of enormous extent, and an overpowering impression of the presence of Jehovah awed the worshippers.

The Ark and Cherubim.

We have many evidences of the magnificence with which some of the kings kept up the Temple services, as well as of the riches which it contained. The successive spoliations which it underwent from the Egyptians, and for tribute to other foreign powers, still left sufficient treasure in it to furnish a great booty for Nebuchadnezzar; and then it was, as far as fire could effect it, completely destroyed.

The Temple services.

The temple of Zerubbabel, erected about 520 B.C., after the return of the Jews from Babylon, is but little known in detail. Apparently the outer buildings were increased in width, and the total length of the courts was considerably increased; but necessarily the magnificence was much diminished, and, above all, it did not contain the Ark of the Covenant, which had been lost or destroyed, and no copy of it was made. Nor was the high priest any more equipped with the breastplate, so essential in the consultation of the sacred oracle. But yet, so far as the machinery of routine worship and sacrifice were concerned, the

Zerubbabel's temple.

priests were enabled once more to carry out the essentials of Jehovah's service, and to lay an increased stress on the public reading and the observance of the Law.

How far this temple survived the lapse of time and the injuries of such tyrants and devastators as Antiochus Epiphanes, cannot be ascertained; but there is some probability that the essential features of the structure survived and were incorporated in the magnificent structure raised by Herod the Great (B.C. 20–12). This monarch not only enclosed the central portion in an extensive inner enclosure, reserved for Jews only, about 180 cubits by 240, adorned with splendid porches and gateways, but surrounded the whole with a much larger enclosure, open also to Gentiles, 400 cubits square, constructed with great engineering skill and splendour, vieing with that of the greatest temples of other countries. This was furnished with a complete series of flat-roofed cloisters, supported by double rows of Corinthian columns: on the outer side was the closed temple wall, internally the space was open to the great outer court of the temple. On the southern side, however, there was added to this a great porch, or practically a nave and two aisles, the whole 100 feet wide, and the nave rising to a height of 100 feet. In total length, this "porch" was longer than our largest English cathedrals, extending to 600 feet, and supported by 160 Corinthian columns.

Herod's temple.

RELIGIOUS GROWTH OF ISRAEL.

Going back now to trace some features in the religious development of Israel, we need only note how thoroughly the conquest of Canaan under Joshua and his successors was inspired by the belief in Jehovah's divine commission to the people, and in His presence and aid in battle, the connection of this belief with the necessity for much slaughter of the peoples whom they conquered, and the destruction of their idols. After Joshua's death the nation had no continuous head but the High Priest, who probably presided over the Assembly of the Elders of the tribes, and declared the will of Jehovah after consulting the oracle. Shiloh, north of Bethel, was for many years the most usual seat of the Tabernacle and residence of the High Priest. The cessation of united organisation for war gave place to dissolving and weakening influences; the Canaanites at various times regained power, and the worship of their gods was extended; and we hear very little of the High Priests or of the Assembly of Elders for a long period. The priestly character degenerated till it became a byword in the sons of Eli, when there arose the first of the great series of Prophets to call back the people to the purer service of Jehovah, to denounce prevalent sins, and to elevate the national ideal. Samuel appears not to have introduced any new principles, but he purified the national worship, established his jurisdiction as a pure judge, and when he found that loyalty to an invisible ruler failed to unite and preserve the people in stable order and content, he anointed the most notable young warrior of his time as king, and, as far as in him lay, established the kingdom in righteousness.

Samuel.

His distinction as a man possessed of insight into affairs human and divine was made evident by many circumstances. He is a religious leader outside the Aaronic priesthood, although his training under Eli practically adopted him into it; but he exalted the prophetic teaching conveyed through himself above the functions of the priests. "To obey is better than sacrifice," he powerfully asserted, and his lesson has embedded itself in the higher religious conscience of mankind.

Samuel's appearance was but the first-fruit of an awakening which established "schools of the prophets," or religious companies, which manifested and trained gifts of speech and song that soon became notable. Probably David,—recognised in his early youth by Samuel as Saul's successor,—in such schools matured those gifts which have made him even more famous as the sweet singer than as the powerful King of Israel.

David's religious importance, in addition to the study of his character and history as impartially detailed to us in the Old Testament, consists in his development of public worship and his contributions to sacred literature. Although, contrary to the notion which has grown up among English people, the majority of the Psalms are not the composition of David, they derived their original stamp, their pattern, their highest flights from him, and are rightly associated most distinctively with his name. No man has more vividly or truly expressed the depths of human experience, the heights of religious aspiration, the strength of conviction as to God's nature, prerogatives, and care for His people. Athanasius says of the Psalms that they are to him who sings them as a mirror, wherein he may see himself and the motions of his soul, and with like feelings utter them. Luther says in his preface to the Psalms: "Where will you find words more aptly chosen to express joy, than in the Psalms of praise and the Psalms of thanksgiving? There thou mayest look into the heart of all the saints, as into fair delightful gardens, yea, even into heaven itself, and note with what wonderful variety there spring up therein, like so many exquisite, hearty, delightful flowers, sweet and gladsome thoughts of God and His benefits. On the other hand, where canst thou find deeper, sadder, more lamentable words of sorrow than are to be found in the Psalms of complaint? There again thou mayest look into the heart of all the saints, as into death, yea, as into hell. How dark and gloomy it is there with the manifold hiding of God's countenance! So likewise, when the Psalms speak of fear or hope, they speak in such manner of words that no painter could so paint the fear or the hope, and no Cicero or master of oratory could express them to the life more happily."

David.

The Psalms.

Testimony of Athanasius, of Luther,

Edward Irving wrote thus of the Psalms: "For pure pathos and tenderness of heart, for sublime imagination, for touching pictures of natural scenery, and genial sympathy with Nature's various moods; for patriotism, whether in national weal or national woe; for beautiful imagery, whether derived from the relationship of human life or the forms of the created universe; and for the illustration, by their help,

and Edward Irving.

of spiritual conditions; moreover, for those rapid transitions in which the lyrical muse delighteth, her lightsome graces at one time, her deep and full inspiration at another, her exuberance of joy and her lowest falls of grief, and for every other form of the natural soul which is wont to be shadowed forth by this kind of composition, we challenge anything to be produced from the literature of all ages and countries, worthy to be compared with what we find even in the English version of the Book of Psalms."

After considering very many sublime passages of the Psalms, it may be safely said, that if the term "inspired," as signifying a gift of language and thought in a superhuman way, may not be applied to them, it can scarcely be applied to anything; and the general adoption of their language by Christians in devotion proves their correspondence with the wants and feelings of the soul. There are, however, very wide divergences of opinion, even among orthodox divines, as to the interpretation of many passages, showing that there is no theory of inspiration sufficiently agreed upon to settle all difficulties or to obviate the need of either ecclesiastical or private judgment. The most important question about the interpretation of the Psalms, is their reference to the Messiah expected by the Israelites, in the two characters of a victorious king and a suffering prophet. While there can be no doubt that in most cases there is a primary meaning of the Psalms, applicable to the writer or his subject, many divines point to the confessions of sin as excluding numerous so-called Messianic passages from having a Messianic reference, and maintain that in others such references were not consciously in the mind of the writer, although they have a broad and grand fulfilment in the Person of Christ. All but a few critics agree that the Psalms in many places foreshadow or pre-typify Jesus. Dean Perowne observes: "Nowhere in the Psalms are the redemption of the world and Israel's final glory bound up with the coming of the Messiah. . . . The Advent to which Israel looks forward is the Advent of Jehovah. It is He who is Israel's true King. It is His coming which shall be her redemption and her glory." And Calvin, in commenting on the 72nd Psalm, says: "They who will have this to be simply a prediction of the Kingdom of Christ seem to twist the words very violently." [1]

Interpretation of Psalms.

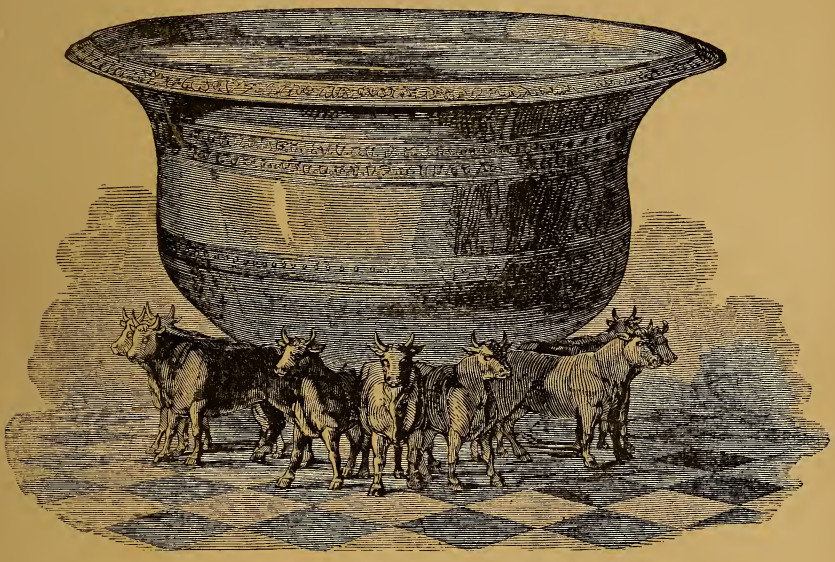
Messianic Psalms.

Apart from this, the Psalms are distinguished beyond all other sacred books by the directness of their appeal to God. No circumstance of life or experience is regarded as hidden from the Supreme Being, or unsuitable to be the subject of direct communion with Him. Frequently life in the midst of trouble or on pinnacles of greatness is associated with God in such a way that the human and the Divine belong

Characteristics of the Psalms.

[1] We may here give the Messianic foreshadowings from the Psalms given in the New Testament: xxii. 18 (John xiii. 18); xxxiv. 20 (John xix. 36); xli. 9 (John xiii. 18); lxix. 10 (Rom. xv. 3); lxix. 21 (John xix. 28). In addition, "In Ps. xxxv. 11 we have a foreshadowing of the false testimony against Jesus; in Ps. xxii. 7, 8, lxix. 12, of the revilings; in Ps. xxii. 16, of the piercing of the hands and feet; in Ps. lxix. 21, of the offering of the gall and vinegar" (Cheyne).

to one cycle of being, inseparably related. The views of the Divine greatness and majesty developed in the Psalms contain some of the sublimest of all poetic expressions, and add emphasis to the frequent repudiations and denunciations of idolatry. Worship, by songs and music, prayer and praise, public and private worship, is abundantly inculcated; but there is little stress laid on sacrifices, compared with the obedience of the heart to the Divine law, and the consecration of the life to righteousness. Sin is laid bare in its inner working in the soul, and as inherent in human nature by birth; but forgiveness of the true penitent's sin by Jehovah is asserted, and the assistance of God's "Holy Spirit" is besought in efforts after righteousness. Evil is recompensed to the evil-doer, and good will befall the righteous;



THE "MOLTEN SEA" UPON THE TWELVE OXEN IN SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

and both will, in part, be handed on to their children. The instruction of others by the righteous is exemplified and encouraged, and in a few passages, such as Psalm vii. 4, kindness to enemies is dimly suggested. But the imprecations upon wilful transgressors of Jehovah's laws and defiers of His greatness are as severe as denunciations can be, affording a counterpart to the Commination Service of the Church of England. On the other hand, little distinct mention of a future life is made. In some of the Psalms, indeed, the state of man after death is spoken of as non-existence. In death there is no remembrance of God, we are told, nor is there any access to Him for them that lie down in silence. Yet, at times, there are glimpses of a happy future for the righteous (Ps. xvii. 15; xlix. 15; and if the reading "to," rather than "with," glory be accepted, in

Future life.

Ps. lxxiii. 24), and of a future judgment, when the good will be rewarded and the evil punished.[1]

So much might be said on questions connected with the Psalms,—that "Bible within the Bible," as it has been called,—that it is difficult to choose or to abstain. But our main concern here is with the place of the Psalms in the religious history of Israel. Their matter is universally known; able criticism upon them is accessible, though unfortunately at considerable cost, in works such as those of Perowne and Cheyne. Consequently, we shall not discuss whether all the Psalms attributed to David in the inscriptions are by him, or whether, as some say, only eleven entire Psalms and portions of others are certainly his. It is acknowledged that the Psalms represent the growth of centuries, extending from the very early 90th Psalm, ascribed to Moses, to the date of the Maccabees, according to some; that they grew out of smaller collections, made at different times by zeal like that of the "men of Hezekiah," who collected Solomon's Proverbs, and that it is now impossible to ascertain when the inscriptions, which are not integral parts of the Psalms, were added, or upon what evidence. A considerable proportion of the Psalms, doubtless, beyond those of David, belong to his age,—to the singers and poets whom he gathered round him. Only two Psalms are ascribed to Solomon. The times of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah witnessed the collection and arrangement of many Psalms. Others were written in connection with the Assyrian and Babylonish captivities; but the greatest outpouring of sacred song, after David's era, was connected with and inspired by the return from Babylon. The Psalms known as Pilgrim Songs, or Songs of the Going-up, belong to this period, and one set (cxiii.–cxviii.) constituted the Hallel, sung at the Passover, Pentecost, etc. A strong national element marks this later psalmody, with less of the anguish or exultation of personal individual experience. Some of the Psalms, which are most confidently referred to the much later time of the desecration of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, are the 44th, 74th, and 79th.

Growth of the Psalter.

Altogether, the Psalms consist of five books; but how early this division existed cannot be said: and each book consists of one or more groups, many ascribed to the same authors, or sets of authors, being grouped together. "The first book," says Dean Perowne, "consists, with two or three exceptions, of Psalms of David; the second, of a series of Psalms by the sons of Korah, and another series by David; the third, of two minor collections, one supposed to be by Asaph, and the other by the sons of Korah. In the fifth we have one group of Pilgrim Songs and another group of 'Hallelujah Psalms,' each of them manifestly, in the first instance, distinct hymn-books or liturgies." The first book uses the name Jehovah about eighteen times, as often as Elohim; in the next two books the latter name is chiefly used. From Psalm lxxxv. to the end, and especially in Books IV. and V., the name Jehovah is almost exclusively em-

The Five Books of Psalms.

[1] For "The Doctrine of a Future Life as Contained in the Old Testament Scriptures," see Geden's Fernley Lecture, 1874.

ployed. There are indications that chronological order has been disturbed in the existing arrangement; and in many psalms, additions, omissions, and other alterations were made after their composition. Specimens of such alterations are found in psalms which are partially repeated either as psalms or in some other Old Testament book. The inscriptions, too, "are sometimes genuine, and really represent the most ancient tradition. At other times they are due to the caprice of later editors and collectors, the fruits of conjecture, or of dimmer and more uncertain traditions" (Perowne).

Similarly to the Psalms, the Proverbs ascribed to Solomon are now acknowledged to form a composite work, which was probably only put together three centuries after the age of Solomon (Plumptre); and it is a question whether any of the actual sayings of Solomon are preserved in it, for much of the matter scarcely agrees with his character, or the thought of his age. The central portion of the book (x.–xxii. 16) is probably the earliest. This is followed by several appendices, especially one extending from xxv. to xxix. The preliminary "Praise of Wisdom" shows many marks of distinct origin from the rest of the book, but even Canon Cheyne does not date it later than near the fall of the kingdom of Judah.

The Proverbs.

Perhaps the most characteristic note of the main portion of the Proverbs is its utilitarianism. The benefits arising from wise conduct, and the evils produced by the reverse, are pointedly expressed. Jehovah and His service are extolled, the king is revered, and the glory of a nation is said to be its righteousness. We have indications that monogamy prevails, and that women are highly regarded, and good family government is praised. As regards the hope of immortality, it is disputed whether distinct reference is made to it. We are told that the king's heart is plastic in the hand of Jehovah, and that the glory of a nation consists in its righteousness. But on the whole, we cannot say that the central portion of the Book of Proverbs greatly enlarged or developed the Jewish religious ideals, although it put many of its ideas in a more popular form. The latest appendix develops an ideal of womanhood more full and detailed, more noble and attractive, than had till then been found in the Hebrew Scriptures—in attributing to the virtuous woman wisdom, and kindness, sympathy, and help for the afflicted.

Praise of utility.

The grandest and most inspiring portion of the book is undoubtedly the preliminary "Praise of Wisdom" (ch. i.–ix.), especially part of chapter viii. Many divines agree that the description of Wisdom here, if not prophetic of Jesus Christ, is only applicable in its full meaning to Him, especially when He is regarded as identical with the Creative Word. This Divine Wisdom is represented as brought forth and set up "from everlasting," before any creation existed, and as actively present in all subsequent creation. Incidentally in this section, we have one of those pregnant sayings which have been the consolation of multitudes under suffering: "Whom Jehovah loves, He chastens, even as a father the son in whom he delights."

The Eulogy of Wisdom.

The Book of Ecclesiastes, the Preacher or Debater (Koheleth), as Dean Plumptre says, comes before us as the sphinx of Hebrew literature. "It has become almost a proverb, that every interpreter of this book thinks that all previous interpreters have been wrong. Its very title has received some dozen discordant interpretations. The dates assigned to its authorship by competent experts range over very nearly a thousand years, from B.C. 990 to B.C. 10." While, on the one hand, many stick firmly to its apparent authorship by Solomon, others, led by Luther, regard it as a later book, the author of which dramatically puts himself into the supposed position of the wise and experienced Solomon. Luther, in his "Table Talk," says: "Solomon did not write the Book, 'The Preacher,' himself, but it was composed by Sirach in the time of the Maccabees." Others point to the many words in it which only occur in books written after the exile, and Dr. Ginsburg states that, "We could as easily believe that Chaucer is the author of 'Rasselas,' as that Solomon wrote 'Koheleth.'" One of the most powerful evidences for its late date is, that we find no external mention of it before the Talmud, which speaks in a tone of doubt as to its authority. Several learned critics place it in the period of Persian rule over Judæa; others, among whom Mr. Tyler is conspicuous, find in the book plain indications of the influence of the Stoic and the Epicurean philosophies, which are contrasted with one another, and alternately adopted or thrown aside. There can be no doubt as to the parallelisms of sentiment between the Greek systems and the philosophy of Koheleth, and Dean Plumptre speaks of the book as "saturated with Greek thought and language." Mr. Tyler and Dean Plumptre date the book about B.C. 200 to B.C. 180. But many experienced critics are still unconvinced, and regard the author of Ecclesiastes as a comparatively early Jewish thinker, whose ideas are rather the germ of systematic ethical philosophy, and whose expressions have a predominantly Hebrew aspect.

Ecclesiastes.

Variety of opinions.

Readers do not need reminding of the contents of Ecclesiastes. It does not reveal new matter in theology; rather it tends to show that, apart from some Divine explanation, the system of the world is disheartening and incomprehensible, and that there is no certainty of a future rectification. Dean Plumptre has drawn out a highly interesting and suggestive ideal biography of the Preacher, which forms a setting for his thought, indispensable to students. Many think the last portion (xii. 8–14) was added by a subsequent writer as a summary, with a religious precept, "Fear God, and keep His commandments"; but it is by no means foreign to Hebrew style, that the author should have also written the Epilogue.

The Book of Job is unique in the Old Testament, in its poetic grandeur and in its philosophy; and this is saying a great deal. It might appear that it should be easy to date such a book; but it is the most variously dated book, perhaps, in the Canon—for some consider it to be pre-Mosaic, others that it was written by Moses; many date it in Solomon's time, while another school refer it to the period of the exile. Even its style and references, precise as they seem, are variously viewed by different

The Book of Job.

SHAPHAN READING THE BOOK OF THE LAW BEFORE KING JOSIAH.

writers, some regarding the lack of reference to Mosaic legislation and Jewish history as proving its very early date, others seeing in this only a detachment from ordinary events and concentration on the problem that is studied. Many have regarded the book as a faithful description of actual events throughout, even as to the Divine dialogue with Satan; others see in it a traditional narrative based on a real case, and expanded by a later philosopher. The parallelisms discoverable between it, the Proverbs, Psalms, etc., have been said to be caused by the author of Job having read these books, while the converse is assumed by others. The fact is, that on many points connected with the Book of Job, no positive answer can be given, for no positive proofs are now attainable. We are driven to the contents of the book itself, which are what is really most important. And one can scarcely help admitting that it marks a development in thought, in conception of the world and of its government, of grasp of evidence, of power of discussion, of depth of insight, as well as sublimity of expression, which, taken altogether, places it later, regarded as a product of the human mind, than the writings we have hitherto considered—excepting, of course, the later Psalms. This view does not, of course, exclude the possibility that a work, which is later in the order of thought, may have come into existence at an earlier date than we should expect. And, again, it is dangerous to infer that what the writer of a book does not say he did not know.

Diversity of views about it.

Its loftiness of thought.

The book may be regarded as a statement of the most painful problems in the government of the world—the physical and mental trials of the righteous, and the justification of God's dealing with good men. Both Job and his friends are introduced as possessed by the idea that prosperity followed the righteous as adversity overwhelmed the sinful; and the book shows—to quote the Rev. S. Cox—"in the most tragic and pathetic way, that good, no less than wicked, men lie open to the most cruel losses and sorrows; that these losses and sorrows are not always signs of the Divine anger against sin; that they are intended to correct and perfect the righteousness of the righteous. . . . Its higher intention is, to show that God is capable of inspiring, by showing that man is capable of cherishing, that genuine and disinterested affection which is the very soul of goodness; . . . and that man is capable of loving right, simply because it is right, and of hating wrong purely because it is wrong, even though he should not gain by it, but lose." In this sublime book, as Canon Cook remarks in the "Dictionary of the Bible," nearly every theory of the objects and uses of suffering is reviewed; and there are magnificent descriptions of the mystery and majesty of God's works, and vindications of His ways to man. In many ways the Book of Job so far exhausts the subject, that what has really been added since to the argument is essentially slight, with the exception of the Christian hope in a future existence of reward and redress, which many believe to be explicitly foreshadowed in the Book of Job.

Salient problems dealt with.

Here it may be remarked that Job's patience, so proverbial, is not what it is popularly represented to be—a mere quiet endurance under suffering.

True, he endured great physical pain and discomfort with patience; but what could be the reason for it tortured him almost beyond endurance, so that he complained at times in very strong language. The doubt as to God's providence, the feeling of being unjustly treated in comparison with the wicked, as well as the unjust criticisms to which he was subjected, worried him exceedingly, and it was only by huge efforts that he was able to control the unquietness within. His was a patience produced out of the utmost turbulence of spirit, and by no means out of quietism or stoicism.

Job's patience.

As to the extent of belief in a heaven and a future judgment implied in the Book of Job, there is considerable difference of opinion. In chapter x. Job certainly represents the spirit world as "a land of gloom, black as the blackness of death, where there is no order, and the light is darkness." Later, in chapter xiv., he has a glimpse of a possible future existence; if he had the least assurance of it he would gladly endure pain till then; and in the memorable verses 25–27 of chapter xix., he rises to a solemnity of conviction and expression about the future which is one of the prime sentences of inspiration and comfort to multitudes of the human race. In a marvellous burst of confidence, after expressing the wish that his words might be written down, engraved with iron, and filled in with lead or rock, Job says: "I know that my God or Redeemer (or vindicator) liveth, and He shall stand, at last, over this dust (or upon the earth), and after my body hath thus been destroyed, yet (free) from my flesh I shall see God; whom I shall see on my side, and mine own eyes shall behold, not those of another." Notwithstanding all the doubts he had expressed, he was at bottom convinced of the justice and goodness of God, and therefore, failing a present vindication, he had a vision of a future vindication by God Himself. So far there is widespread agreement as to the interpretation of this remarkable passage; but beyond this there are diversities of opinion as to its reference to a bodily resurrection upon this earth, as to its specific prophetic reference to Jesus Christ, and the certainty of retribution in a future life, on which general agreement can by no means be attained. It is remarkable that after such a declaration Job should be represented as again falling into deep despondency; but it is claimed that he never again despairs so greatly, and that his moods are due to the natural alterations caused by his physical state.

Future life and judgment.

Job is depicted as having had a personal character unsurpassed in the Old Testament; and in many ways his conduct is that of an eminent type or foreshadowing of Christ. Elihu contributes to the argument the view that suffering may be corrective and for improvement, as well as punitive; yet he charges Job with secret faults which his sufferings were to induce him to correct. He also supplies, in chapter xxxiii., a very clear view of the ways in which, in his time, God was believed to communicate with and instruct man. And he, equally with Job, believes that God cannot be unjust. The great question to be solved was, Should man impose his law upon God, or God His upon man? Yet in any case he shows that

Job and Elihu.

it is best in many ways for men to be righteous; but a man ought rather to suspect himself of sin than God of injustice. Numerous critics consider there are signs indicating that the speeches of Elihu are a later addition to the book, especially because of the peculiar words it contains, and because there is no reference to Elihu in later parts of the book, and especially in the Divine judgment.

The speech put in the mouth of Jehovah—the Theophany as it is generally called—is inexpressibly grand; yet it is generally felt that it is not convincing or fully explanatory of God's dealings with man. Many consider that this is because no full explanation is possible in man's present state, and because it is of the essence of man's training that a fathomless mystery shall be involved in and be behind his life, compelling his attention to the possibilities of a future one. Job, however, is satisfied with the Divine revelation, perhaps because he has now attained what he had so greatly longed for—actual communion with, and speech from, his Maker. Or, we may take it that the lesson taught was to study God in Nature—a lesson which is being so well learnt in these latter days—and not to dwell on his own personal woes, but rather to contemplate the broad field of existence. We cannot here discuss the questions raised by many as to the Theophany, the prologue and the epilogue, being the work of different writers from the body of the book. In conclusion, we must strongly urge those who wish to gain a true idea of the full meaning of the Book of Job, to read it in the Revised Version, and, if possible, in some commentary like those of Dean Bradley and the Rev. S. Cox.

The Theophany.

CHAPTER IV.

The Prophets of Israel.

Kuenen's views—Greatness of the prophets—The early seers—Elijah—Elisha—Amos, Hosea, and Joel—Their conception of Jehovah's nature—Vision of the ingathering of nations—Isaiah: two authors—Main topics of first portion—"Immanuel" predictions—Isaiah and Jewish history—His grand predictions—The second Isaiah or great unknown—Later date—Prediction of return from exile—The "Servant of the Lord"—Cyrus—Description of the "Servant"—His humiliation and death—Vicarious suffering—The future glory of Zion—Other teachings of the prophet—Micah—Jeremiah—Ezekiel—Daniel—Predictions as to empires of the world—Prediction of Resurrection—Zechariah—Messianic prophecies—Haggai—Malachi.

IN briefly discussing the prophets of Israel, we may quote from Dr. Muir's Summary of Kuenen's argument (Introduction to Kuenen's "Prophets and Prophecy in Israel"), as showing what those who grant least to them say of their work. "In estimating their action, we must take a higher standpoint than the national one, and regard their contribution to the spiritual development of our race as its most important result. Ethical monotheism is their creation. They have themselves ascended to the belief in one only holy and righteous God, who realises His will or moral good in the world, and they have, by preaching and writing, made that belief the inalienable property of humanity. It was not an intellectual or philosophical system, but a religious belief, which they presented. The God of the prophets bore a very different character from that of the Deity of the philosophers of Greece and Rome. Holiness, righteousness, and mercy constituted the very nature of the former." **Kuenen's views.**

We have already spoken of Samuel and David; now we come to Elijah as the next name of high importance. In the prophets of Israel we witness in culmination a form of Divine teaching which has been by no means scantily displayed in our previous narrative. In other forms of religion we have seen reason to believe that no small amount of error, no small amount of imposture, was mixed in their religious teachers with genuine belief in their mission, and genuine services which they rendered to their fellow-tribesmen in their advance in civilisation. The prophets of Israel as a whole (though with many imperfect members) rendered services and gave teaching which place them in the highest rank among religious teachers. They were the seers who, if any persons did, received messages from the Divine; they were pioneers of progress, radical reformers, yet in a conservative fashion, for they sought to conserve the nation by maintaining the national worship of Jehovah, and deepening and strengthening it. Of their organisation we know little. They formed schools or groups; but how a man was admitted to be a prophet we do not **Greatness of the prophets.**

know. Probably his inspiration was either self-evident, or was claimed by himself, and readily admitted. But there is evidence in a remarkable passage in 1 Samuel ix. that the new order of prophets developed out of the older soothsayers or seers, honoured and consulted on account of their knowledge of hidden things. By the time of Elijah they had increased to a large number; they were known as the opponents of the calf-worship and other forms of idolatry that had been introduced into Israel, and the establishment of centres of worship at Dan and Bethel, in rivalry to Jerusalem. At Bethel, a new sanctuary, a rival to the temple at Jerusalem, had been erected, which, during the persistence of the kingdom of Israel, continued to be its great place of worship. We have remarkable accounts of the denunciations by prophets of the new order of things, and predictions of the future destruction and desecration of the new altars. It must be noted, however, that some critics consider these narratives were written after the fulfilments they describe. When Ahab, however, departed from even the calf-worship in which Jehovah had been symbolised, and introduced the gods of his wife Jezebel's native kingdom of Sidon, with many impure and licentious rites, the Gileadite Elijah suddenly appeared before the king and denounced God's vengeance upon him, and predicted a prolonged drought. At some time undefined, Jezebel had ordered the complete destruction of the prophets of Jehovah; and it was against such a persecution that Elijah had to make headway, and finally triumphed. The miracles related in regard to Elijah's preservation are emphatic testimonies to his greatness and to the belief of a later age; and the supreme scene on Carmel is one of the most marvellous and impressive in Biblical records. Like Moses, Elijah was privileged to obtain a nearer sight of the Divine glory and power than other mortals; and to the account of this we are indebted for a phrase which has become proverbial for the inward voice of conscience. But it is unnecessary here to dilate on so well-known a story, especially as no new truths appear to have been revealed by Elijah. The impression he made upon his countrymen is shown by the fact that centuries afterwards it was expected that the calamities of the country were only to be remedied by his reappearance. He was a hero-combatant for the truth against kings and false priests—a witness of the first rank for the Invisible and for the purity of worship. That miracles were ascribed to him is a matter of course, whether on the one hand we believe that such events, in fact, took place as part of the Divine dispensation, or whether, on the other hand, we regard it as the inveterate habit of mankind to ascribe supernatural deeds to those whom they stamp as supremely great.

The early seers.

Elijah.

Elisha, his successor, is an example, in some marked instances, of religious tolerance, in his intercourse with foreign kings, and especially in the permission he gave to Naaman to continue his attendance in the temple of Rimmon. But he chiefly appears as "a worker of prodigies, a predicter of future events, a revealer of secrets and things happening out of sight, or at a distance." ("Dictionary of the Bible.") Thus we see in him, to some extent, a reversion to the type of diviner, soothsayer,

Elisha.

and seer. "It is difficult to help believing" (according to the same authority), "that the anecdotes of his life were thrown into their present shape at a later period." And this, too, accounts, no doubt, for some of the marvels related of him.

In entire consistency with the work of Elijah in denouncing Baal-worship, but extending his denunciations to every form of departure or derogation from pure worship of Jehovah, we come to the cycle of prophets at the end of the ninth and in the eighth centuries B.C., Amos, Hosea, and Joel. Their testimony is expressly important, that, together with noisy feasts, festivals, and sacrifices to Jehovah, there co-existed much image calf-worship in His name, as well as Baal and Ashera worship, with licentious rites, and witchcraft and soothsaying abounded. Against these evils they protested mightily, as their books show, meeting with great opposition because they predicted the downfall of Israel unless these things were amended. Their conception of the character of Jehovah is most lofty. He is the one God, pure and holy, desiring spiritual worship, and the practice of mercy and right-eousness by His servants. Festivals and assemblies are denounced. "I desire mercy, and not sacrifices," is the keynote of their teaching. "Intemperance and luxury, oppression of the poor, of widows and orphans, unjust appropriation of another's goods, dishonesty in trade, the sordid pursuit of gain, harshness towards debtors—these are some of the sins which the prophets combat zealously." But although judgments and calamities are announced, hope is given of a glorious future. The language of Hosea is quoted by St. Paul as describing the conversion of the Gentiles; he speaks of a time when Israel shall be betrothed to God for ever. In one passage there is a promise of ransom from the power of the grave.

Amos, Hosea, and Joel.

Their conception of Jehovah's nature.

Joel was a prophet of Judah as Hosea was of Israel. In view of a terrible series of calamities then occurring or impending, he exhorted the people to repent and return to Jehovah, when an era of prosperity would again dawn; after which God would extend the blessings of His religion to all lands. A glowing vision is depicted of a future time, when the "Spirit of the Lord" should be poured out, attended by great wonders and a gathering of all nations. Many expressions of this prophet are interpreted of the outpouring on the Day of Pentecost, and of numerous events in Christian history. Amos, after all his denunciations, concludes with a prediction of the future restoration of Israel to power and greatness after calamity.

Vision of the ingathering of nations.

It is now so generally agreed that the prophetic book entitled "Isaiah" is composed of two portions at least, written by different authors (i. to xxxix., xl. to lxvi.), that we shall only briefly note the points which are regarded as deciding this. Isaiah wrote at Jerusalem, and lived in the reigns of Uzziah, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; while the second writer, plainly and throughout, belongs to the period of the exile. The Babylonian captivity is presupposed as having already lasted a long time. The work is written to comfort the exiles. In it Jerusalem is depicted in

Isaiah: two authors.

ruins, Judæa is ravaged and depopulated, and the nation is captive. Cyrus is spoken of as the destined deliverer of the people, and as a contemporary. Although there are undoubted resemblances between the two writers, it is

JEREMIAH AT THE GATE, DENOUNCING JUDGMENT UPON JERUSALEM.

claimed that this only shows that the later writer had assimilated the spirit of the former; while there are certain strong divergences of style. But yet there are serious difficulties in explaining why the later book was incorporated with the earlier, and why there is no mention of its author's name.

The Book of Isaiah proper, containing discourses or narratives of diverse dates, is not arranged chronologically, and does not appear to have been arranged by the author. Many critics believe that several portions were written by a different hand. The main topic of Isaiah is denunciation of wickedness, both in Judah and in other nations, and the punishments which will follow. Many passages describe the idolatry and the image-worship of his time, and the excess of offerings and feasts to Jehovah, compared with the lack of justice and mercy. He pictures a high ideal of a righteous character, scorning bribes and abhorring bloodshed, speaking truth, and doing justly. He has a special dislike to the lofty and proud, all of whom, he says, shall be brought low. He definitely predicted the captivity in Babylon to Hezekiah.

Main topics of first portion.

In Isaiah's view, "A marvel or miracle," says Professor Robertson Smith,[1] "is a work of Jehovah directed to confound the religion of formalism, to teach men that Jehovah's rule is a real thing, and not a traditional convention to be acknowledged in formulas learned by rote; and the mark of such a work is not that it breaks through laws of nature—a conception which had no existence for Isaiah—but that all man's wisdom and foresight stand abashed before it. The whole career of Assyria is part of the marvel that confounds the hypocrisy and formalism of Judah." (See Isa. xxix. 13, 14.)

One of Isaiah's favourite phrases is "the Holy One of Israel," and his conception of God predominantly sets forth His majesty and holiness. Very grand is his view of the universal worship of Jehovah "at the end of the days," with its accompaniment of universal peace (ii. 2–4); but he rises still higher in the "Immanuel" predictions, in chapters vii. and ix. Often held to be a clear prediction of the birth of Christ of a virgin, scholars point out that the word used in vii. 14 is not the ordinary Hebrew word for virgin, and is not exclusively applicable to one who was unmarried; the Revised Version offers in the margin the alternative rendering "maiden." Professor Driver remarks, in his valuable "Isaiah: his Life and Times," "The language of Isaiah forces upon us the conviction that the figure of Immanuel is an ideal one, projected by him upon the shifting future—upon the nearer future in chapter vii., upon the remoter future in chapter ix., but grasped by the prophet as a living and real personality, the Guardian of his country now, its Deliverer and Governor hereafter. . . . It is the Messianic King, whose portrait is here, for the first time in the Old Testament, sketched distinctly. Earlier prophets or psalmists had told of the promises bestowed upon David, and had spoken of the permanence thus assured to David's line, but by Isaiah these comparatively vague hopes are more closely defined, being centred upon a concrete personality, to whose character we shall find fresh traits added more than thirty years afterwards in chapter xi."

"Immanuel" predictions.

We cannot detail the successive prophecies and warnings of Isaiah as relating to the history of Israel; but all through his public life he exhibited in perfection that admirable character of the true statesman given four

[1] Robertson Smith, "Prophets of Israel," p. 315.

centuries later by Demosthenes, in his oration "On the Crown," that of "discerning events in their beginnings, being beforehand in the selection of movements and tendencies, and forewarning his countrymen accordingly; fighting against the political vices of procrastination, supineness, ignorance, and party jealousy; and impressing on all the paramount importance of unity, and the duty of providing promptly for their country's needs." His predictions were by no means always realised; and many of them, while not receiving the contemporary fulfilment he expected, have been but partially fulfilled in the Messianic kingdom, or still wait their realisation. Speaking in a religious sense, it may be said that the ideals he described, the glowing and pure visions which he projected upon the future, are more important than the literal fulfilments of them which have yet been seen, and which have differed very materially from what he appears to have expected. Isaiah's descriptions of the majesty and holiness of the Divine Being, the certainty of His pure and just judgments, the imperishableness of the Divine kingdom of Zion, the exquisite consummation of the Messianic kingdom, remain among the very greatest treasures of the religious soul of mankind. The ingathering of the Gentiles to the Divine kingdom is predicted in very detailed language. The literary characteristics of Isaiah are so well known that it is unnecessary to dwell on them; by common consent, Isaiah reaches the front rank in the Old Testament.

Isaiah and Jewish history.

His grand predictions.

Although not in chronological sequence, it is convenient to deal here with the great unknown who wrote the latter part of the Book of Isaiah, in the period of the Babylonish exile of the Jews, in the sixth century B.C., when, as the prophet writes, Jerusalem and the temple were in ruins, the Babylonian empire was apparently secure, and the exiles were in despair or indifferent, thinking God had forgotten them. This period, like other critical seasons, produced its great genius, able to rouse his people to their mission, to raise among them a high ideal, and to present pictures of a future which would more than compensate for the miseries of the past. The period within which those prophecies may most reasonably be believed to have been written is 549-538 B.C., during which Cyrus was growing in success and fame. Comfort is proclaimed for the people of Jehovah, and God's glory and power in laying low human pride are set forth. Israel's oppressors are mortal; Jehovah will return to Zion as a Conqueror, bringing back His people. A magnificent description of the power of Jehovah is forcibly contrasted with the impotence of the gods and idols of the heathen. Even Cyrus's career of conquest was ordered and controlled by Jehovah.

The second Isaiah, or "Great Unknown."

Later date.

Prediction of return from exile.

In chapter xlii. a new figure is introduced, destined to be the most striking in the book, the "Servant of Jehovah," an ideal personage invested with the grandest characteristics of the Israelites, and with others in addition, and destined to exert a world-wide influence. He is to teach the world true religion, and to effectually restore Israel. Here we find a full prevision of the ingathering of the non-Israelite world

The "Servant of the Lord."

into the true worship of Jehovah. Later we see that the "Servant" lives by no means wholly in the future, for it is said, "Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I send?" evidently referring to the Israelites' supineness at the time. One of the most interesting passages to students of early customs is the first half of the forty-fourth chapter, describing in a satirical spirit the laborious stages of the manufacture of idols. But Israel is pardoned, and Cyrus is commissioned to permit the restoration of the people and the rebuilding of the temple, in order that it may be known throughout the world that Jehovah is the true and only God. "Unto Me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear." Throughout Cyrus is regarded favourably, and the coming humiliation of Babylon and her idols is predicted and rejoiced in. Incidentally we learn much about contemporary Babylonish customs.

Cyrus.

In the second division of the prophecy (chaps. xlix.–lvii.), Babylon, Cyrus, and contemporary history fall into the background, and the character of "the Servant of the Lord" is more fully developed. Far-off nations are invited to listen, and a careful delineation is given of the great Ideal Servant, "Israel, in whom I will be glorified." The "Servant" describes himself at first in the first person, and later he is depicted in the third person. He is to be "a light to the Gentiles," as well as the restorer of Israel. He describes himself as the prophet, teaching what he is taught, capable of sustaining the weary with his words, receiving daily fresh inspiration, and shrinking from no humiliation. "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair I hid not my face from shame and spitting."

Description of the "Servant."

Zion is called upon to awake, and put on splendid apparel: the waste places of Jerusalem are to rejoice; a happy and comfortable return journey shall be made. Then, in lii. 13 to liii. 12, we have the exquisitely pathetic picture of the Ideal Servant's humiliation, his lack of outward beauty and general recognition, his suffering for Israel's sins, his calm and humble demeanour before his accusers, his death as a malefactor. "But out of death will spring a new life: after his soul has been made a guilt-offering, he will live again, enjoy long life, and be rewarded with the satisfaction of seeing God's work, or 'pleasure,' prospering in his hand. Possessed of an intimate 'knowledge' of the dealings and purposes of Jehovah, he will 'justify the many' (viz., by a method or principle based upon this knowledge); whilst his final reward for having submitted to the death of a transgressor will be that he will be reckoned as a conqueror, and honoured amongst the great ones of the earth" (Driver). Nothing is more clear than that vicarious suffering, the suffering of the "Servant" for the people, is here set forth. "The central point," says Orelli, "is the realising of ideas foreshadowed in the sacrificial ritual. There certainly substitution is a common idea; there the guiltless lamb suffers for the sinner's good; there a penitential or compensatory offering must be given to God for transgressions. To that which these customs and ordinances typically and unconsciously foreshadowed, this

His humiliation and death.

Vicarious suffering.

prophecy gives a conscious reference to something future, at the same time severing those great Divine ideas from the inadequate embodiment of the Levitical ritual, and holding forth the prospect of their adequate expression in a higher sphere." This "Servant" cannot exclusively represent either Israel as a whole or in part, or any prophet; yet in some ways all of these may be found related to the conception. It was not an abstract conception, but a concrete living figure, more perfect than any man ever had been, that stood before the prophet's vision; and the vast majority of students, as well as of the unlearned, who take plain and not fanciful or preconceived views, hold that the "Servant of Jehovah" can only be referred to and find fulfilment in one great subsequent figure, the Founder of Christianity. However considerably such words as those of chapter lv. may be referred directly to the return of the Jews from exile, it passes the bounds of reason or compulsion to induce Christians to reject the application of the everlasting covenant and the calling of the Gentiles to their religion, developed out of Judaism.

When we enter upon the third division of the prophecy, we yet again find an enlargement of view. The vision of Zion grows more and more detailed, more beautiful, more glorious. In chapter lx. an unsurpassed picture of the future glory is drawn, when Jehovah should reign in utter splendour, the people all righteous; a day not yet come, but a picture which inspires the efforts and the hopes of millions at this day, as connected with, and to be perfectly fulfilled by, the labours of the "Servant of the Lord," as expressed in chapter lxi. "There will be new heavens and a new earth," they read; a transformed life, without vain strife, bitter disappointments, or carking care, shall then be lived. The continual competition of the struggle for existence will be over then, and however good its results may have been, few out of the earth's millions fail to catch some of the prophet's exultation in reading the prophecy of universal peace and happiness. In the midst of his discourses, and repeatedly, the prophet lays stress on Sabbath observance and obedience to the laws about food; and the book closes with a severe denunciation of those who have refused to join in Jehovah's worship. "They (the worshippers) shall go forth to see the corpses of the people who fell away from me: for their worm shall not die, and their flame shall not be quenched; and they shall be a horror to all flesh:" a picture which, read as that of a hell of torment, has had very great influence. So many are the points of original theology, as well as of history, that may be drawn from this great book, that we cannot do more than refer to such books as those of Driver, Orelli, and Cheyne, and others, for their fuller treatment.

The future glory of Zion.

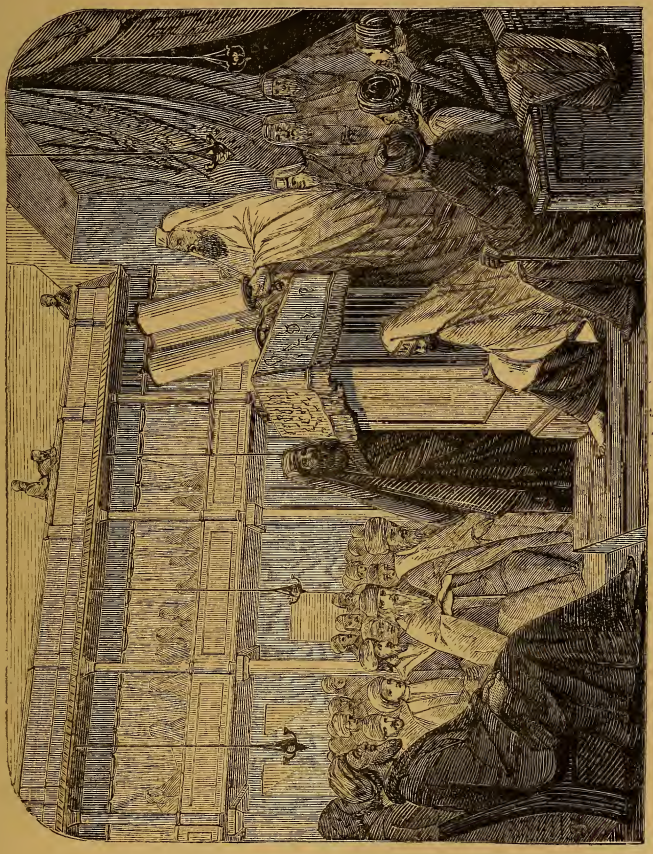
Other teachings of the prophet.

At the same time as Isaiah, in the reign of Hezekiah, Micah, a plain countryman, added to his warnings and prophecies of destruction the vivid pictures which remain in his book, revealing to us, as a man of the common people himself, the sufferings of the peasantry at the hands of their oppressors, men of their own nation, and predicting the destruction of the government and the nobles. A new Davidic king was to

Micah.

reign over a future purified Zion, in which all nations should worship, and universal peace should ensue. He would be born in Bethlehem Ephratah, the home of David, and put down all iniquity and idolatry.

Only brief mention must be made of Jeremiah, the prophet of the later days of the Jewish monarchy, because, while he denounced sin, predicted



ANCIENT JEWISH SYNAGOGUE.

events, and endured bitter persecutions, he contributed little in comparison with Isaiah to the development of the intellectual features of the Jewish religion. He affirmed in a few places the Davidic kingly ideal, who is to bear the name Jehovah our Righteousness, and the introduction of a new spiritual covenant, when Jehovah's law should be written in the hearts of the people. We cannot here discuss his possible relation to the Torah (or Book of Deuteronomy ?), which Hilkiah, possibly

Jeremiah.

his father, discovered and brought out to Josiah. His influence on his time, and his importance in the history of his time, were very great, and his character was profoundly worthy of study.

Ezekiel.

Ezekiel, the prophet of the early days of the captivity (early in the sixth century B.C.), was a yet more powerful influence, in rousing and keeping alive the national and religious feelings of the captives, in predicting events concerning Israel and surrounding nations with singular vividness and truth, and by reason of his visions of a restored kingdom of Israel, and a Divine future. Ezekiel's marvellous opening vision, in which he received his prophetic call, includes a grand description of a Divine majesty and court, which had great effect upon the imagery of the New Testament Apocalypse. In his later prophecies he again and again speaks in language of gorgeous but mysterious imagery, in describing the Divine glory and wonderful works. The Davidic king of the restored people, and the happy state of the future Jews who serve God, are gloriously depicted; and a complete description of a new temple, differing in many details from the old, is given, with many features of a newly organised State and ritual. The ark and the high-priest are not mentioned; prominence is specially given to the morning burnt-offering; and the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles are the only great feasts mentioned. No prophet more vigorously expressed the sense of sin and denunciation of sin than Ezekiel.

Daniel.

On the Book of Daniel it is necessary to be brief, because of the wide diversities of opinion about the book, and the very unsettled state of the controversies to which it has given rise. Whether it was written at the date which it professes to describe, and was edited or added to later, or was written at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, or later, it is difficult to decide with certainty. It shows a more or less accurate knowledge of Babylonia, probably some influence of Persia and Zoroastrianism, and certainly an acquaintance with Greek names of musical instruments.

Predictions as to empires of the world.

The book includes, besides its historical narratives, remarkable predictions and visions as to the empires of the world, which to a considerable extent were realised. Under the image of the "Ancient of Days," in Eastern poetry used of an old man, a Divine Judge and Ruler is portrayed reigning in unequalled majesty for ever; and there is a special prophecy of the coming of the Prince Messiah in seventy weeks (usually interpreted as 490, or 70×7 years), after which the Messiah should be cut off. Other circumstantial prophecies have received very various interpretations.

Prediction of resurrection.

The book also contains a definite prediction of a resurrection from the dead at a future time. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

Other very distinctive prophets are Haggai and Zechariah, who came forward in Jerusalem after the return of the Jews from Babylon to en-

courage them to rebuild the temple. The first eight chapters of Zechariah deal with this period, and the coming freedom of Israel and discomfiture of the heathen. In chapter iii. we find a description of the accuser, or "the Satan" or adversary, accusing Joshua, the high-priest before Jehovah. The high-priest, however, is purified, and receives a promise involving the future appearance of "the Servant of God the Branch," the Messiah. In accordance with the style of many of the prophets, there are visions of chariots and horses going through the earth to execute Jehovah's will. The second part of the book is apparently later in date and by another author, and depicts Jehovah's will accomplished on Syria, Assyria, and Egypt. The Messianic prophecies are renewed and amplified. Zion is bidden to rejoice: "Behold thy King cometh unto thee; He is just, and saved; afflicted, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass"; and a great future is predicted for his people. Later is a prophecy of the domination of foreign kings over Israel through native princes. Jerusalem would be destroyed, and the people dispersed into all lands. At another time "they shall look upon Me (or Him) whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for Him, as one mourneth for his only son. . . . In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness." Living waters should go out of Jerusalem, and Jehovah should be King over all the earth. "In that day shall the Lord be One, and His name One." Finally there is a vision of a universal annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem, when everything should be sacred to Jehovah.

Zechariah.

Messianic prophecies.

There can be no question about the great importance and the definiteness of the predictions in Zechariah about a future deliverer and king of the Jews. The second portion of the book appears to date from a time when the Greeks had begun their conquests in Asia, for the sons of Javan, *i.e.*, the Greeks, are named as the representatives of the heathen powers.

Haggai, the contemporary of Zechariah, agrees with him in predicting a period when the sacred temple would have greater glory than the preceding one, by reason of the splendid offerings of the Gentiles, and says that the calamities of heathen nations would give peace to Jerusalem. Christians usually identify "the desire of all nations" with the Messiah; but it is significant that this passage is not quoted in the Gospels as a Messianic prediction; and in the "Speaker's Commentary" it is not claimed as such, although every Christian will recognise the peculiar applicability and fulfilment of many of the phrases in the person of Christ.

Haggai.

Passing over the other minor prophets, who, while contributing according to their mission to the Messianic tradition, the rousing and sustaining influences of patriotism, the denunciation of sin and of wicked heathen nations, did not add notably to the religious ideas of the nation, we come to Malachi, who prophesied apparently in the later time of Nehemiah. In a simpler and less elevated style than many of his predecessors, he denounces the sins prevalent in his time, and predicts the advent of a messenger, to prepare the way for the arrival of the Lord whom they

Malachi.

sought, evidently the Messiah. He would be like a refiner's fire, who would purify the sons of Levi. A Sun of Righteousness was to arise for those that feared Jehovah, with healing in his wings. The prophet Elijah would be sent to them before the coming of the great and dreadful day of Jehovah; and he would turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to their fathers, "lest I come and smite the earth with a curse;" and so ends the Old Testament, "the record of the period in which the religion of Israel continued to grow, and develop new principles, to gain new insight into the ways of God with man."

FEAST OF TABERNACLES. IN THE "BOOTH."

PALM PROCESSION. FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

CHAPTER V.

Judaism after the Prophets.

Dispersion of the Jews—The Septuagint—The Apocrypha—Ecclesiasticus—The "Wisdom of Solomon"—The Messianic hope—Influence on New Testament phraseology—The Psalter of Solomon—Philo of Alexandria—His relation to Greek philosophy—His views on the Old Testament—His philosophy of the Godhead—Divine Ideas—The Logos—Philo's allegorical interpretations—The Scribes—Hillel and Shammai—Discussions on the Sabbath—Purity and impurity—The Talmud—Mishna and Gemara—The Talmud and Christianity—Gems of the Talmud—Unsatisfactory contents—The Pharisees—Principal beliefs—The Sadducees—The Essenes—Later Dispersion of the Jews—Maimonides—His Creed—Later works—His beliefs—Jews in Spain and Portugal—Persecution and isolation—Moses Mendelssohn—Reforms—Napoleon and the French Jews—Jews in England—In various countries—The Beni Israel.

THE decadence of Israel paved the way for the coming of Jesus. The fall of the temporal power fixed the people's minds upon the promise of the Messiah and a renewed pre-eminence for the chosen people. The same occurrences led to a growing dispersion of the Jews in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, which prepared the way for the spread of Christianity. In Egypt especially, the Jews came under the influence of Greek culture and philosophy, and under the first Ptolemies (third century B.C.), possibly the entire Old Testament, and certainly the Pentateuch, was translated at Alexandria into Greek, constituting the Septuagint version, which is so precious as an early testimony and check to the Hebrew text, and which was almost exclusively used and quoted by the New Testament writers. It may be regarded as

Early Dispersion of the Jews.

The Septuagint.

the result of a need felt by the foreign Jews of a translation in the language they commonly used. Whether in fact there is anything in the tradition which says that the Septuagint was the work of seventy (or seventy-two) translators, cannot now be ascertained. The books included in the Septuagint, however, are more numerous than those of the Hebrew Bible; and these additions are another proof of the literary activity and Greek culture of the Jews, both in Alexandria and in Palestine, previous to the time of Christ. Only one or two of the books of the "Apocrypha," or Septuagint additions to the Old Testament, were originally composed in Hebrew. It is not necessary here to discuss the contents of the Apocryphal books, excepting so far as they illustrate the religious state or development of the Jews.

The Apocrypha.

The most interesting and oldest book of the Apocrypha is that known as the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, or *Ecclesiasticus*. It was first written in Hebrew in Palestine, probably in the second century B.C., and is a continuation of the "wisdom-writings" of the Old Testament, in a less spiritual form. Of its author scarcely anything is known, except that he was a sage who had travelled much and had gone through great personal dangers. The book is mainly devoted to the praise of Wisdom, which he had sought from his early days, and to the vindication of the ways of God to man. He sees the wisdom of God in creation, in Providence, in history, and in the Scriptures. The Law is to him the highest manifestation of Wisdom; and its observance is the foremost duty. Wisdom is the earliest creation of God, and the understanding of Wisdom is identical with the fear of God. Hence Wisdom is true happiness. God is omniscient, almighty, and irresistible; and His predestination determines everything. In the end, right-doing will inevitably be blessed. The sorrows and sufferings of the righteous are not without consolation, like those of the wicked. Mercy is specially shown to the poor and needy, the prayerful, penitent, and merciful. It is singular, however, how far the son of Sirach was from realising the doctrine of immortality. Mankind after death are imagined as lying in eternal sleep; and in other respects the writer of Ecclesiasticus shows himself to be on a much lower level than the writers of the canonical books. Almsgiving and prayer are his main dependences, though he enjoins observance of the Temple services. On the whole, religion is upheld as the thing that is most profitable, and the reward for righteousness is in the main earthly. Strange to say, we find no trace of an expected personal Messiah; though the author refers to coming judgments on the Gentiles, the ingathering of all Israel, and their triumph. Many critics believe that the book contains much that was not the writer's own, but was derived from previous sages.

Ecclesiasticus.

The other important religious book in the Apocrypha, the "Wisdom of Solomon" (written in Greek), is of much later date, for the writer quotes the Septuagint; but he makes no reference to Christian writings or history. The date of the book has been variously placed between 220 B.C. and A.D. 40, and Archdeacon Farrar inclines to accept the

The "Wisdom of Solomon."

latter date, believing that the book shows traces of the influence of Philo. Some have suggested that it was written by Apollos. In assuming the personality of King Solomon, the author was adopting a common literary device of his age, and an appropriate one, as the name of Solomon had become identified with Jewish proverbial wisdom. The author was apparently an Alexandrian Jew, acquainted both with the Septuagint and with Greek literature and philosophy. His knowledge of various forms of nature-worship is well shown in chap. xiii., but striking tolerance is manifested in verse 6, where we read, "for this they are the less to be blamed; for they peradventure err, seeking God, and desirous to find Him; for being conversant in His works, they search Him diligently, and believe their sight: because the things are beautiful that are seen." Yet he tells such persons that they ought, while reverencing things of beauty and signs of power, to understand how much better the Lord and Creator of them is. Worship of manufactured idols, or of stones is crushingly denounced, as well as ancestor and king-worship. Throughout, the writer is keen in exposing the folly of the inferior or degraded religions he saw around him, and so far reaches a high level. Neither could philosophy, he maintains, teach the true ideal of God. His object is to show, that, while sin leads to punishment and death, wisdom is the source of all blessings of life and immortality. Such expressions as "God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of His own eternity;" "the righteous live for evermore, and the care of them is with the most High. Therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand," show the essence of his teaching about immortality. The evil are to undergo retribution after death, in a state which is not quite clearly unfolded.

The Messianic hope.

The Messianic hope, however, in the Book of Wisdom, is reduced to a hope in the temporal dominion of Israel and the universal worship of Jehovah; and there is "no personal and no suffering Messiah." In many ways the author reproduces conceptions made familiar in the Old Testament, but in inferior language and with far less force. The historical allusions by which the influence of Wisdom in history are enforced are tinged by strong preconceived notions about Israel, and by a limited reading of the order of Providence.

The sense given to the word "Wisdom" by this writer suggests to the Christian that it is a personification of Christ; but Wisdom is not even thought of by the writer as an incarnate Divine Person, but as the Spirit of God, as the Providence of God, and as the sum of human trustworthy knowledge. It is evident from the varying uses of the word that dogmatic precision must not be sought in the Book of Wisdom; and this no doubt weakens its force, the author not having a strong, clear, definite conception, but using one word in a wide latitude of meanings suited to the imperfection of his mental standpoint. Yet it is evident that the author of "Wisdom" had a marked influence on the language of the New Testament; at any rate both use a number of similar special expressions. The

words we translate "faith," "hope," "to love" in the Christian sense, and the expression that the just man is the "son of God" are found in Wisdom. The conception of the "visible" as revealing the "invisible," and many other words and phrases used in this book are found in various books of the New Testament, and especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Not the least of its claims to regard are, that it expresses the nature of God as predominantly loving; as in xi. 24, 26, "Thou lovest all the things that are," and "Thou sparest all: for they are thine, O Lord, thou lover of souls."

Influence on phraseology of New Testament.

Here we may mention a collection of Psalms not included in the Apocrypha, but regarded as canonical by numerous early Christian Churches, termed the Psalter of Solomon, apparently written after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. It depicts the sad state of the city and people in a tone of earnest piety based on Pharisaic observances; and it expresses a strong Messianic hope, which is for us its most important feature. Thus it says: "Behold, O Lord, and raise up their king, the son of David, at the time that Thou hast appointed, to reign over Israel Thy servant; and gird him with strength to crush unjust rulers . . . to destroy the lawless nations. . . . He shall divide them by tribes in the land, and no stranger and foreigner shall dwell with them; he shall judge the nations in wisdom and righteousness. The heathen nations shall serve under his yoke; he shall glorify the Lord before all the earth, and cleanse Jerusalem in holiness as in the beginning. . . . He is pure from sin to rule a great people, to rebuke governors and destroy sinners by his mighty word. In all his days he is free from offence against his God, for he hath made him strong by the Holy Spirit."

The Psalter of Solomon.

What Helleno-Judaism at its best could accomplish, without the light of Christianity, is seen in the writings of Philo of Alexandria, born perhaps in B.C. 20, and living on to the reign of the Emperor Claudius. Little is known of his life, except that in A.D. 40 he was sent to Rome by the Alexandrian Jews at the head of an embassy, to try and persuade the Emperor Caligula to refrain from claiming divine honour from the Jews. Of this embassy Philo has left a full account. Philo, while well-acquainted with the Septuagint, was even better versed in Greek philosophy of all schools; and while accepting the literal divine origin of the Old Testament, he sought to explain it in an allegorical fashion, so as to deduce from it the most important results of Greek philosophy, and thus show to the Greeks that Judaism was worthy of their respect and acceptance. He is so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Plato, that it has been said that either Philo platonises or Plato philonises. In his writings he argues not only against scoffers amongst his own people, but against believers in astrology and divination, and against the Egyptians and their beliefs. His belief in the Old Testament as Divine is so strong that he calls it usually the Sacred and Divine Word, or Divine Oracles; and he treats the Old Testament as forming one inseparable whole, down to the smallest letter. Thus he was

Philo of Alexandria.

His relation to Greek Philosophy.

His views on the Old Testament.

not a critic of the Old Testament in the modern sense. He was rather an expounder of its philosophical meaning as he conceived it by the light of Greek philosophy. He claimed that the Jews in the Mosaic revelation possessed the true knowledge of things religious; and he strongly believed the doctrine of One God, and His absolute sovereignty and supremacy, and that He was to be worshipped without images. He went beyond the limited view that everything was to be done by and for the Jews, and regarded

THE PRIESTLY BLESSING. (*See page* 675.)

the law of Moses as rightfully the law for the whole world; and, according to him, prosperity is promised to all who turn from idols to the true God.

Philo's philosophy of the Godhead is too abstruse to be fully expounded here. He regards God as eternal, absolute, unchangeable, without limitations. Consequently God cannot come into direct contact with finite beings, but He acts by a multitude of divine Ideas or Forces, produced before the visible world, and termed *Logoi*. These he identifies with the *dæmons* of the Greeks (see p. 408), and the

His philosophy of the Godhead.

angels of the Jews. In this view Philo does not get rid of ambiguity, for while the Logoi are immanent in God, they are at the same time regarded as distinct from God. Again, he regards all the individual Ideas, or Logoi, as being included in one supreme Logos, or Reason, or Word of God, as the firstborn of God, as the highest mediator between God and the world, and the high-priest for the world before God. Consequently it is through the Logos that the world was created. Thus in one way Philo develops the idea of wisdom found in all the Jewish wisdom-books, while at the same time following Plato's doctrine of ideas and the soul of the world. The bearing which this has upon the consideration of the fourth gospel will be referred to later. There is no doubt that his philosophy exercised a powerful influence on scholars, both Jewish and Christian, for a long time after he wrote.

Divine ideas.

The Logos.

As to man, Philo treats him as a compound of soul and physical body, the soul being attracted from the pure souls that fill space, the body being the source of sin and evil. Thus the body is a sort of prison for the soul, which longs to rise again to God. While Philo considers that man's salvation lies in the direction of the mortification of sensual impulses, he does not follow the Stoics in throwing man upon his personal powers; but he directs him to the help which God will give to men who seek to rise to Him. At death this happy result happens to those who while in the body have kept themselves free from the bondage of the senses and sensuality; while all others must after death enter another body.

Man's nature.

Philo carries allegorical interpretation very far, and, no doubt, displays remarkable ingenuity; there is nothing in which he cannot discover a hidden meaning. To take some examples from his interpretation of Genesis: Adam is found to represent pure human reason; Eve, the senses; the serpent, desire. Enoch symbolises man retiring in penitence from the world to God; Noah is the truly righteous man. The Hebrews represent pilgrims from the world of sense to that of spirit; the ark of the covenant is the intellectual world, the two cherubs over it are the two chief Logoi next to *the* Logos. Even the precepts of the law are allegorised throughout. In many of the problems which he stated, and of the solutions he proposes, Philo is the earliest of the commentators and critics, rather than expounders, of the Scriptures.

Philo's allegorical interpretations.

But while Philo in many ways was an advanced religious thinker,—while he often uses the name Father for God,—he was so far from discerning the signs of his times that he makes but little reference to the Messianic hopes of the Jews; and when he does so, it is in the way of identifying the Logos with the promised Messiah, but transferring all hopes based upon His coming to heaven, thus in fact dissipating that which alone really constituted the Messianic hope of the Jews. He even shows a tendency to rely on quite another kind of mediation, for he recognises as elements in the Jews' hope, in addition to the kindness of God, and personal repentance, the holiness of the patriarchs, who intercede with God for their descendants.

We have already (pp. 610, 623, 624) referred to the later organisation

of the priests and the existence of the synagogue. We must here briefly notice the elements which developed the extraordinary atmosphere of legalism and formalism which pervaded Jerusalem and Judæa in the time of Christ. This was due, not so much to the priests, who formed a powerful and wealthy aristocracy, as to the scribes, or persons learned in the law, who from the time of Ezra gradually grew in influence till they attained a commanding position. The law being a direct gift from God, in every detail, its complete observance being incumbent on every Israelite, it became an all-important matter to have a living exposition of all possible cases of question. The same consideration later became, as the canon was completed, extended to all books recognised as prophetic, or as containing the older history of Israel. At first only priests studied and interpreted the law; at some later period it became customary for non-priestly Israelites to take up the study; and as the priests grew more wealthy, and more or less influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by non-Jewish ideas, the *scribes* became marked out as those persons who were specially learned in and zealous for the law, holding their opinions with fanatical strength and obstinacy, and swaying the people by reason of their fanaticism. They were habitually addressed as Rabbi (my master), and required from pupils, and also from the public, the most entire reverence and submission. Their decisions were gratuitously rendered, and they were always persons of property or practised some trade. But they always regarded as their main occupation the development of the law in theoretical and practical details, and especially by oral discussions among themselves.

The Scribes.

The term *sanhedrim* (derived from the Greek *synedrium*, "assembly,") describes the governing and judicial assembly of the Jews, the native tribunal recognised by foreign powers in later Jewish times. It included the high priest as president, chief priests (mainly Sadducees), scribes, and other notables. It had not the power of capital punishment.

Sanhedrim.

Naturally schools of interpretation gathered about leading scribes, such as Shammai and Hillel. The latter, born at Babylon about 75 B.C., came to Jerusalem in 36, and was chosen president of the Sanhedrim from 30 B.C. to A.D. 10. He had thousands of pupils, and spent his life in endeavouring to give greater precision to the law. Shammai was vice-president when Hillel was president, was often his antagonist in disputes, being less liberal in his views than Hillel, who taught, it is said, that the great aim of life is "to be gentle, showing all meekness to all men," and "when reviled, not to revile again." The opinions of their two schools, strange to say, were afterwards quoted by the Jews as being of equal authority. It is scarcely possible without reproducing whole sections of the Mishna to give an effective idea of the detail, the ceremoniousness, the minuteness of the points discussed by the scribes. A slight reference to discussions on the Sabbath will give some idea of all this. Thus we find that thirty-nine particular kinds of work were specially forbidden on the Sabbath, including making or untying a knot, writing two letters, sewing two stitches, etc.

Hillel and Shammai.

Discussions on the Sabbath.

But each of these was made the subject of elaborate discussion and regulation. For instance, no burden might be carried from one tenement to another, and it was decided by the scribes that it was desecration of the Sabbath to carry as much food as was equal in weight to a dried fig, or as much honey as could be put upon a wound, ink enough to write two letters, etc. So rigidly was Sabbath observance kept up, that the Romans found it necessary to exempt the Jews from military service. Even more minute regulations were devised about cleanness and uncleanness, and the removal of the latter. Notwithstanding the completeness of the Old Testament regulations, the Mishna contains no fewer than twelve treatises on the subject, discussing the manner in which impurity is contracted, how it may be transferred, what utensils or objects may become unclean, and how they may be purified. The air in an unclean vessel is declared unclean; a minute classification distinguishes between vessels which may and those which cannot become unclean. The correct mode of pouring water on the hands, and the proper modes of cleansing of cups, pots, and dishes, were as zealously discussed as if the whole religious character would be vitiated by failure in one particular; and this, in fact, was openly stated.

Purity and impurity.

The Mishna is the core of the Talmud, the last and more elaborate collection and amplification of the Traditions of the Jewish doctors. It is impossible to say how far the earliest traditional explanations of the Jewish law go back; but the Mishna consists mainly of the meditations and decisions of learned rabbis from B.C. 50 to A.D. 150, the name of each rabbi being carefully given. To this is added, in the Talmud, the Gemara or oldest commentary on the Mishna, the discussions on the Mishna of Palestinian or Babylonian Jewish doctors. In both the Palestinian and the Babylonian Talmuds the correctness and the meaning and interpretation of the Mishna are discussed, introducing incidentally references to all other knowledge then possessed. The discussions in the Palestinian Talmud are comparatively simple and brief, but there is mixed with them much valuable information on history, geography, and archæology; while the Babylonian Talmud is long-winded and subtle, and, while much longer than the other, contains far less of outside knowledge. The Jews have always given a higher value to the Mishna than to the Gemara, ranking it scarcely below the Old Testament; for they believe that much of it comes by an unbroken chain of tradition from Moses, who is believed to have received it direct from God. The Talmud was put together in the fifth century A.D.

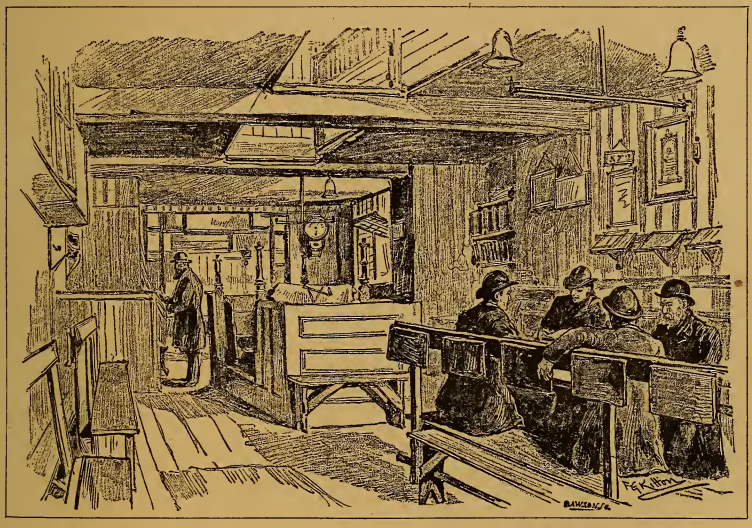
The Talmud.

Mishna and Gemara.

A very vexed question is the extent ot the influence of the Talmud upon Christianity, and the converse. Some would even make out that Christianity owes many of its leading ideas to the Talmud. If it were so, why was Christianity received with such hostility? If it spoke merely the language of the accepted teachers of the Jews, why was it not received with acclamation? We will quote the claim made by one of the most ardent Talmudists, Emanuel Deutsch: "Such terms

The Talmud and Christianity.

as Redemption, Baptism, Grace, Faith, Salvation, Regeneration, Son of Man, Son of God, Kingdom of Heaven, were not, as we are apt to think, invented by Christianity, but were household words of Talmudical Judaism. No less loud and bitter in the Talmud are the protests against lip-serving, against making the law a burden to the people, against "laws that hang on hairs," against Priests and Pharisees. That grand dictum, "Do unto others as thou wouldst be done by," is quoted by Hillel, at whose death Jesus was ten years of age, not as anything new, but as an old and well-known dictum, that comprised the whole Law." While not denying or concealing the vast amount of idle legend and allegory contained in the Haggadah or legendary portion of the commentary, Mr. Deutsch claims that it is the source of much that is most remarkable in the greatest poets. He extracts a meta-



FOREIGN JEWISH BETH HAMIDRASH (HOUSE OF LEARNING) IN THE EAST END OF LONDON.

physical philosophy from parts of it, describing the gradual development of the Cosmos by successive catastrophes, out of an original created substance. Miracles were primevally ordained, and "created," and do not disturb the pre-established harmony of things. The soul is also held to be pre-existent. The Resurrection and Immortality are definitely taught. The righteous continue to develop their best faculties in the next world: "For the righteous there is no rest, neither in this world nor in the next, for they go, say the Scriptures, from host to host, from striving to striving; and they will see God in Zion." As regards eternal punishment, the Talmud does not teach it, but says that idolaters, apostates, and traitors will be punished for "generations upon generations." There is "only two fingers' breadth between Hell and Heaven"; the repentant sinner will be admitted

to the latter as soon as he repents. "In the next world there will be no eating, no drinking, no love, and no labour, no envy, no hatred, no contest. The righteous will sit with crowns on their heads, glorying in the splendour of God's majesty."

Gems of the Talmud.

A few quotations from the choicest passages of the Talmud will still further illustrate its highest flights. "Be thou the cursed, not he who curses. Be of them that are persecuted, not of them that persecute." "He who sacrifices a whole offering, shall be rewarded for a whole offering; he who offers a burnt offering, shall have the reward of a burnt offering; he who offers humility unto God and man, shall be rewarded with a reward as if he had offered all the sacrifices in the world." "Even when the gates of heaven are shut to prayer, they are open to tears." "When the righteous dies, it is the earth that loses. The lost jewel will always be a jewel; but the possessor who has lost it, well may he weep." "Even the most righteous shall not attain to so high a place in heaven as the truly repentant." "The dying benediction of a sage to his disciples was: I pray for you that the fear of Heaven may be as strong upon you as the fear of man. You avoid sin before the face of the latter; avoid it before the face of the All-seeing." "Love your wife like yourself, honour her more than yourself." "It is woman alone through whom God's blessings are vouchsafed to a house. She teaches the children, speeds the husband to the place of worship and instruction, welcomes him when he returns, keeps the house godly and pure, and God's blessing rests upon all these things. He who marries for money, his children shall be a curse to him." "The house that does not open to the poor shall open to the physician. Even the birds in the air despise the miser. He who gives charity in general is greater than Moses himself." "Let the honour of thy neighbour be to thee like thine own. Rather be thrown into a fiery furnace than bring any one to public shame." "He who humiliates himself will be lifted up; he who raises himself up will be humiliated. Whosoever runs after greatness, greatness runs away from him; he who runs from greatness, greatness follows him." "Whosoever does not persecute them that persecute him, whoever takes an offence in silence, he who does good because of love, he who is cheerful under his sufferings—they are the friends of God, and of them the Scripture says, "and they shall shine forth as does the sun at noonday."

Unsatisfactory Contents.

Granting that these extracts are correctly translated, we have no proof that any of them date back as early as the time of Christ. In any case the book has had nothing like the effect of the New Testament; and this is intelligible when we realise the mass of puerile arguments, silly and indecent stories, impossible notions and petty details that the Talmud contains. The selection of the editor or editors, equally with the minds of the scribes who are responsible for many of its passages, was greatly at fault. Archdeacon Farrar, in his "Life of Christ," says, "Anything more utterly unhistorical than the Talmud cannot be conceived. It is probable that no human writings ever confounded names, dates, and facts with a

more absolute indifference." In reading it we can understand the point of the saying of Jesus, that the scribes had made the law of no effect through their traditions.

The Pharisees were the party who, without necessarily being scribes, devoted themselves with fanatic ardour to the observance of all the minutest particulars of the Mosaic law and of the traditions, which gradually became more binding even than the law. The term means "one who is separated;" and the Pharisees undoubtedly formed a distinctive order of people, devoted to the observance of the Levitical laws and the tradition. It would appear that every one wishing to be recognised as a Pharisee had to promise before three others that he would pay full tithes on everything, and eat nothing that had not been tithed, and that he would scrupulously observe all the laws of ceremonial purity. Thus, practically, Pharisaism was one great system of "taboo," by which the members made themselves a sacred caste. When it is realised that the full tithes meant, at least, a double tithe, and that the ceremonial laws of Leviticus and the Mishna involved the most burdensome restrictions and brought a man into continual danger of contracting ceremonial impurity; that every one who did not obey these laws was reckoned as lost, we can see the force of the denunciations contained in Matthew xxiii. Pharisees might not become the guests of a non-Pharisee, nor receive him as a guest, nor buy or sell from or to him. Including, as they did, a very large proportion (six thousand) of the leading Jews at the time of Christ, it is evident that they were then the orthodox Jewish party by whose standard Jesus was mainly judged. They were also the popular party, for they held high the position and responsibilities of every member of the Jewish nation, and disdained any compromise with the foreign ruler. They taught that every man might become a true member of the priesthood, though not belonging to the priestly caste, by studying and conforming to the law. They considered themselves the guardians of the law and the customs of the Jews, and believed that they would be protected as a peculiar people through all dangers. But while they imposed strict rules, and severely condemned their infraction, they had devised many plans for evading those which they found inconvenient, and they made many of their observances occasions for public display of their righteousness or ostentatious claim to the highest regard of the common people. They were generally to be recognised by the sacred tassels upon their garments, and the wearing of little rolls (phylacteries) inscribed with words from the law on the arm or forehead and neck, and by their public demonstrations of praying in the streets. The wearing of these phylacteries being supposed to be enjoined in Exodus xiii. 9–16, they became in time regarded as most valuable, protecting the wearers from evil thoughts.

The Pharisees.

A few principal beliefs of the Pharisees may be mentioned. According to Josephus, they held that every soul is imperishable; but that the souls of good men only pass over into another body, while the souls of bad men are chastised by eternal punishment. But that they believed in anything like the Oriental transmigration of souls, cannot be

Principal beliefs.

proved. Rather, from references in the New Testament, they appear to have believed in the resurrection of the body, and a future judgment. The Mishna which they upheld, states that "he who says that the resurrection of the dead is not to be inferred from the law, has no part in the world to come." They believed in angels and spirits, and in the powerful influence of fate and Divine providence; yet "some things depend on the will of man as to whether they are done or not." Their eagerness to secure proselytes to their views may be judged from the expression of Jesus, that they would "compass sea and land" to make one proselyte. Within their ranks was to be found much sensuality, greed, and selfishness. They contemned the common and degraded classes of people, and shunned any communication with them, and hence they were especially subject to the censure of Jesus.

The great opponents of the Pharisees were the Sadducees, who chiefly consisted of the more influential and wealthy priestly families, especially those from which the high priest had been chosen for many years before the time of Christ. They clung to the ancient privileges of their order, and to the legal observances of the law, while they rejected the Mishna and the decisions of the scribes. Consistently with this, they rejected the doctrines of the resurrection and of future retribution, which are not found distinctly in the Pentateuch; they disbelieved in angels and spirits; and they held that man's conduct is entirely in his own power, not coerced by fate or Providence, and that man is the cause of his own prosperity and adversity. They, however, conformed largely to the views of the majority as formulated by the Pharisees, especially in the matter of sacrifices and ritual, while they did not conceal their indifference to many of the observances which yet, as chief priests, they carried out. They were considerably imbued with Greek culture, and, in the main, upheld the Roman power. Consequently, when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and the whole Jewish State, their influence fell, never to rise again, for it had within it no seeds of hope or of growth.

The Sadducees.

The Essenes were a remarkable body of ascetics who became numerous in the century before Christ, and who endeavoured to fulfil the injunctions of the law by withdrawal from the world, celibacy and austerity of life. They resembled the monastic orders of Christians and Buddhists rather than a sectarian party. In their strict regard for the law, and their extreme care for ceremonial purity, they were like the Pharisees, only aiming at carrying out their views to an extreme degree by forming separate communities with meals in common, community of goods, and a long novitiate. They wore white garments like the priests, bathed before meals and at other times, repudiated marriage as a state of less purity than celibacy, and in all things sought to live a simple natural life. They held no slaves, swore no oaths, did not anoint themselves with oil, and only used the simplest food and drink. They carried on no trade, but worked on the land and at handicrafts for the common benefit. One of the most striking distinctions between them and the rest of the Jews was their giving up of animal sacrifices, though they still sent incense to the Temple at Jerusalem.

The Essenes.

It is said that they even turned towards the sun when praying, as emblematic of the Divine light, a very un-Jewish custom, and that other points showed religious regard for the sun. Various students and divines have traced several features of the Essenes to Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and the Greek philosophy of Pythagoras. The two latter seem especially to present points of contact, and neither influence is historically impossible.

The houses in which the Essenes lived were under the control of a president, whom the members were bound to obey. A candidate received at entrance a pickaxe, an apron, and a white garment, and underwent a year's probation, after which he was admitted to the baths; then two more years' probation followed, and he was admitted to the common meals, first taking a tremendous oath binding him to entire openness towards the members, and secrecy towards non-members.

Dispersion of the Jews.

Meanwhile there was already a preparation for that dispersion which, after the fall of Jerusalem, became the principal fact about the Jews. The process, which had begun with the captivity, was greatly favoured under Alexander the Great's successors, important privileges being granted to the Jews in such cities as Alexandria and Antioch. Even in the second century B.C. it was said that every land and sea was filled with the Jews. In the time of Pompey many settled at Rome, and were granted Roman citizenship. In Caligula's reign they made a grand stand against the emperor-worship, which it was attempted to force on them, undergoing frightful troubles in consequence. In the time of the Emperor Tiberius they began to be persecuted, while the reign of Claudius at its outset was marked by an edict of toleration in their favour. Yet later he prohibited their assemblies. They were often subsequently persecuted, but they increased notwithstanding—a history which has practically characterised them almost ever since. They united into distinct communities wherever they were, cherishing their ancient faith, and maintaining such of its observances as were still possible; and they gradually acquired a recognised standing, and were allowed to be governed by their own laws throughout the Roman empire. Even the rights of Roman citizenship were conferred upon them in a considerable number of the towns of Asia Minor and Syria. They built synagogues in most of them, using Greek very largely in their

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL. (*See p.* 668.)

services. Tribute was sent to the Temple at Jerusalem as long as it existed. Everywhere they may be considered to have paved the way for Christianity by their worship without images and by their strict observance of the Sabbath, while their limitations as to food were a standing protest against the prevailing undiscriminating indulgence. Many proselytes were made, and no doubt would long have continued to be added, if Christianity had not obtained the ascendant, and displayed greater attractions.

When, in the fourth century, Christianity became the official religion of the Roman empire, the humiliation of the Jews began. With an interval of favour in the reign of Julian the Apostate, they gradually became a downtrodden people. We cannot detail the successive steps of the history, which simply show, in relation to our subject, the persistence of religious faith among a persecuted people. We must assume a general knowledge of their circumstances in successive ages, and pass on to quote the confession of faith drawn up in the 11th century by Moses Maimonides, perhaps the greatest of the mediæval Jews, often called the second Moses.

This remarkable man was born at Cordova, in Spain, in 1135, his father being a Jewish judge and commentator. The youth, besides Hebrew and Greek, studied all the Arabic learning of their palmy day under Averroës and Ibn-Thofeil. Under the Moslems of Spain the Jews enjoyed full liberty, and rivalled the Arabs in learning. During a reactionary period in the middle of the century, when Jews were severely persecuted, Maimonides and his family outwardly professed Mahometanism; later he travelled widely, and at last settled at Fostât (Egypt) as a physician. But he found time to write a great commentary on the Mishna, made public in 1168 under the title, "The Book of Light," and designed to simplify and explain the traditional law. In one part of this work he included the confession of faith mentioned above, which, somewhat abbreviated, is as follows:—

Maimonides.

1. "I believe, with a perfect faith" (these words are repeated before all the sections), "that God is the Creator (whose name be blessed), Governor, and Maker of all creatures; and that He hath wrought all things, worketh, and shall work for ever. 2. That the Creator is one; and that such a unity as is in Him can be found in none other; and that He alone hath been our God, is, and for ever shall be. 3. That He is not corporeal, not to be comprehended with any bodily properties; and that there is no bodily essence that can be likened unto Him. 4. That the Creator is the first and last; that nothing was before Him, and that He shall abide the last for ever. 5. That the Creator is to be worshipped, and none else. 6. That all the words of the prophets are true. 7. That the prophecies of Moses, our master (may he rest in peace!), were true; that he was the father and chief of all wise men that lived before him, or ever shall live after him. 8. That all the law which at this day is found in our hands was delivered by God Himself to our master, Moses. 9. That the same law is never to be changed, nor any other to be given us of God. 10. That God understandeth all the works and thoughts of men, as it is written in the

The creed of Maimonides.

prophets; He fashioneth their hearts alike, He understandeth all their works. 11. That God will recompense good to them that keep His commandments, and will punish them who transgress them. 12. That the Messiah is yet to come; and although He retard His coming, yet will I wait for Him till He come. 13. That the dead shall be restored to life when it shall seem fit unto God, the Creator, whose name be blessed and memory celebrated without end. Amen."

In 1170-80 Maimonides wrote a still more extended work, entitled "Deuteronomy, Second Law," really a cyclopædia of every sort of Old

MOSES MENDELSSOHN.

Testament and Jewish literature, sometimes described as a new Talmud. In it he brought the rabbinical codes within a moderate compass, and introduced philosophy and ethics of a type little understood by the Jews before his time. From this time he held, unofficially, a sort of spiritual headship among his people, while at the same time his fame as a doctor brought him a large and important practice. He, however, was able to complete a third great book, "The Guide of the Perplexed," designed to reclaim those who were sceptical about a future world, the destiny of man, and revelation. In it he made a bold endeavour to reconcile the conflicts between religion and philosophy, and he may almost be counted the first of the rationalists. He showed that the sensuous descriptions of the

Later works.

Deity and His actions in the Old Testament must be taken in a spiritual and figurative sense. He further expounded a rational natural religion, proved the existence, unity, and spirituality of God, and the excellence of the Divine law, and discussed free-will, the opposition of good and evil, and the questions relating to the Divine providence and omniscience. As was to be expected, such a work provoked much opposition, and led to great controversy between religion and science, and between the literal Talmudists and his own followers. Finally, about the middle of the 13th century the Christians burned all Maimonides' books, which led to a reconciliation among the Jewish hostile parties. Maimonides died on December 13th, 1204, and was greatly mourned. To him all Jewish religious writers since his date are greatly indebted.

Maimonides was a strong believer in the Old Testament as a Divine revelation, but held that it must be explicable in a rational manner. He believed that it was not enough to keep the law in practice, but that its study was a religious duty. He believed firmly in the creation of matter out of nothing, and in the providential guidance of the world. He held that man's will was free, but that providence ruled the destinies of men and of nations in a certain broad manner. Physical laws must be studied, and man must adapt his life and action to them. Only the soul is immortal, he taught; and virtue is rewarded by happiness in the world to come. "Do not," he says, "allow thyself to be persuaded by fools that God first determines who shall be righteous and who wicked. He who sins has only himself to blame for it, and he can do nothing better than speedily to change his course. God's omnipotence has bestowed freedom on man, and His omniscience foreknows man's choice without guiding it. We should not choose the good, like children and ignorant people, from motives of reward or punishment, but we should do good for its own sake, and from love to God; still retribution does await the immortal soul in the future world."

His beliefs.

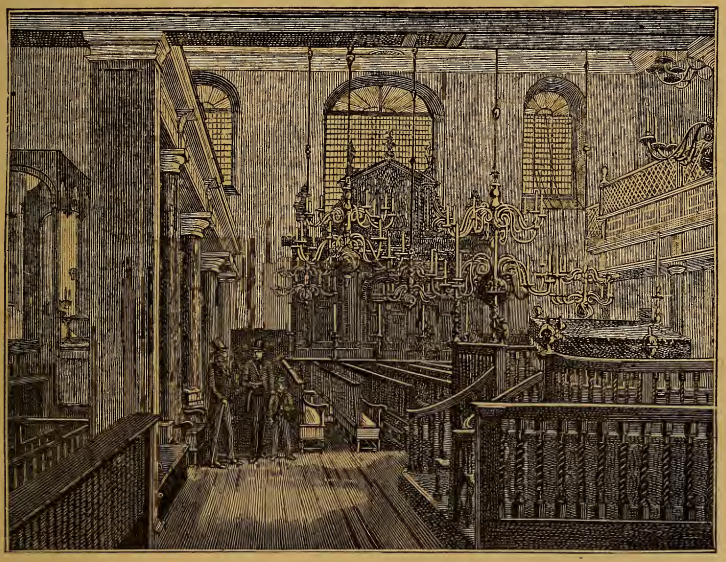
For a long time the Jews in Spain and Portugal, under Moorish rule, enjoyed complete freedom and equality; and their progress in culture and original work was great. While in the middle ages the Christians were persecuting the Jews almost everywhere, and sometimes burning them while they sang hymns as though going to a wedding, in Spain they were in a state of prosperity till the middle of the 14th century. Then followed persecutions and many cruel outrages and martyrdoms. Finally, in 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain ordered the expulsion, within four months, of all who refused to become Christians, at the same time forbidding them to take either gold or silver out of the country. Many then professed Christianity; but several hundred thousands left the country, enduring the greatest privations, and many dying in their journeys. In 1495 King Emanuel of Portugal ordered the Jews to leave his kingdom, but commanded that their children under fourteen should be taken from their mothers and brought up as Christians. "Agony drove the Jewish mothers into madness; they destroyed the children with their own

Jews in Spain and Portugal.

hands, and threw them into wells and rivers, to prevent them from falling into the hands of their persecutors."

The intensity and cruelty of the persecutions which they suffered was perhaps the salvation of the Jews as a separate nationality; although it cannot be proved that their peculiar faith and rites would not have preserved them largely as a pure race. Everywhere cut off from the rest of the population, limited as to trades and places of residence, forbidden to employ Christian servants or to become members of trade guilds, the Jews grew more and more conservative and peculiar: and their talents, concentrated by isolation, furnished at last an ever-widening

Persecution and isolation.



BEVIS MARKS SYNAGOGUE, LONDON.

stream of original genius to the nations in which they lived. Spinoza, the Humboldts, the Mendelssohns, Heine, Neander, Meyerbeer, the Disraelis, are a few of the remarkable geniuses who have sprung from modern Judaism. Yet the dawn of the modern period was preceded by an age of degradation and mental inferiority which needed the work of vigorous reformers to rouse it into life.

The most important name in the history of modern Jewish elevation and reform is that of Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), grandfather of the great composer. The son of a copier of Biblical writings on parchment, young Mendelssohn, born at Dessau in Germany, was early inspired by the reading of Maimonides' "Guide of the Perplexed." After a wide general education, he set before himself the improvement of the moral

Moses Mendelssohn.

and social condition of his people. While obeying in the letter the Oral Law, Mendelssohn brought into the study of religion all the knowledge and philosophy of his time; and the effect of his writings was to destroy the authority of the Talmud and the rabbinical writers among those who listened to him. His essay, entitled "Phædo, or the Immortality of the Soul," attempted to lay down a new basis for that doctrine. His attitude towards Christianity was so liberal that many of his co-religionists began to look upon him as secretly a Christian himself. In his "Morning Hours" he discussed the existence of God, refuting pantheism, and especially Spinoza's views. He also published German translations and commentaries on several parts of the Old Testament, notably the Pentateuch and the Psalms. In regard to what we may call Church government, his ideas were remarkably liberal; all religion, according to him, being an affair of the heart, it should not be under any control, either of State, Church, or synagogue. At the same time he insisted that "the law of Moses was not a law of faith, but merely of statutes and prohibitions." Religion, he taught, should be propagated purely by conviction, and should never attempt to uphold itself by authority. He recommended his people to take an example of charity from Christians, and love and bear with each other, that they might be themselves loved and tolerated by others. It followed that his influence in promoting the idea of the religious equality of all persons in the eye of the State has been very great. His life and writings benefited both Jews and Christians, and started new schools of thought in philosophy and religious criticism among the Jews. His epitaph, written by Ramler, runs thus: "True to the religion of his forefathers, wise as Socrates, teaching immortality, and becoming immortal like Socrates." The modern Jews have a saying that "from Moses (the lawgiver) to Moses (Maimonides), and Moses (Mendelssohn), no one hath arisen like Moses."

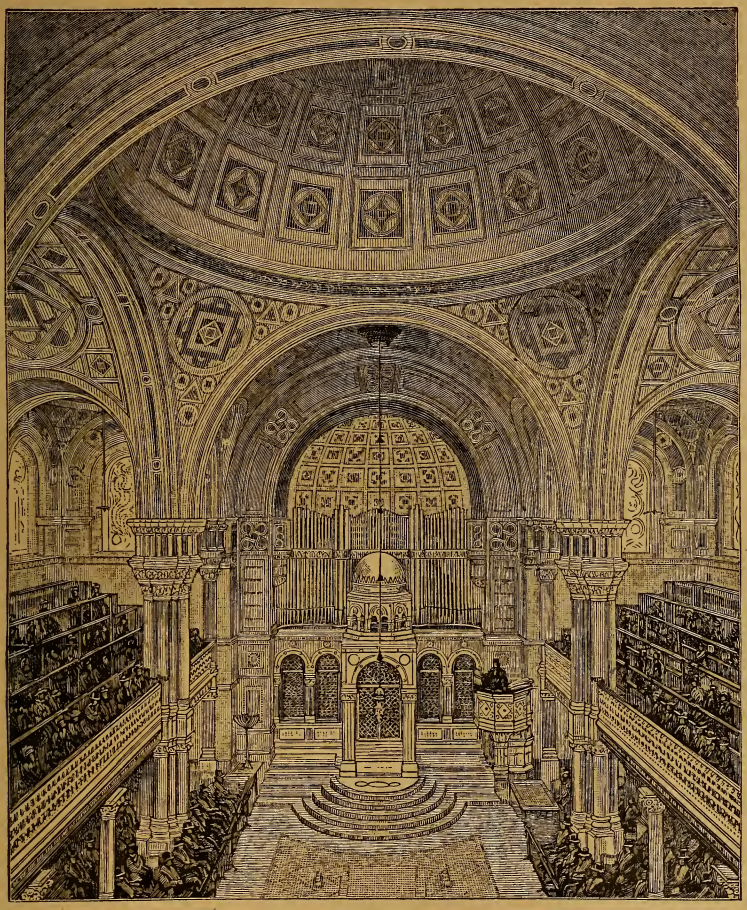
Reforms.

One of the reforms which followed Mendelssohn's labours was the revival of the obsolete office of synagogue preacher; at the same time the long prayers and sacred poems of the liturgy were considerably retrenched. Some congregations remained conservative, while new or reformed synagogues were founded, in which modern innovations were practised. Numerous theological seminaries as well as schools were established, and gradually general culture as well as Hebrew learning became much extended among the Jews.

Napoleon and the French Jews.

In 1790–1 the whole of the French Jews were admitted to equal rights of citizenship with the French people. One of the unique things the Emperor Napoleon did, was to summon a meeting of the Sanhedrim, formally elected by the synagogues of France and Italy. It sat in 1807, and formulated statutes which were regarded as binding by the congregations which sent delegates. Its principal decisions were: (1) That polygamy is forbidden; (2) That divorce is permissible to Jews after legal divorce by the civil authority; (3) That no Jew may perform the ceremony of marriage until legal forms have been fulfilled; and intermarriages with Christians are recognised, though they cannot be

performed with Jewish ceremonies; (4) That acts of justice and charity are enjoined towards all mankind, of whatever religion, who recognise the Creator; (5) That Jewish natives of France shall obey the laws of the land, and treat it as their native country; and they are dispensed from



WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE, UPPER BERKELEY SQUARE.

ceremonial observances while serving in the army; (6) That Jews shall train their children to useful employments, renounce objectionable callings, and in every way try to gain their neighbours' good-will; (7) That interest shall not be taken where money is lent for the support of a family, but only in commercial undertakings and at legal rates; (8) That the last

article, and the texts of Scripture on the subject, apply equally between Jews and their fellow-citizens; and usury is altogether forbidden.

The emperor at the close of the session established a legal organisation for French Jews. Every two thousand Jews were formed into a synagogue, and its consistory was to consist of one chief rabbi, two rabbis, and three lay householders. The central consistory of Paris received power to depose the rabbis, and the duties of the rabbis were defined. They were to publish the decrees of the Sanhedrim, to inculcate obedience to the State laws, and to pray in the synagogues for the emperor and his family. Since 1831 the Jewish rabbis have been paid by the French State.

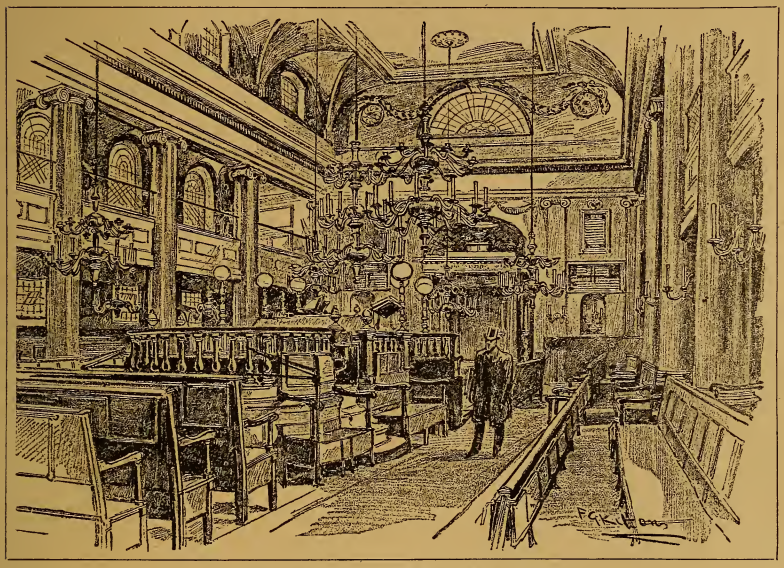
The Jews in England.

After the Norman conquest Jews settled in England in considerable numbers, and gradually became most important aids in the financial arrangements of kings and nobles. In 1290, however, they were expelled, and did not return in any number till about the close of the sixteenth century. They were not formally allowed to settle in this country again until 1657, when Manasseh ben Israel, a rabbi from Amsterdam, obtained a decision from Cromwell's Council of State in their favour. The modern history of the emancipation of the Jews from civil and religious disabilities is well-known. It is estimated that there are between sixty and seventy thousand Jews in England, of whom over forty thousand are in London, chiefly belonging to the Ashkenazim, or German-Polish section. The Sephardim, or Spanish-Portuguese families, do not increase in number. The Ashkenazim have fourteen synagogues and nineteen minor synagogues, with a chief rabbi; the Sephardim have two synagogues, with an independent chief rabbi. These two differ somewhat in their pronunciation of Hebrew, and in several minor matters of ritual. They have no distinctions of seats in their synagogues, nor lines of demarcation in their cemeteries. There is a still more interesting body, represented by one synagogue only, that of the Reformed British Jews, Upper Berkeley Street, Portman Square, a body founded in 1841 in consequence of a conviction of the necessity for modifying the Jewish service to suit modern ideas. Services are held at later hours, such as 10.30 instead of at 7 and 7.30; an improved and shortened ritual is used, the best portions of the Portuguese and German liturgies being blended. Singing is introduced; but no service, except on the Day of Atonement, exceeds two hours and a half. Sermons in English are given every Sabbath and holy day at morning service. Numerous services on holy days not appointed by Scripture, are given up, and only one day of each of the great festivals is observed. They do not acknowledge the authority of the oral law nor that of the chief rabbi. There are similar congregations at Manchester and Bradford.

Jews in various countries.

The Jews are most numerous in Austria ($1\frac{1}{3}$ million), where they are now comparatively free and well treated; and in Russia ($2\frac{3}{5}$ millions), where they are more harshly treated than in any other country. They number 200,000 in Roumania, many being descendants of Spanish Jews; and among them are many farmers and handicraftsmen. They are numerous in Constantinople and in Asiatic Turkey;

there are 25,000 Jews in Smyrna and 30,000 in Bagdad. There are 15,000 in Jerusalem, mainly occupied in studying the Talmud, being supported by their brethren throughout the world. The Jerusalem Jews, who include all branches of the stock, by no means all dress alike. The Sephardim wear ordinary Eastern garb, the Russian and Polish Jews have long silk or cloth gowns and fur caps, while the Germans retain their national garb of a century ago with a flat wideawake hat. There are several hundred thousand Jews in Morocco and Tripoli, who in some parts even lead a nomadic life. In the United States they are numerous and rich, and have many fine synagogues. Some of them observe the Sabbath on Sunday, others use English prayers and have disused Hebrew, and many are lax in their ritual.



GREAT SYNAGOGUE, DUKE'S PLACE, ALDGATE.

We must briefly notice the Beni Israel of Bombay, about five thousand in number, chiefly artisans, who say that they descend from a ship's company of passengers wrecked on that coast more than a thousand years ago They are strict observers of the Sabbath, observe the great Jewish festivals, and refrain from unclean fish or flesh; and they have a markedly Jewish type of face. They have leaders who act as high priests as well as civil leaders. The Beni Israel speak Marathi; few know Hebrew. They seldom intermarry with ordinary Jews.

The Beni Israel.

[Ewald: "History of Israel," vols. 5-8. Schürer: "Jewish people in the time of Christ" (T. & T. Clark). Hershon: "Genesis according to the Talmud." "The Palestinian Talmud," translated into French by M Schwab. "Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch." M'Clintock and Strong: "Cyclopædia of Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature."]

JEWISH WEDDING. UNDER THE "CHUPAH."

CHAPTER VI.

Modern Jewish Ritual.—The Karaites and Samaritans.

Synagogue government—Chief rabbi—Other officials—The ruler—Arrangement of synagogue—Costume during service—Fringes—Phylacteries—Form of daily services—The Shema and blessings—Sabbath services—Reading the law—Sabbath observance—New moons—The New Year feast—Days of repentance—Day of atonement—Feast of tabernacles—Other feasts—The Passover—Feast of Pentecost—Fasts—Children—Marriage—The Mezuzah—Divorce—Sickness, death and burial—The Kabbalah—The Zohar—The Karaites—Their view of Jesus Christ—The Samaritans—Early history—Samaritan Pentateuch—Liturgy—Principal beliefs—Fasts, Sabbaths, etc.

WE will now review some of the principal events and ceremonies among the modern Jews,[1] with special relation to the British Jews. Each synagogue constitutes a distinct community, independent except in a few particulars, in which all are related to a central authority, composed of the Chief Rabbi and three members eminent for learning and piety, nominated by him and approved by the majority of the synagogues. These constitute the House of Judgment, and meet twice a week to settle all religious, social, and civil questions brought before them. His colleagues cannot act without the Chief Rabbi; they act for life unless they betray their trust. The title of Chief Rabbi must be conferred by a meeting of at least three chief rabbis; and thus in most cases it is decided by foreign Jews; but the synagogues vote for the candidates in proportion to the money they have subscribed for the maintenance of the Chief Rabbi. His duties are to perform all marriages of London Jews, to lecture once a month at the great synagogue, Duke's Place, Aldgate; to superintend

Synagogue government.

Chief Rabbi.

[1] John Mills: "The British Jews." Ginsburg: Articles in "Kitto's Cyclopædia."

all the shochet, or killers of animals for food, to visit the Jewish schools and colleges, etc., and to exercise a general jurisdiction over all the synagogues in his province. In England there is a rabbi at Manchester appointed by the Chief Rabbi, but no other person in England has this high title. One of the strangest things in the history of the Jews is the decayed condition of the yriesthood, who, since the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, have had no special and exclusive functions, the sacrifices being no longer offered. It does not even appear to be necessary that the Chief Rabbi should be of priestly descent. The Levites, too, are in many cases able to trace their descent from the tribe of Levi, but they no longer have any special duties.

The Sophers, or "Writers," are skilled writers of Hebrew, who prepare scrolls of the law, and various documents connected with Jewish ceremonies and rites. The Shochet are killers of animals suitable for Jews to eat, and are definitely appointed after examination by three rabbis. The office is generally held by the Reader of the synagogue, unless the Jews are numerous in a town. He is also the circumciser, except where there are many Jews, when a special official is appointed. **Other officials.**

The Reader is the minister of the synagogue: there are generally a senior and a junior Reader for considerable congregations. He has to read the liturgy and to attend marriages and funerals of members. His duties, with that of the clerk, are minutely specified and rather onerous. Elections of Readers are made by the congregation, after due nomination and selection of candidates by the committee. Candidates for the office may be of any nation or congregation, most of the readers in England being German or Polish Jews. The congregation have considerable power over matters concerning them in general or members in particular, having the right to attend meetings, in which everything is decided by the vote of the majority. **The Reader.**

The synagogue (commonly called *schul*, from the German *schule*, by the Ashkenazim) is more formally termed "Beth Haknesseth" (house of the assembly) in documents. The interior of the building is divided into two parts, the floor with open seats for males, the gallery (with lattice-work in front) for females, who are not considered as belonging to the congregation and may not join in the service. At the east end of the building is the Ark, a large wooden chest contained in a specially decorated receptacle, richly veiled. In this the Law is kept, wrapped in a tentlike cover, and the ceremony of taking it out for each service is very important. It is written on vellum about two feet wide, and of sufficient length to contain the entire Pentateuch, written in columns. Each end is fastened to a roller, round one of which it is wound as it is read, while it is correspondingly unwound from the other. The writing is without vowel points, and is therefore difficult to read; the Reader is expected to refresh his memory the evening before the service. The reading desk is a kind of raised seat on which the Reader stands, surrounded by all the officers of the congregation, seated. The seats nearer to the Ark are the more honourable, and are **Arrangement of synagogue.**

correspondingly expensive. At the west end of the synagogue a lamp is kept always burning, to represent the Shechinah of the old Temple.

Jewish services are unlike those of Christians and most other religious bodies in requiring the wearing of hats throughout, and in kneeling forming no part of the ritual, except on the first two days of their year and on the Day of Atonement. The males wear a special scarf with fringes, known as *talith*, which is a smaller outer representative of the "arbang kanphoth" worn underneath the outer dress. It has four corners, with fringes attached to each, usually of eight threads nine inches long, arranged in a peculiar way. The under garment which it represents was formerly the outer one worn by Jews at all times, but transferred beneath in times of persecution. It is about three feet long and one foot wide, with a hole in the centre sufficient to let it pass over the head, so that part falls in front and part behind. The necessity for wearing such a garment is based on Numbers xv. 37–41. The fringes are so arranged and knotted that they constitute a perfect symbol of the entire Law; and the rabbis have even said that the law about fringes is as important as all the rest put together. More than one instance of anxiety to touch the fringes (rendered "hem" in the Authorised Version) of Jesus's garment is recorded in the Gospels; and He rebuked the Pharisees for enlarging their fringes in the idea that they thereby served God better.

Costume during service.

Fringes.

The phylacteries, or tephillin, are another important part of a Jew's service-costume. They are small square boxes of parchment in which are placed four slips of parchment an inch wide and eight inches long, containing four extracts from Exodus (xiii. 2–10, 11–16) and Deuteronomy (vi. 4–9, 13–21) carefully written in Hebrew, the writing folded inside. In the lid of the box is fixed a leather thong, about two yards long, for binding the phylactery round the head and arm. One of these is bound round the forehead of every male Jew above thirteen years old, and another on the left arm, at morning prayer, whether in the synagogue or at home, except on sabbaths and on festivals. While putting them on, the pious Jew repeats several forms of benediction. It was these phylacteries which the Pharisees, in the time of Christ, wore of unusual size that they might be conspicuous at a distance, indicating that they were at prayer or engaged in religious meditation. Maimonides says: "The sacred influence of the phylacteries is very great; for as long as one wears them on his head and arm he is obliged to be meek, God-fearing, must not suffer himself to be carried away by laughter or idle talk, nor indulge in evil thoughts; but must turn his attention to the words of truth and uprightness."

Phylacteries.

Devout Jews are expected to observe a very onerous amount of ritual and prayer; but the prescribed service consists entirely of reading and singing prayers and portions of Scripture, without any comment. Such sermons and lectures as are given are outside the ordinary routine. The daily service ought properly to be gone through three times a day—morning, afternoon, and evening—at least privately. The morning service, as soon as may be after dawn (usually about 7 or 7.30), is the most

Form of daily services.

important and lengthy. There are special ceremonies and recitals on entering the synagogue, and putting on the fringed scarf and the phylacteries. The service proper begins with the Shema, including Deut. vi. 4–9, xi. 13–21, and Num. xv. 37–41; beginning, "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." This may be called a clear monotheistic creed. It is followed by a series of eighteen (really nineteen) benedictions, believed to have been composed by Ezra and the members of the Great Synagogue up to the time of the Roman ascendency in Palestine. It may be confidently believed that Jesus and the apostles used these prayers and benedictions, or some of them, when they worshipped in the synagogues. They range through a very striking series of praises of God, prayers for mercy and forgiveness, for the re-establishment of the Israelitish kingdom, and for well-being and guidance. One of them, believed by many to have been added in Christian times, prays for the destruction of apostates. Other prayers and psalms may be interspersed in the service, which lasts an hour and a half. The afternoon service, before sunset, is held continuously with the evening service, beginning at sunset. The services are similar to that of the morning, but shorter. On Mondays and Thursdays, certain penitential prayers and portions of the Law are added, and on these days some Jews fast.

The Shema and blessings.

REMOVING SCROLLS OF THE LAW FROM THE ARK—
WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE.

The Sabbath services of the Jews are four: the first about sunset on Friday, the ordinary service having some special psalms and prayers added to it as a reception of the Sabbath. The principal morning service is at a

later hour than on other mornings, about 8.30, or even so late as 10.30 in reformed congregations. The daily service is first gone through; next a considerable portion of the Torah or Pentateuch is read, the whole being so divided as to be gone through once a year. This is followed by a selection from the prophetical writings; and the whole concludes with prayers and portions of the Law relating to the former Temple sacrifices.

Sabbath services.

The Reading of the Law is a ceremony of great import in Jewish eyes. Several officials are designated to assist in it, and these offices are eagerly sought and paid for by devout Jews, considerable sums being often given in order to gain the honour. A special person is deputed to go up with the Reader to the ark, and carry the scroll to the reading desk; and seven persons are called up to stand one by one by the side of the reader, as each of the seven sections, into which the Law for the day is divided, is read. When the ark is opened, and when the scroll is taken out, special portions of the Law are recited by the congregation. There are also special introductions by the Reader and attendants at each stage, and responses by the congregation. The reading of the Prophets is accompanied by similar, though less elaborate forms. The Sabbath afternoon service is nearly like that of ordinary days, and is separate from the Sabbath evening service, when, in addition to prayers like the daily service, certain psalms are read. A slight amount of music is introduced into the services; the Reader reads with a certain special musical intonation having sixteen different accents, constituting a sort of formal cantillation. Melodies, some ancient, some more modern, are also sung by the Reader and congregation, or by a special choir.

Reading the Law.

The observance of the Sabbath, among strict Jews, is very much the same as it always has been. It is marked by cessation from ordinary work, bathing and other special preparations preceding its commencement. The women often do not attend the synagogue services, but repeat prayers at home. At the Friday evening meal the children ask the father's blessing, and all then join in a Sabbath hymn, referring to the ministering angels, who are believed to visit and remain in the dwelling throughout the Sabbath. After this a part of the thirty-first chapter of Proverbs is read as a lesson to the female portion of the family. The Sabbath is then consecrated by blessing the specially prepared bread and wine. Two oblong loaves of fine flour are baked by the mistress and placed upon the table, to commemorate the double portion of manna gathered in the wilderness on Fridays for the Sabbaths. One of the loaves is broken and distributed by the master, with a blessing. The Sabbath morning service should be attended before any meal is taken, and then not until the special "sanctification of the Sabbath" has been said, including the fourth commandment. There are numerous other formal ceremonies; but beyond their observance and refraining from prohibited actions, which is only kept up by the stricter Jews, it is the rule to spend the day in various forms of pleasure and recreation. Non-Jewish servants are usually engaged to do things which Jews must not do on the Sabbath.

Sabbath observance.

The numerous feasts and fasts of the Jewish calendar are kept with a varying degree of strictness, the great days being most observed. The first day of every lunar month is marked by several additions to the ordinary services, praying for blessings for the month. Some Jews hold a special meeting for the salutation of the moon, sometimes between the third and fifteenth of the month; the face of the moon being looked upon as a Shechinah, or symbol of the Divine glory. The first month of the civil year, Tisri, answering nearly to our October, is believed to be that in which the world was created, and in which the destiny of all persons was settled by God. The first and second days are therefore kept much like a Sabbath, with additional prayers and passages of Scripture. After the first service, all salute each other with "May you be writ to a good year." At the first evening meal the master of the house cuts up a sweet apple and divides it between those present; each then dips his piece in a cup of honey and eats it, saying, "To a good year and a sweet one." After the morning service there is the ceremony of blowing the ram's horn as a proclamation to all men to repent, and as a reminder of the giving of the Law, and of the great day of coming judgment. Special preparation for blowing the horn is needed, and a special prayer is offered before it is blown. Various readings and prayers, with an address by the rabbi or reader, are interspersed with the blowing of the horn. The full service lasts about six hours. The second day is kept with equal strictness; only slightly different extracts from the Law and the prophets are read.

New moons.

The New Year Fast.

The first ten days of the month are days of repentance and confession of sins, which, it is said, can arrest the evil decrees which fate would otherwise register. Such repentance, to bring a happy year, must take place before sunset on the Day of Atonement. On the ninth day, after breakfast, fowls are killed by heads of families, as representing atoning sacrifices. After the synagogue service visits are paid to the burial grounds, to invoke the intercession of the dead on the next day. The congregation return to the synagogue in the afternoon and, after services, the more devout subject themselves to the "whip of correction" from one another, "forty stripes save one" being given with a leather thong. They then return home for their last meal before the great Fast Day. Every member of the family is required to be reconciled if at variance, and children ask forgiveness of their parents, who bless and pray for them.

Days of Repentance.

The evening service which follows in the synagogue ushers in the great Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur). It begins with a form of absolution for all rash or unfulfilled vows, oaths, etc. A three hours' service follows. Next morning service recommences about six o'clock and lasts till the evening, no meal being taken during the twenty-four hours. Appropriate prayers are followed by the reading of portions of the Law. Next follow the portions of the Law relating to the sacrifices; after which the priests, after ablution, pronounce the blessing from Numbers vi. 23–27 (see illustration, p. 653), standing in a row in front of the ark, covering their heads and faces with their scarves. Next

Day of Atonement.

follows the afternoon service, very full; and finally comes the great concluding prayer (*Nengilah*, a closing or bolting), indicating that the time of repentance is over and the destiny of each is fixed. The trumpet is then blown, and the service proper closes with the words, "Next year we shall be in Jerusalem." But another half-hour of prayer follows, and the fast is over at about six o'clock. This day's service is attended by very many Jews who do not keep the other festivals or even attend the Sabbath services. The Jewish Free School is used to accommodate the overflow audiences. Many wear only stockings or cloth boots on their feet during the service; no leather nor any gold ornaments may be worn.

On the fifteenth of the same month the Feast of Tabernacles (*Succoth*) begins; booths, or representatives of them, having been previously prepared either within or outside the houses. The Feast is celebrated with special prayers and references to the occasion. There is a special ceremony with branches of palm, myrtle, and willow, held in the hand, and waved about by the Reader during the synagogue service while the Hallel is being sung. Near the end of the afternoon service, the officers take a scroll of the Law out of the ark and march in procession—the Law being carried in front—round the reading-desk, and holding the branches in their right hands. At every meal during the feast the account of dwelling in booths from Leviticus xxiii. has to be repeated. On the seventh day (the Great Hosanna) every one, male and female, attends the synagogue with branches of willow; and seven scrolls of the Law are carried round the desk in procession seven times, hymns and prayers being sung meanwhile. After prayers every one beats the leaves off his willow branches, it being a good omen if they fall off easily. The eighth day is kept as a special feast, like the first two days. The ninth day is that on which the last and the first sections of the Law are read, and it is kept as a feast termed "the rejoicing of the Law." There are processions again, in which it is a great honour to join, and after service special festivities take place in honour of the law.

Feast of Tabernacles.

In the third month, on the 25th and following days, the feast of dedication is held, in memory of the renewed dedication of the Temple at Jerusalem by Mattathias after its pollution by Antiochus Epiphanes. A fast in the fourth month commemorates the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar as the starting-point of the calamities of Israel. The feast of Purim is held on the 14th and 15th of the sixth month, Adar, to celebrate the deliverance of the Jews as recorded in the Book of Esther, the previous day (13th) being kept as "the fast of Esther." At the first service of the feast, on the evening of the 13th, the Book of Esther is read from a special scroll, and whenever the name of Haman is read the congregation stamp on the floor, and say, "Let his name be blotted out." The names of Haman and his sons are read very rapidly to signify their sudden destruction. These days are kept as special occasions of merry-making.

Other feasts.

The Passover falls in the seventh month (Nisan), the Sabbath pre-

ceding it being called the Great Sabbath, when the Rabbi expounds the laws and duties pertaining to the festival. During the eight days no leavened bread or fermented wine is drunk. The bread used is in the form of large thin wheaten cakes of circular shape, and it is baked for all the United Kingdom under the special superintendence of the Chief Rabbi and a staff of watchers, who carefully prevent all chance of fermentation. The wine used in the ceremonies is also carefully prepared under Jewish supervision. Some substitutes, a cheap raisin wine, rum, French brandy, etc., are also used. On the Passover eve the houses are searched for leaven, and everything is cleansed. The firstborn are expected to fast on this day. The Passover feast is celebrated in the family on the evening of the first day. Certain cakes called Israelite, Levite and Kohen, a shankbone

The Passover.

PUTTING ON PHYLACTERIES. PHYLACTERIES, AS WORN IN THE GARB OF PRAYER.

of lamb, an egg roasted in hot ashes, some lettuce and other herbs, some salt water and vinegar (in memory of the Red Sea), and some almonds, apples, etc. (mixed up like lime to commemorate the bricks and mortar of Egypt), are placed on the table. Every one at table (including every Jewish servant) drinks four glasses or cups of wine, and special blessings are said with each. Each article of food is distributed with special reference to the events commemorated, as "This is the bread of affliction, which our ancestors ate in the land of Egypt." A cup of wine is set for the prophet Elijah (or Elias) who is always expected to appear as the forerunner of the Messiah. After filling the last cup of wine, the Hallel is repeated, together with an account of the mighty deeds done at midnight and on the days of Passover. After the fourth cup of wine, the Paschal hymn is sung with great joy, in-

cluding frequent repetitions and variations of such phrases as "The Illustrious One builds his house soon," with many names of God—as the Hallowed, the Powerful, the Strong One, the Redeemer, the Just One. The next evening is spent in a very similar way. Special portions of Scripture are read at the public services, with Rabbinical and Kabbalistic poems.

Feast of Pentecost.

The Feast of Pentecost takes place on the ninth month, or the fiftieth day from the second Passover day. It commemorates the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. The synagogues are decked with flowers, and the houses with flowers and fragrant herbs, as a reminder of the open country in which the Law was given. There are special addresses and forms of sanctification extolling the blessings given to the Jews in the Law, and on the second day the Book of Ruth is read through.

Fasts.

A fast is kept in the month of January, on the day when Moses is supposed to have broken the tables of the Law, and when Jerusalem was destroyed the second time. In the eleventh month is a strict fast in memory of the destruction of the first and second Temples, and the Book of Lamentations and mournful prayers are read in the synagogue service. At the morning service even the fringes and phylacteries are laid aside.

A few particulars remain to be given about the domestic regulations of the Jews. Circumcision of male children on the eighth to the twelfth day after birth is regularly performed with a religious ceremony, a Hebrew name, for religious use, being then given. The firstborn child of a mother, if a male, is "redeemed" when thirty days old, by a ceremonial offering of him to a priest, and the payment of a few shillings to the priest.

Children.

The first religious instruction given to a Jewish child, to be repeated immediately after waking in the morning, is the following: "I acknowledge before Thee, the living and everlasting King, that Thou hast returned my soul to me, in Thy great mercy and faithfulness." He is very early dressed in the four-cornered scarf with the fringes already alluded to, and instructed in its significance. Children are entirely under the control of their parents or guardians, till the thirteenth year has been completed. A boy then becomes "Bar Mitsvah," "a son of commandment," and is expected to take up full personal religious duties. He is called to the desk to read a portion of the Law on the first Sabbath after his attaining his thirteenth year, and he now begins to wear the phylacteries.

Marriage.

Marriage is often arranged by go-betweens or match-makers. Formal betrothal precedes marriage by six or twelve months or more; and on the Friday evening before the wedding the Reader refers to it in a chanted address. Fasting on the wedding morning is most approved, the service taking place in the afternoon at the synagogue. Ten adult persons must be present. A canopy (chupah) of silk or velvet, about two yards square, is erected in the middle of the synagogue, supported by four long poles; under it the bride and bridegroom are led by their friends. (See p. 670.) The Rabbi takes a glass of wine, pronounces an appropriate wedding blessing, and gives the wine to the bride and bridegroom, who

taste it, and then the bridegroom, putting a ring on the bride's finger, says in Hebrew: "Behold thou art betrothed to me with this ring, according to the rites of Moses and Israel." The marriage contract (in Aramaic) is read aloud by the Rabbi, after which the Reader, taking another glass of wine, pronounces a blessing, and hands the wine to the bride and bridegroom, who taste it. An empty glass is then laid on the floor, the bridegroom stamps upon it and breaks it, all present cry out "Mezal Tov," ("Good Luck,") and the ceremony is concluded.

One of the earliest duties of a Jew, after setting up a house for himself, is to prepare a "Mezuzah," literally, "door-post," in order to fulfil the requirement in Deut. vi. 4–9, and xi. 13–21, to write the law on his door-post and on his gate. A tin case or glass tube, is provided, in which a piece of vellum is placed, with the above passages written in Hebrew. On the outer side is written the word "Shaddai," one of the names of God, and a hole is left in the case, opposite to this word, so that it can be seen by any one passing. This case is nailed in a slanting position on the right-hand side of the door-post by the master of the house. Devout Jews kiss the Mezuzah before going to their daily work. **The Mezuzah.**

Divorce is performed by the husband giving the wife a formal "bill of divorcement," and can only be granted for serious causes. It is pronounced in the presence of ten witnesses besides the parties. A divorced woman may not marry again within ninety days. A bill of divorcement conditional on the husband's non-return from foreign parts within three or more years, is also sometimes given. **Divorce.**

When a Jew becomes very ill, there are many prayers and confessions which he is expected to repeat; and he is urged to ask pardon of any one he may have injured. There is a special form of public thanksgiving on recovering from illness. When death is imminent, the sick man blesses his children, placing his hands on the head of each, and repeating such passages as Gen. xlviii. 20; Num. vi. 24, 26; Isa. xi. 2; and he exhorts them to persevere in their fathers' faith, and to observe the usual mourning ceremonies. The Burial Society of the synagogue being notified, send four members to watch in the sick room day and night, and remain until the body is placed in the coffin. Various prayers are chanted by them; and finally, when the sick man is at the point of death, several passages are repeated solemnly several times, such as "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever," "The Lord is the only God," and "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." The last words "one Lord" are to be said at the moment of death. After a few minutes, all make a small rent in one of their garments, saying, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, the righteous Judge." Another declaration is made in an hour after death, including the phrase, "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." There are many interesting points in regard to purification of the body and preparation for the funeral, which we cannot detail. Very simple deal coffins are used for both rich and poor alike. The corpse is dressed in a complete set of linen garments, including **Sickness, Death, and Burial.**

the fringed scarf. The funeral is conducted with simple but extremely appropriate ceremonies. Seven days' mourning is enjoined after a funeral, during which the mourners must do no work at all, nor take any amusement. They are comforted by the visits of friends, who bring them "meals of condolence," consisting of hard-boiled eggs and bread. For thirty days afterwards no enjoyments or recreations must be taken; and pleasures are greatly restricted for twelve months. There is a special prayer for the dead (Kaddish), or rather a form of praise to God, which should be said morning and evening by a devout son for eleven months after the death of a parent.

The Kabbalah is a celebrated system of theosophy, which, arising among the Jews in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, has since exercised an important influence among both Jews and Christians. It is a doctrine received by oral tradition, which is said to have been handed down from the times of the first man. It regards God as a Being above everything, even above being and thinking. He is called En Soph, "without end," "boundless," and is absolute and incomprehensible. The world is created through the medium of ten intelligences or Sephiroth, one, which was eternally existent in the En Soph, becoming distinct as an emanation of the Deity. From this emanated the second, from the second the third, and so on; and these ten form a complete unity with the En Soph, and are infinite and perfect when He imparts His fulness to them, and finite and imperfect when it is withdrawn. Their finite side is essential, being that by which they can come into relation with the human, and they may even assume a bodily form. The ten Sephiroth are divided into three groups of three Sephiroth each, operating respectively upon the world of intellect, of souls, and of matter. Sephira 1 is called the inscrutable height, 2 the creative wisdom, 3 the conceiving intellect. From 1 the divine power proceeds, from 2 the angels and the Old Testament, from 3 the prophetic inspiration. Sephira 10, called *kingdom*, denotes Providence, protecting the Jews in all their wanderings. These Sephiroth created the lower world, everything in which has its prototype in the upper world; they uphold it, and convey to it the Divine mercies through twelve channels. The transmission of the Divine mercies can be hastened by prayer, sacrifices, and religious observances; and it has been given to the Jewish people to obtain these blessings for the whole world. All human souls pre-exist in the world of the Sephiroth, and must become incarnated in human bodies and undergo probation. If they remain pure, they reascend to the world of the Sephiroth; but if not, they must inhabit bodies again and again till they are purified. The redemption of Israel cannot take place till all the pre-existent souls have been born on earth and have been purified. The soul of the Messiah is to be the last born, "at the end of the days." The great interest of this system is, that by it all Biblical anthropomorphisms are explained as describing the Sephiroth, and that all the Jewish ritual and law is raised in spiritual significance. There is much resemblance between it and Neo-Platonism. We have given but a mere sketch of this complex system, which is said to be discoverable in veiled

The Kabbalah.

language in the Old Testament, but only by most fanciful and arbitrary methods. The arrangement of triads was made, even in the *Zohar*, to explain the Trinity, the Messiah and His atonement; and this has persuaded many Kabbalists to become Christians. Treatises have been written to prove the truth of Christianity from the Kabbalistic doctrines. Pico de Mirandola, late in the fifteenth century, maintained in Rome that "no science yields greater proof of the divinity of Christ than magic and the Kabbala;" and he convinced Pope Sixtus IV. of its importance as a help

PASSOVER EVE.

in the diffusion of Christianity, so that he set students to translate the Kabbalistic writings into Latin. Not only Pope Leo X., but many early reformers were fascinated by the Kabbalistic doctrine as set forth by John Reuchlin.

The Zohar.

The Zohar ("Light") is as a Bible to the Kabbalists. It is a commentary on the Pentateuch, written in Aramaic, assuming to be written by Rabbi Simon ben Yochi, about 70–110 A.D., but really a thirteenth century composition. (*See* Ginsburg, "The Kabbalah:

its Doctrines, Development, and Literature," 1805; also in *Encyclopædia Britannica*). It contains, as well as a commentary, a number of separate treatises, with such titles as "The Mansions and Abodes," "The Secret of Secrets," dealing with physiognomy and psychology, "The Faithful Shepherd," etc. It will be evident that the Kabbala has something in common with the Hindu and Buddhist philosophies; and its very fancifulness gives it much fascination. It is another example of the irresistible fascination of speculations about the unseen.

The Karaites.

We must here give a brief separate notice of the Karaites,[1] one of the most distinctive sects of the Jews, marked by their rejection of the oral law, or tradition, and their guidance only by the text of the Old Testament. They appear to have originated after the publication of the Talmud, and they represent a spirit of reform and reversion to a simpler faith and observances. Their first notable man, Ahnan ben David, arose in the middle of the eighth century, and, having been rejected from the post of chief patriarch of the exiled Jews in Bagdad on account of his views, he formed a congregation of his own at Jerusalem. He gained a large number of adherents, and spread his faith, by messengers and letters, through a large part of Asia and the countries bordering the Mediterranean. His main tenets were the supreme authority of the Law, and the worthlessness of everything in the Talmud or other writings that was contrary to the Law of Moses. He died in 765, leaving behind him very many adherents; and his sect grew till the fourteenth century, after which they were largely eclipsed. The present number of Karaites is very uncertain. There are many in the Crimea and in Asia, and some would reckon among them the Reformed Jewish congregations in Western Europe. They appear to have been influenced to some considerable extent by Mohammedanism, laying much stress on prayers, fasting, and pilgrimages to Hebron (as a tribute to Abraham). They make the heads of their phylacteries round instead of square, and, among other things, extend the prohibition of marriage to the remotest degree of affinity. They believe in the unity of God the Creator, in Moses His prophet, in the perfection of his Law, in the resurrection and day of judgment, in retribution according to human doings, in the chastisement by God of the Jews, and in hoping for salvation by the Messiah, the Son of David. They accept the teachings of the Talmud, where they are purely explanatory, without adding to or altering the sense, but they give no credit to its fanciful explanations and allegories. They believe that the Messiah will issue from themselves.

Their view of Jesus Christ.

The attitude of Ahnan towards Jesus is worthy of note. He said that Jesus of Nazareth was "a very wise, just, holy, and God-fearing Man, who did not at all wish to be recognised as a prophet, but simply desired to uphold the Law of Moses and do away with the commandments of men." He therefore condemned the Jews for having dealt with Jesus as an impostor, and for having put Him to death.

The Samaritans are another community claiming to be Jews, and now

[1] From Hebrew *Karaim*, readers—*i.e.*, observers—of the written Law.

reduced to fewer than two hundred persons, living at Nablous, the ancient Shechem, in the centre of Palestine. Historically they are important for the circumstances of their origin, several features in their history and worship, and their preservation of very ancient manuscripts of the Pentateuch and other sacred books, and of several interesting traditions. They originated after the depopulation of central Palestine by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C., and their replacement by various colonists from Babylonia. It appears probable that some Israelites, perhaps only of the poorest class, were left behind, and mingled with the settlers. The latter set up their own idolatrous worship; but being attacked by lions, they regarded their ravages as a warning that they ought to worship the God of the land. They informed the king of Assyria of this, and he sent back to them one of the captive priests of Jehovah, who settled at Bethel, and taught them to worship the God of Israel (2 Kings xvii.). By the time of Ezra it would appear that the worship of Jehovah was in the ascendant among the Samaritans, and they desired to join the returned Jews in rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem. This privilege being refused, the Samaritans became actively hostile to the Jews; and they appear thenceforward to have represented themselves as the true followers of Moses, and Gerizim (near Shechem) as the sanctuary appointed by God. The site was sacred by many associations of Israelitish history. A temple was built there by the Samaritans about the time of Alexander the Great, and was the centre of a considerable worship till it was destroyed by John Hyrcanus in B.C. 129. After this still more bitter enmity reigned between the Samaritans and the Jews. The Samaritans killed Galilean pilgrims to Jerusalem, and once even polluted the Temple on the eve of the Passover. Thus we can better realise the point of the parable of the Good Samaritan, a good deed done to a Jew by his direst hereditary enemy, when his own people passed him by. For a long time the Samaritans continued their cruelties to the Jews, and later transferred their hatred to the Christians. Their latest

The Samaritans.

Early history.

JEWISH BURIAL.

rising against them, in the Emperor Justinian's reign (A.D. 529), led to a destructive campaign which almost obliterated them. Many shared in the dispersion of the Jews; and we read of synagogues of the Samaritans in various places. Little more was heard of them until towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the renowned scholar, Joseph Scaliger, addressed the Samaritan congregations of Nablous and Cairo; and after his time the Samaritan Pentateuch and other literature gradually became known in the West, and copies of many of the manuscripts reached Europe.

Samaritan Pentateuch.

It is mentioned by early Christian Fathers that the Samaritans claimed to possess a very early form of the Pentateuch, written in a peculiarly modified Hebrew writing, with special marks or signs. The oldest manuscript, which may date from the fourth century A.D., but is probably based on original copies dating from the time of Ezra, is the present sacred roll of the Samaritans, written on twenty-one skins of unequal size, but now in a bad state of preservation and only partially legible. A note upon it states that it was made by Abishua, son of Phinehas, grandson of Aaron, on Mount Gerizim, in the thirteenth year after the Israelites had taken possession of the land. It shows marks of an earlier dialect of Hebrew than our present Hebrew Old Testament, with certain variations which are reproduced in the Septuagint. Consequently many scholars believe that the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch were derived from Jewish manuscripts which greatly resembled each other,[1] but differed slightly from our present Hebrew Pentateuch. There are certain factors in the Samaritan copies which appear to be due to purposive alteration by the Samaritans, to add dignity to the patriarchs or to add to the glory of the Creator, to introduce Mount Gerizim, to support monotheism, or to remove anthropomorphism. Thus, wherever God Himself is represented as speaking directly to men, "the angel of God," is substituted. There is also a Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, probably made in the first century of the Christian era, in a sort of Aramaic which approaches Arabic; the names Elohim and Jehovah are usually changed to angel. Various anthropomorphisms are altered. This Samaritan translation is remarkable for the number of glosses which it contains, making it practically a Targum.

Liturgy.

The Samaritans have also a considerable liturgy, consisting chiefly of hymns and prayers for Sabbaths and feast-days, and prayers for special occasions. One of the litanies ends thus:

"Lord, for the sake of the three perfect ones; for the sake of Joseph, the interpreter of dreams; for the sake of Moses, chief of the prophets; for the sake of the priests, the masters of the priests; for the sake of the Torah, most sacred of books; for the sake of Mount Gerizim, the everlasting hill; for the sake of the hosts of angels; destroy the enemies and foes; receive our prayers, O Everlasting. Deliver us from these troubles; open to us the treasures of heaven."

[1] See J. W. Nutt, "Fragments of a Samaritan Targum, with a Sketch of Samaritan History, Dogma, and Literature."

Among the principal beliefs of the Samaritans may be mentioned the belief in one God, in Moses as His one messenger and prophet, in the perfection and completeness of the Law, that Gerizim is the abode of God on earth, the home of eternal life, that over it is Paradise; Principal beliefs.

ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT OF SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

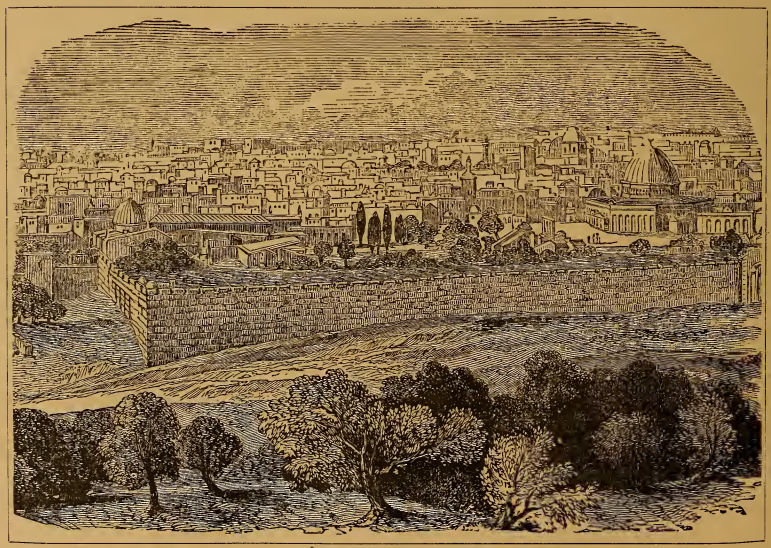
and that there will come a day of retribution, when the righteous will rise again, and false prophets and their followers will be cast into fire. They believe also in angels and astrology. They believe in a coming Messiah or

"Restorer," to whom all people will submit, and the beginning of whose name will be M. He will establish the Tabernacle on Mount Gerizim, and will live 110 years on earth.

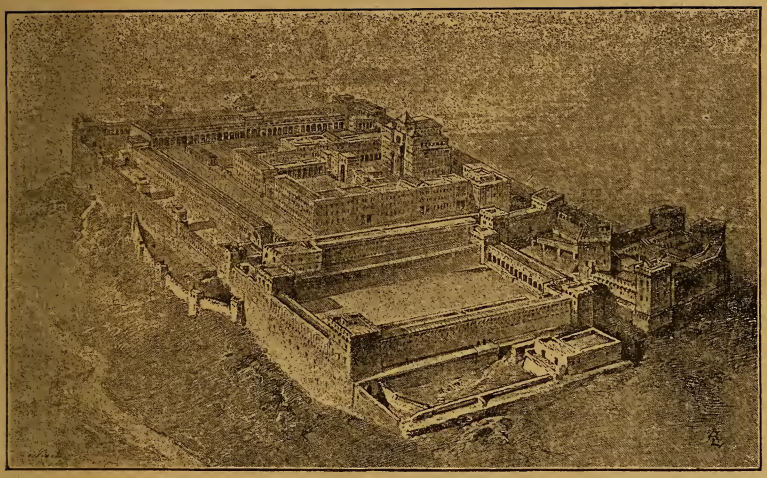
At the present day the Samaritans observe seven feasts a year, the Passover being that kept with most solemnity.[1] The Sabbath is strictly kept, and also the years of jubilee and release. The senior priest may nominate any male member of his family to the priesthood, if at least twenty-five years of age, and having uncut hair. Tithes and presents every half-year support the two priests. They never take off their turban; and when they remove the roll of the Law from the ark, they place a cloth (*talith*) round their head. When a man's wife proves barren, he is permitted to take a second. On the whole, Jewish customs are strictly followed. At the Passover time they literally encamp on Mount Gerizim for a week, and slay, roast, and eat the lambs with their loins girt, and with staves in their hands, observing the minutest details of the ritual of the Pentateuch. They keep the Fast of the Atonement in the most rigid manner, remaining in their synagogue all the twenty-four hours without eating, drinking, or smoking, the priests and people reciting the whole Pentateuch, intermingled with prayers and confessions of faith. If they have not a very strong Israelitish element in them, their Judaic religion and the rigid conservatism with which they have maintained it, are among the most remarkable religious phenomena in the world.

Feasts, Sabbaths, etc.

[1] See Stanley, "Jewish Church," and Mills, "Three Months' Residence in Nablous."



VIEW OF MODERN JERUSALEM.



TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM (RESTORED).

BOOK VI.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

The Founder of Christianity.

Divergent views—Facts well-known—Contrast between Jesus and other teachers—Originality in His teaching—In His character and mode of life—A new ideal of love—Power of the unseen—The Divine Father—Influence of future life—Faith required—Forgiveness of sins—The demand for truth—Law of kindness—His relation to God the Father—His relation to mankind—The special affection He inspired—His treatment of women and of children—His limitations—Miracles—Salvation from sin—Liberation from lower nature—Purpose of His life and death—The society He founded—The sacraments—His mode of teaching—The gnomic form—The concrete and practical—His parables—His predictions—His Passion—The resurrection—St. Paul's testimony.

IN attempting to portray in some fashion the foundation and history of Christianity, the writer reaches the most critical and difficult portion of his task; first, because of the numberless important facts and questions which cannot be dealt with in a limited space; secondly, on account of the vital relation the facts described have to the beliefs and conduct of multitudes of persons; and thirdly, because of the controversies which encircle so many incidents or general questions relating especially to the early history of Christianity. The author must repeat that no dogmatic conclusions are here enforced. Those facts and views which appear most salient, must of course be selected; but when facts are in dispute, most stress will be laid on those which are agreed upon by numerous opposing schools of thought, the object being to present as im-

Divergent views.

partial a narrative as possible; only the writer claims that dogmatic opinions shall not be imputed to him which he does not express. The divergences of views among those who hold what may be termed orthodox opinions about the "inspiration" of the books of the New Testament, might be quoted to show that one man's orthodoxy is another man's heterodoxy; and that unless we take refuge in a so-called "infallible" Church, there is no better course than to allow each inquirer to hold the opinions he judges most reasonable without stigma, and to seek to know and to hold fast matters of fundamental import as regards conduct, without quarrelling and quibbling about matters of opinion, which, however, should be temperately discussed in their proper place.

Facts well known.

It is fortunately unnecessary to recount the main facts in the life of Christ, since it can scarcely be expected that the book will have any readers who do not know them; and, moreover, to deal with them even in a meagre fashion would require far more space than we have at command. Inasmuch as the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament supply nearly all the facts known, and since the substantial truth of their testimony is unimpeached by any adequate counter-evidence, while it has stood the test of time and destructive criticism, on the whole with singular success, we shall assume a general assent to the New Testament narrative. It may be added, that those portions which are most objected to by critics, are those which concern unseen or supernatural powers and effects, and as to which there can be no actual objective proof nowadays. All the narratives, where they deal with supernatural things, can be argued about at length, may be made and have been made the subject of endless irritating controversy, without in the slightest degree settling the questions involved. The human mind either places itself in subjection to an infallible Church, to the authority of those learned in such subjects, or it receives what commends itself to its inner consciousness as probable or possible; or even, to adopt a famous phrase, it believes because it is impossible; for "the things impossible with man are possible with God." We shall confine ourselves here for the most part to facts and aspects of teaching, and the results they have had.

Contrast between Jesus and other teachers.

We can perhaps more readily place ourselves in the position of those who saw Jesus at the commencement of His mission, after having contemplated the other great founders of religion. A large proportion of these have belonged rather to the upper or dominant classes; Jesus was born in no superior station, came from no important centre, had not studied under any notable teacher,—and this was all-important in his day,—and followed one of the occupations demanding least skill, in a small town. His coming forward to teach in itself constituted a most striking innovation, and could only have been justified and tolerated by reason of the great novelty of His teaching, and, as many believe, by reason of the clear evidence supplied by the miracles He wrought. Those who do not accept such miracles as that at the wedding at Cana in their obvious sense, are compelled to attach yet greater importance to the force, novelty,

and convincing power of the teaching with which Jesus commenced His ministry. To the writer, the mental and spiritual miracles wrought by Christ are more astonishing than any physical miracles could be; but unless we deny the essential truth of the Gospels, we must believe that "signs and wonders," no less than moral teaching, had a part in the impression produced by Him. It appears very doubtful if anything but the combination of these two elements could have overcome, to the extent they did, the presumption that is so strong against all innovators; but there are not a few who put down the success of Christ's teaching to its inherent merits, apart from miraculous aid.

Much has been said about the originality or the reverse of Christ's teaching. Attempts have been made, in some cases with success, to find parallels to portions of His teaching in the maxims of other peoples, in the teaching of other religious founders or philosophers before His time. If it be true, or if it were true, that much of His teaching had come into the world piecemeal before, it would only be in accord with the principle of evolution that is now found to have been working in so many spheres. That which was before spoken "by divers portions and in divers manners," was gathered up and consummated in the Founder of Christianity. But we are by no means to take this as in any way detracting from His originality: it simply proves Him to be in accord with the system of the course of events of the world, and to come at the right moment in the world's history, in a truly natural relation to what preceded. To have spoken words utterly new, ideas for which the ground had in no way been prepared, would have involved His instant death or banishment from among men. All who have realised the intense aversion of primitive or even civilised mankind to what is wholly new and uncomprehended, will see that this must be the case. Every true evolution, every evolution which is to last, proceeds upon prepared material, and passes through natural stages. Those whose bias is against seeing what is called supernatural in human affairs, may gain confidence in Christianity by considering and realising the naturalness of the stages of its evolution, while those who prefer to look at everything as the direct act of a Creator or Heavenly Spirit, need not quarrel with the naturalists who seek to discern the steps of the working, while acknowledging their inability to penetrate behind the veil which hides the mystery of the First Cause.

Originality of Christ's teaching.

But Christ was original, first and most completely, in His character and in the tenor of His life. He not merely taught, but He exemplified a new spirit of action which, though we speak of it by the name of "love," requires the adjective "Christian," and many explanatory words, such as sympathy, brotherhood, charity, to represent it at all adequately. In one aspect it depends upon the raising of mankind to a position of brotherhood as being all the children of one Father God; but the very conception of brotherhood was raised and widened and intensified, in showing this fully. Not merely the mutual attachment sometimes seen between brothers in ancient society, not the loving affection of a David and

Originality in character and mode of life.

Jonathan, of a Damon and Pythias, capable of dying for one another, and loving each other as tenderly as man can love woman, but something beyond all this, was the brotherhood which Jesus exemplified and taught. Mutual affection could be inspired by mutual appreciation of good qualities, clannish regard by community of kindred, associations, habits, interests, etc.; but Jesus showed an unheard-of affection to those most unlike Him, most distant from Him in habits and associations, even to those of evil life and conduct. It is in these features that He established a new ideal, and has had a vast number of imitators and followers, inspired by His teaching and example. A new type and kind of affection was added to the repertory of human character. "A new commandment give I unto you," He said, "that ye love one another, *even as I have loved you*"—a love which could survive ingratitude, evil conduct, and repudiation of Him, and could work to an extreme for the reclamation of the erring. This was a love shown, not merely to those who had once received His teaching, or shown Him regard, but spontaneously tendered to those who had done nothing to deserve it, to all those who had in them any germ of good. "And who has not?" said Jesus; for He asserted that the Father of all did not will that any one should perish; but that whosoever would have everlasting life, on such conditions as alone could make it a boon, might have it, and might receive a spirit which would elevate their character and enable them to do the will of their Heavenly Father.

A new ideal of love.

It has been seen how great was and is the power of the Invisible in other religions. In some ways that influence has been injurious, when it has peopled the unseen with demons and malignant spirits, and converted deceased relatives into beings to be carefully propitiated, buried, and sacrificed to, lest they should do harm to their survivors. The doctrine that no calamity happens except as consequence of offences against deities who must be propitiated by ceremonies, charms, and sacrifices, has worked great ill; and what has been termed devil-worship may be afterwards seen to have invaded even Christian Churches.

Power of the Unseen.

In some religions, however, there has been considerable elevating influence in the conceptions of the Unseen and of the Supreme Being; but nowhere had these attained the grandeur, the purity, and the ennobling power seen in Judaism. But all this was raised to an immeasurable degree by Jesus in His picture of God as the Father—unseen, yet ever watching the actions of His children, considering, not the outward act only, but the inward motive, the strength of effort, the difficulties overcome by each one. Other religions have attained, in their loftiest examples, to a high regard of control over the thoughts; some of the Psalms, as the 103rd, represent God as a Father, pitying His children, remembering their frailty and imperfections, and tenderly regarding those that fear Him; but none had gone so far to bring the Father and His children generally into intimate relationship, or to make men realise a constantly present Father, who was persistently kind in giving many blessings even to the evil and the unthankful.

The Divine Father.

But in another direction Jesus exalted greatly the ideal of the supreme Being by His teaching about immortality and the dispensation of future happiness and punishment. We have seen that the conception of future existence after death, and, to a less extent, of a distribution of rewards and punishments according to conduct or to the way in which gods and deceased relatives had been propitiated, was common among many peoples. We have seen, too, that the Jews, apparently slow in arriving at a full conception of it, had certainly attained a very definite belief in later times. So that Jesus, in bringing a future life into prominence, was not so much revealing a new idea as tending to confirm it as a human tenet by lending to it the enormous sanction of His character, persuasiveness, and credentials. He largely dwarfed the predominant influence of events in this life, whether favourable or painful, by bringing into prominence the future judgment and redress of temporal inequalities. The descriptions of the Great Assize and the Last Judgment have impressed themselves, one would say, indelibly upon the imagination of mankind, although as to the extent to which a perfect picture can have been conveyed, or intended to be conveyed, in a narration addressed to a local audience in an Oriental country, there may be great diversity of opinion. In any case, the belief that a future judgment is to take place, at which the condition of men will be determined according to conduct in this life, has undoubtedly exercised an enormous influence, both in producing converts to Christianity and in elevating their moral tone; on the other hand, abuses and detriment to morals have arisen where men have come to believe that repentance could readily be made, or absolution granted by priests for sins wilfully committed. But this is outside the teaching of Christ, which raised a mighty ideal and invisible bar or judgment-seat in each man's conscience, saying, "You may be honourable and honoured before the world, you may appear fair and pure to men, but unless the inward motive and conduct be right, you have to fear a just Judge hereafter, whose judgment will have the utmost influence on a state of existence from which you cannot escape."

Influence of Future Life.

It may be said that faith was not a teaching of Jesus by which He was distinguished from many other religious teachers; for they have required their pupils to believe in their teaching and doctrines, and to practise them. But in one respect His teaching about faith had a peculiarity. Salvation, forgiveness, or the special boon needed, could be obtained by faith without special works in most cases. The cure was mental or spiritual alone, and did not require payment to the teacher, going through a ceremony, joining an order, a daily rite of purification, etc., though, of course, the loss of faith implied loss of the state produced by faith. And there was one of these states of the utmost importance to the peace of the convert, in producing which by an act of faith, Christ effected a more astonishing revolution than Buddha by receiving converts into his Order by his simple formula; for Christ left His converts in the world for the most part, telling them they would have tribula-

Faith required.

Forgiveness of sins.

tion there, but the consciousness of the forgiveness of their sins, through their faith in this assurance, was to support them; they were to be at ease, for He had overcome the world, and was superior to it. That consciousness of sin which had gradually become so intense in the ancient world, concurrently with increased licentiousness and decay in nearly all religions, had from Him the only remedy which could relieve the soul from the load of guilt—its abolition, or the abolition of its paralysing weight, when faith in His teaching about Himself and about God had purified and elevated the character so as to start it effectually on a higher course of life.

In another direction, where originality was not so apparent in the teaching, it yet did inestimable service. It may be said that all Nature tends to establish truth; for the thing that only pretends to be that which it is not, cannot last; and men in conflict with reality and actual force, cannot but succumb. Christ not only sanctioned the Mosaic command not to bear false witness, but He carried the domain of truth into the most inward thought, everywhere where the world cannot follow us. Perhaps this does not go beyond the Psalmist's "Thou desirest truth in the inward parts"; but in practice the spiritual nature of Christ's action went beyond that of His most exacting predecessor. He, it may be said, established the demand, the ideal of inward truth and purity, in a position beyond which it cannot be carried: for what can be truer than absolute truth? It is, indeed, the fundamental element towards progress; and though man's nature is destined to ascend through illusions to the truth, the progress, if any, must be towards absolute truth in all directions. A perfect ideal has been set up, the race is started on the road; if it do not pursue it unceasingly, it will die out. And thus scientific investigation —even the severest critical study of the New Testament and Christianity in modern times, which alone have possessed certain methods and powers and resources of inquiry—may take its stand firmly, as fulfilling Christ's own requirement, emphasised by St. Paul in the words, "Prove all things:" "We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." No criticism by reasonable methods, with a pure desire to attain truth, is to be discountenanced by a true follower of Christ; and bias and unconscious desire and tendency to support preconceived notions or the interests of party, are not restricted either to the apologists or to the opponents of Christianity.

The demand for truth.

By many precepts of varying colour, Christ discountenanced revenge and substituted a supreme law of kindness. Our fellow-men are to be treated as a loving Father would treat his loved and erring children; our neighbour is whoever is in need of our help, and whom we can really help; we are to put ourselves in our neighbours' or enemies' place, and do to them what we would be glad to have done to us in like case. These precepts, as recorded, were given broadly by Jesus, without a full analysis of circumstances and instances, that being left to individual men to work out for themselves; and herein, as He showed the same love Himself, He created it in others, and taught men to "love their enemies, to do good to them that hate them." Who will say that the

Law of kindness.

world is not the richer, that human character is not more noble, for the instances in which this ideal has been literally followed?

One of the most potent influences of the life of Jesus is expressed in His saying, "He who hath seen Me hath seen the Father." This is to be understood, not as contradicting the assertion, "No man can see My face and live," but as indicating what Christians believe to be true, that in His person Jesus revealed and exemplified the nature of the Divine Father of all mankind in a way which no other

His relation to God the Father.

"ECCE HOMO" (AFTER GUIDO).

man and no other revelation have done. And this may be taken in a sense not always thought of. If there be a Creator, He must be greater than all. Every true and noble ideal must be but a partial showing forth of that which is in Him.

A study of the various descriptions which Jesus gave of Himself shows that He had a clear consciousness, amounting to absolute certainty, of unity of will and spirit with the supreme Father. At the same time He represented Himself as specially related to all mankind, as

His relation to mankind.

being "the Son of man," the representative of mankind, born to enfranchise them, to teach them how to attain unity with God, and to redeem them from evil and the power of evil. Some statements attributed to Him are by some critics questioned as not being genuine, others are supposed to be coloured by the narrator's mind; but that He believed and represented Himself to be in a special and unique sense both Son of God and Son of man there is no reasonable ground for doubting. Moreover we cannot doubt that the evidence of His life and character, His words and works, was sufficient to convert many apathetic or hostile persons into ardent believers and followers. Those who regard these beliefs as delusions have a heavy task in explaining their relation to a sincere character like that of Jesus, or in explaining how a false belief could generate so mighty a force as Christianity. Much more in accord with scientific truth is it to say, that Christianity succeeded by virtue of the truth that was in it, however much error became mingled with it; and he who can separate the beliefs of and about Jesus as to His divine nature from His moral teaching, and show how the latter alone could have produced such results, will have accomplished more than has yet been done. Has any lofty moral teaching alone regenerated and elevated a large portion of mankind? Could anything not accredited as a revelation persuade people that God was not merely a distant powerful Governor, but also a loving Father? Could any revelation convincingly persuade men of the latter teaching, unless it was exemplified in the perfect life of One who as man believed and realised the Fatherhood of God, and who could generate a conviction that He was so intimately in union with God that He could reveal the mind and nature of that Father.

As a human being, Jesus inspired the most powerful affection in a large number of people that had ever been known, an affection which in many disciples became stronger than all the ties of kindred, and that too in persons whose affection for kindred was unusually strong. What could have inspired such affection except the realisation that in Jesus a greater love than any man had previously shown claimed their admiration and won their hearts? And this affection was manifested in all kinds of human conditions and relations, excepting that of marriage, wherein men and women have simply to rise, in their true spiritual unions, to the degree of love and helpfulness which Jesus manifested for all mankind. In physical weakness, in joys and sorrows, Jesus showed Himself not merely sympathetic with others, but intensely desirous of sympathy, craving such brotherly sympathy from His beloved friends as He gave them lavishly Himself. Towards women He was so tender, so considerate, so charitable that He raised an ideal of helpfulness and tenderness towards the most degraded of the sex such as no Christian people has ever yet fully exemplified, but which must be practically realised before any people can be said to be Christlike. And when He spoke of the marriage union, it was in words which made no distinction of subjection between the parties.

The special affection He inspired.

His treatment of women.

Towards children Jesus was exceptionally and specially tender. Few

records of other religions show any particular bias towards children; but Jesus on all occasions spoke of and to them with special appreciation, and, indeed, raised out of them and their innocent simplicity an ideal of the Christ-like spirit which has had an enormous influence in moulding the characters of Christians. "To become as a little child," in simplicity, in reverence, in acceptance of and compliance with the paternal will, in reliance upon the fatherly blessing and good-will, has been engraved upon the hearts of multitudes as the ideal, the test, the goal beyond which, in its fullest realisation, Christian life could not pass, but towards which it must ever unrestingly press. This is one of Christ's phrases which contains within it the elements of transcendent discipline, just like those other phrases: "as I have loved you," "the baptism I am baptised with," "it is My meat and My drink to do the will of My Father." **And of children.**

A matter of the utmost importance may here be referred to. At one time the belief in the Divinity of Christ had so intensely impressed itself on a large part of Christendom that it obscured His true manhood. At the present day Christ's humanity is very generally and fully realised, and attention is widely given to the question what limitation that manhood involved. There is emphatic testimony in the New Testament to the fact of the existence of many ordinary human limitations; and in the view of Pauline theology this took place by a voluntary renunciation or "emptying" (*kenosis*) on the part of the Son of God. But what this involved and how far it extended, while no human being seems competent to pronounce, many have taken in hand to discuss. All such theorising must be doubtful, and it is often carried to just that point which the theorist needs to explain his own particular theory of inspiration or of the fallibility or infallibility of Jesus as a human being. We will merely suggest that a humanity which, in regard to mere human knowledge, gave Jesus a nature out of touch with the intellectual grade reached by the men by whom He was surrounded, would have caused Him to be regarded as a madman. The insight His pure nature displayed into spiritual things, into the invisible things of God, was sufficient to cause His teaching to be received in most cases as an idle tale; and if to that spiritual insight the knowledge which has only been attained in late years had been superadded, it would surely have been impossible for Him to gain any hearing at all. It seems most reasonable that in things of merely human learning the Messiah should only have the ordinary equipment of humanity,[1] while as a pure soul (leaving out of consideration the question of His divine nature) He should see indefinitely farther into the meaning of nature and its underlying realities than any human being had previously penetrated. **His voluntary limitations.**

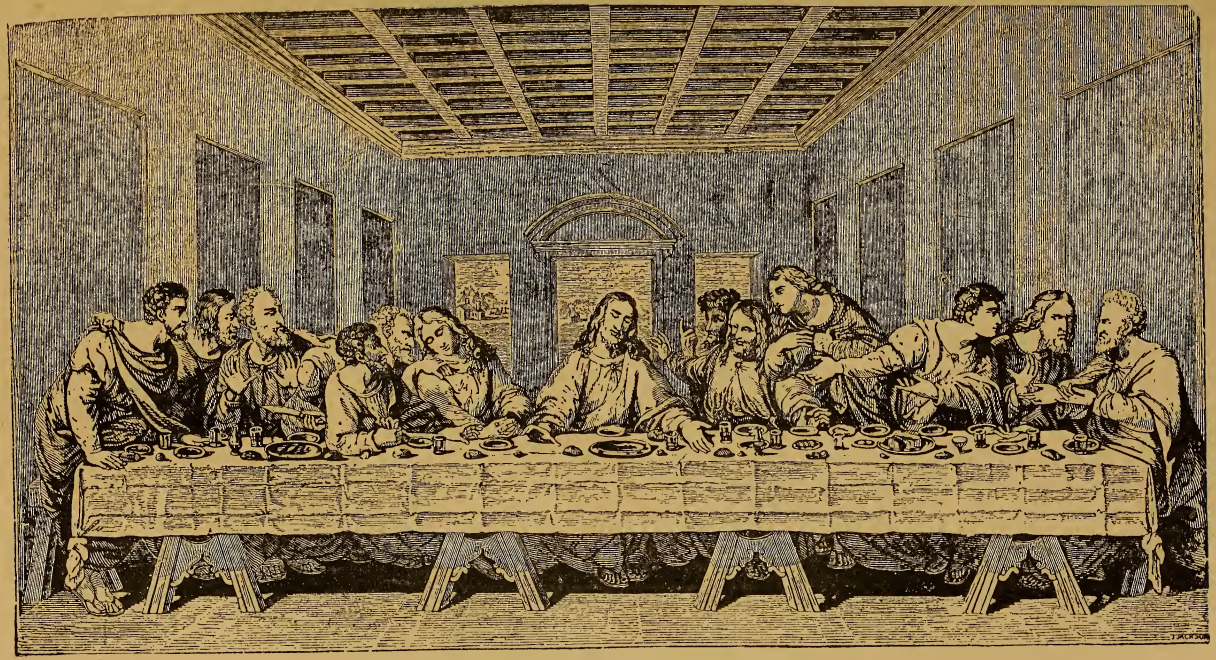
That Jesus worked miracles, or at least professed or appeared to do so, is evident on the face of the New Testament narratives. Those who have imagined a Divine and yet non-miraculous Jesus have to perform extraordinary operations upon the narratives or invent equally **Miracles.**

[1] This gives a keynote by which many explain the accord of Jesus's expressions about Satan, demonology, demoniac possession, etc., with current opinions.

strange hypotheses to make out a case. Even those who regard Christ as simply a human teacher, may readily admit the working of many signs and wonders as due to His extraordinary will power, and the physical and moral effect of His unique personality. What many scientific men refuse to admit is, that any miracle can have been worked by Him which contravened, suspended, or neutralised physical laws, or which broke through the established order of nature. To the faith of most Christians even such an apparent breach of continuity presents no stumbling-block, for that Power which established the order could surely provide also for the exceptional occasions when "miracle" was needed in order to establish some fact or produce some belief. A view which would reconcile the scientific with the Christian attitude is, that a character so intensely in accord with the Divine power in moral and spiritual questions as that of Jesus, may also be supposed to have a deep insight into the springs of physical nature and the influence of mind on matter; and that it involves no greater stretch of probability that He should work physical miracles by or in virtue of the deeper laws of the universe, than that He should work moral miracles by virtue of a similar insight into mental and moral laws. It was His mission to endeavour to heal all the evils He saw, to restore mankind to mental, moral, and physical sanity and reasonableness, to elevate their entire nature, so that they might realise a right relationship to God. What wonder that He should have benefited their bodies as well as their souls? Often He used what we call appropriate "means"; at other times we have no record of anything but will-power, or prayer to God, preceding cure or miracle. Behind these records we cannot penetrate. Those who can find their full aspirations after goodness and the Divine satisfied without the necessity of believing in miracle, have a difficult task to eliminate the miraculous from the New Testament without destroying the historical credibility of the other portions. The majority of Christians will not cease to believe in the miracles of Jesus because they are told that they could not have been; they believe that the fallibility of man has not yet generated infallibility in the scientific man; and they find it easier to believe in a miraculous Christ than in the marvellous growth and general beneficence of Christianity upon a fabric of delusion.

To give relief from bodily disease was, however, but a minor aim of the Son of man. His deep impulse and desire to deliver men from the evils which degraded their conduct and thought, was ever prominent. By a multitude of methods He sought to make men realise their state of alienation from God, their need of reconciliation, of purification, of forgiveness. The realisation of the truth about themselves was the first, the greatest step to rectification, to amendment. Often it was accomplished by a very short interview, almost by a look on the pure face which by contrast revealed the impurity elsewhere. At other times arguments were needed. Sometimes the light of truth was successfully resisted; but every seeker after truth gained ready access to Him and abundant and suitable teaching. Every man and woman found an intelligible condition at the

Salvation from sin.



THE LAST SUPPER (AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI).

gate of the new life, the "kingdom of heaven," as Jesus called it. Some test was imposed, varying greatly with circumstances—such as a belief in the forgiveness of sins, a belief that a cure would be accomplished, an act of practical beneficence, an act of renunciation, etc.—rarely anything like a belief in a lengthy or a complete creed; but compliance with the test secured Jesus's assurance of pardon or blessing. As far as can be judged from the narratives, the new state of deliverance from evil passions or from sin was to be evidenced by "works meet for repentance," a continual advance in well-doing, a continual practice of those good deeds which He taught.

Liberation from lower nature.

It was this passionate desire to free mankind from the chains of the lower nature, from the pains due to antagonism to or ignorance of God, that gave Jesus His most binding influence on men. A man who had no selfish aim, no personal object to gain, but who cared supremely to know and to relieve the troubles of those whom He met—this was the man whom the common people heard gladly, and whom they would have forcibly made a king. When He made demands upon them which seemed irksome about the pure and holy life they were to lead, or taught them doctrines which were difficult for them to comprehend or believe, many shrank back; but the germ of faith remained in many, which later events quickened into vigorous life, and which soon made the foundations of Christianity broad and strong. At first inclined to accept Him as the long-looked-for Messiah who was to restore the temporal kingdom to Judæa, the people afterwards turned against Him because He refused to lead a national movement; but when His death and the subsequent events were felt and reflected upon, they realised and never doubted that He was the true Messiah of the Jews, a belief which the antagonism of the mass of the Jews themselves has no weight in weakening.

The purpose of His life and death.

His intimate disciples—a body of men admirably chosen as witnesses of His actions and as propagators of His teaching—had no lack of teaching which indicated to them the part which His life and death were to play in raising mankind to a condition of freedom from sin and conscious accord with God. We have various forms of this teaching handed down to us, such as that He came to seek and save the lost, that belief on Him was to secure salvation and heaven, that He gave His blood for the life of the world, that His going away secured the Holy Spirit as a continual comforter for His disciples; but there is nothing which definitely gives any one of the theoretic statements drawn up later by theologians. The precise mechanism of salvation by Himself Christ nowhere expounds—it is so simple, as He states it, as hardly to need any definition; and it is questionable whether all the discussion which has taken place about the "atonement," "justification," "vicarious suffering," "substitutional punishment," and "forgiveness," has advanced knowledge at all beyond the simple statements of Christ as given in the gospels.

It is obvious that Christ designed to found a society which should last after His death, and that He chose His disciples as fitting agents for

establishing and continuing that society. As to the mode in which that society should be governed, no definite regulations were given. The object of His servants was to be holiness, beneficence, and unity of spirit. Most of the details bearing on the conduct of His servants were given specially to the twelve disciples, but they have been adopted by the general instinct and consent of the majority of Christians; such are the Lord's Prayer, the special efficacy of united prayer, and the two special observances termed Sacraments, modes of consecration. It has been previously seen that most religions had "mysteries" and festivals. The highest examples of these are the Christian initiation ceremony of "Baptism," and the Eucharist, or "Supper of the Lord," in which His death is perpetually remembered as a pledge of pardon, a bond of union, and a means of renewal of strength. Of the Lord's Supper it may be remarked that nothing like transubstantiation can have been denoted by it; for the bread was broken and given in the presence of the complete body of Jesus, and the cup of wine was declared to be the new covenant, or the blood of the covenant, when as yet Christ's blood had not been shed. The ideas of magical conversion of substance, or of magical efficacy of the material of the supper, find no support in the earliest accounts; in fact, they seem to be negatived by the words, "This do *in remembrance* of Me." His blood was shed, said Christ, for many, unto remission of sins; and the remembrance of that supreme act of sacrifice is ever kept fresh in the heart of His followers by the rite which He instituted on the eve of His death.

The society He founded.

The Sacraments.

It is scarcely necessary here to enlarge upon the character of Christ's addresses and teaching. Their superiority to those of any other teacher is well established. It may be granted that the most striking things He said have been preserved, and these show an abundant use of proverbs, parables, similitudes, parallelism, paradox, and even hyperbole. "The gnomic form, in which each thought is rounded off concisely, leaving no cause for further amplification, and thus making it easy for the memory to retain it . . . readily takes the form of Hebrew parallelism (Matt. vii. 2), at one time antithetical (Luke xiv. 11), at another carrying forward the idea on a parallel line (Matt. x. 40), and yet again so presenting one part as an illustration of the other (Mark ii. 17) that in order to its apprehension it is essential to perceive which side contains the real pith of the idea. A gnome is enlivened by a play upon words, sometimes by the same words being repeated in different meanings in the various sections (Matt. x. 39), at others by different phases of the idea being placed in relation to each other through the choice of a consonant expression (Matt. x. 32). A special peculiarity in the gnomic form, however, is its giving one phase of an idea with great acuteness and force without adding the necessary precautions for its proper application (Matt. vii. 1); it does not consider the inevitable exceptions (Matt. x. 24), nor the precise circumstances in which the saying holds good, and which we can only guess at (Matt. xx. 16, xxv. 29). This is why it so often presents an appearance of one-sidedness (Matt. vii. 7), of paradox (John ix. 39), of exaggeration (Matt.

His mode of teaching.

The gnomic form.

xii. 30; Mark ix. 46), and even of contradiction (comp. John v. 31 with viii. 14, iii. 17 with ix. 39). Out of these apophthegms are formed collections of sayings which revolve round one principal idea or have reference to one definite object."[1]

The concrete and practical.

In true adaptation to His hearers' capacities and modes of thinking, Jesus was everywhere definite, concrete, practical in His teaching. These details, of which the most unlearned take hold, were always used by Him as a means of instruction. His imagery in most cases deals with what is well known; His metaphors transfer the sensuous to the spiritual sphere; He connects His instruction with nature with a sure touch which itself testifies to a deep underlying oneness with nature and its cause. From nature He teaches God's all-embracing Providence, and the symbolic meaning underlying the commonest events. Every circumstance in the spiritual life is shown to have its analogue in the life of sense, in the phenomena of nature.

His parables.

In His parables Jesus gave His most original and unique form of instruction. Almost every circumstance of life is abundantly illustrated by them. "No standing or relation of life is wanting. They are all there, the builder and merchant, the general, doctor, baker and tailor, the wine-drinker and cooper, the rich man and the beggar before his door, the creditor and his debtor, the watchman and the thief, the blind man and his guide, the master of the house exhibiting his treasures, the mother in her sorest need, the maidservant carrying the lamp, the little ones who cast the crumbs from their tables to the dogs, the children at play and the sons at work, the free son and the purchased slave, the servant and the labourer, the bridegroom and his friends, the bride and her maidens, the honoured guests who occupy the best places at the feast, and the man in rags who is thrust forth" (Weiss). And by a free use of the principle of striking contrast, the most powerful rhetorical or emotional effects are produced.

His predictions.

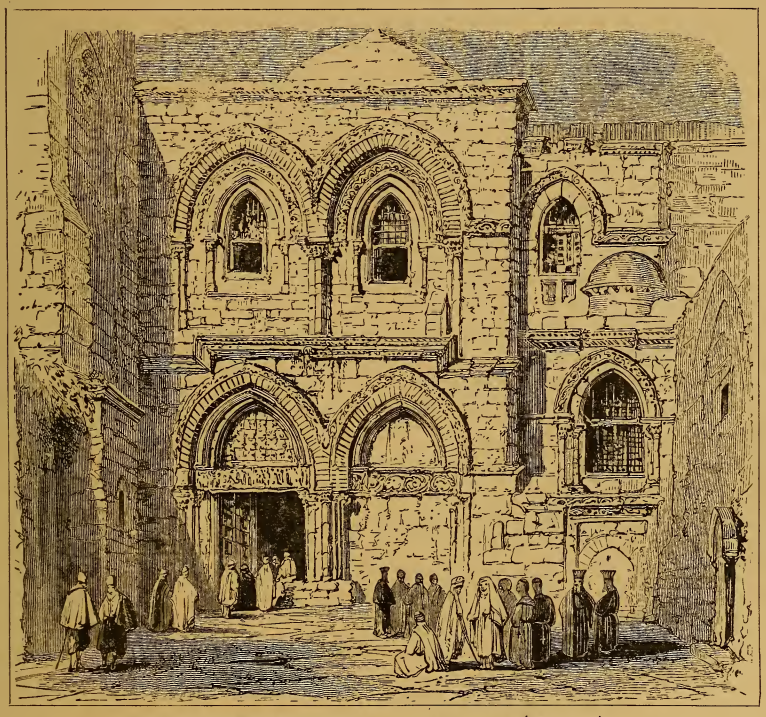
That Jesus predicted future events can only be denied by those who reject the narratives in the gospels, or who believe that they represent misunderstandings of what He said. But it would be most natural for any one who believed himself to be a prophet to refer to future events; and that He predicted His own sufferings, painful death, and resurrection on the third day seems to us most certain. It was not merely a vague foreboding of coming ill, but a definite consciousness of what must inevitably come, that inspired His numerous references to these events; and although the narratives of the gospels appear to obscure several points, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple was definitely predicted, together with certain phenomena attending the end of the world and the final judgment of mankind. Many claim that the fulfilment of near events proves that we may rely on what He foreshadowed of the last days. Others qualify this by saying, that of such transcendent events only a merely approximate notion can be given by any verbal description. But the tremendous picture

[1] Weiss, "Life of Christ," ii. 108. (Clark's Foreign Theological Library.)

of the great assize remains as a most potent force, ever working on the religious conscience of mankind.

When we come to speak of the Passion in Gethsemane, we feel how inadequate all discussion of it must be. Who but the Son of Man could feel the burden He was bearing? With entire determination to do the will of God, the human frame of weakness had to bear the consciousness of the pain involved, the mental sorrow for the Jews who were rejecting Him, for the sin of the world. With as much certainty as

His Passion.



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM (EXTERIOR).

His death is recorded, there is narrated His prayer for relief from the death that was coming. Yet, "Not what I will, but what Thou wilt." The cruel details which follow are intensified by fuller knowledge and reflection respecting them. Bitter taunts of enemies, desertion by His disciples in the hour of need, prolonged physical torment of an overwrought and sensitive nature, a lingering painful death — what wonder that exhausted humanity, left as man to bear the extremest trial, implored God as having forsaken Him? Yet even at this crisis He prayed for His murderers, and commended His soul to God; and His demeanour convinced the Roman

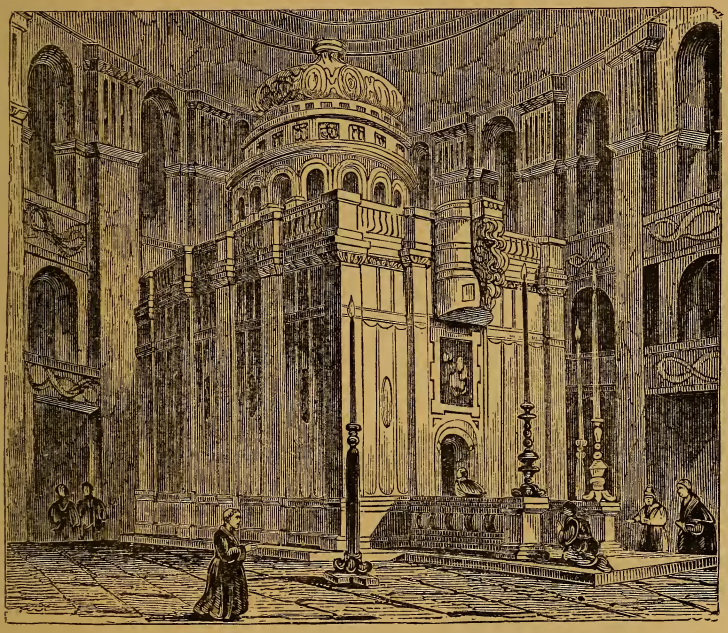
centurion who stood by, that He was certainly a righteous Man. Few indeed have ever impugned that testimony.

The Resurrection of Christ, in addition to the actual history of the triumphs of Christianity, constitutes an element essential to Christianity as hitherto understood. A Christianity without a resurrection would be something different; it would lack that which constitutes the supreme stimulus for most people to noble action or patient resignation, the belief that a reappearance after death has taken place, such as to guarantee the possibility or the certainty of life after death. If no resurrection has taken place, Christians may well adopt the words of St. Paul: then is their faith void, and without its chief support, though it may be contended that the rightness of Christian conduct and the perfection of the Christian ideal are independent of a future life and are capable of being realised in the present. Without discussing so complex a matter as the evidence for the resurrection, it may be said that if the evidence we have for its real occurrence cannot be believed, we can believe no remarkable event of ancient times that is not proved in some way not depending on human testimony. Perhaps the most cogent of all is the testimony of St. Paul, who wrote nearest to the events of which he spoke, as to the numerous occasions on which Jesus was seen after His death. He was imbued with the most exclusive doctrines of the Pharisees, so antagonistic to the claims of Jesus; he was a most bitter persecutor of the new sect; he was educated to sift evidence in the best way then possible, and in many ways he showed capacity in that art; yet, when we cannot but believe that he made the most careful inquiries possible to avoid being deceived, he records a number and a variety of appearances which we must take as being the most matured belief, founded on the best evidence examined by one of the acutest minds of the age, a very short time after the dates at which they occurred; and this belief, with other more internal influences, sufficed to make him the most devoted, the most persevering, the most successful of the founders of Christianity. We cannot doubt that without this belief St. Paul would have regarded his faith as void, his hope vain, and hence we come to a dilemma, only second to that in which we are placed by the nature of Jesus—either this man was deluded or he was dishonest. If he was either, could he have so moved the minds of his contemporaries? Of those who answer that he was deluded, we may ask, Why was no attempt ever made to produce the dead body of Jesus after His burial? Is it conceivable that the poor, scattered, insignificant adherents of Jesus could have stolen and hidden that body in the face of Roman guards and a Pharisaic majority, so that all trace of it or its conveyance should have vanished? Yet, in pursuance of our plan of non-dogmatism, we must leave the question to be determined by each reader for himself. We may note, however, how entirely the recorded appearances of Jesus accord with the spiritual nature of Christianity, in strong contrast to the gross and coarse character of most of the so-called incarnations of Vishnu and other Hindu gods. To quote Dr. Geikie, "Even when most closely touching the material and

The Resurrection.

St. Paul's testimony.

earthly, He is always seen speaking and acting only as a spirit—coming suddenly, revealing Himself in an imperceptibly increasing completeness, which culminates at last in some unmistakable sign, and presently vanishing as suddenly as He appeared." It is worthy of remark, that numerous and varied interpretations are possible, and have been put forward, as to what it was that underlay the phenomena seen by Christ's disciples after His death, and that in going beyond the assertion that essentially the same Jesus—glorified in some indefinable way—appeared, whom they had known before, and proved Himself so by unmistakable signs, no means exist of deciding



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM (INTERIOR).

between rival hypotheses. The Ascension is the natural culmination of the resurrection appearances; but here again, if we travel beyond the simple record, we enter a region of speculation which cannot admit of proof.

Here we must leave the greatest subject in the world's history, having but glanced at a few of its aspects very briefly. Men are almost all agreed that the life of Jesus was one of pure beneficence and sinlessness. They are less agreed as the deeper meaning and effect of His life, and still less agreed to follow His example. That His life has not yet won all its triumphs may be seen by the daily increasing influence of Christian philanthropy as a principle guiding the efforts of those who do not recognise Jesus as Divine. The ideals of citizenship, of care for the poor, weak, and sick, owe to Him

far more than can easily be gauged. We cannot imagine what the world would have been without Him.

We cannot here discuss the views held of the birth and the person of Christ. Each theological school has its own standards on these questions, and every man's belief, founded upon careful investigation, is to be respected. We would suggest that the importance of doctrines about Christ is less than the influence of His words and life, and that where these fail to amend and elevate life and character, definitions, dogmas, and doctrines will seldom avail.

THE CROWN OF THORNS.

CHAPTER II.

The New Testament.

Origin of the gospels—Probably written years after events—The Pauline epistles—Repetition of the sayings and doings of Jesus—Early partial narratives—Synoptic gospels—Theories of their origin—Papias—Clement of Rome—Epistles of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas—Justin Martyr—Internal evidences—Date of the synoptic gospels—The Fourth Gospel—Distinctions of style—Doctrine of the Logos—Early testimonies—Internal evidence—Acts of the Apostles—Apocryphal gospels and Acts—Epistle to Hebrews—Epistles of Peter, James and Jude—The Revelation—Manuscripts of New Testament—Sinaitic and other Manuscripts—Versions.

IN the opinion of the great majority of Biblical students the documents recording the life of Jesus proceeded either from His immediate disciples, or from those who learnt the facts directly from them. For those who believe in the entire accuracy of every word of the gospels there are still left the problems, which of the many diversities in the existing manuscripts are correct, and also how the apparently or really contradictory features in the various narratives are to be explained. We can here only take a brief view of a few of the questions surrounding the growth of the gospels and other New Testament books. Origin of the gospels.

Two circumstances prevented the writing of lives of Christ in the very earliest period after His death; viz., the facts (1) that the verbal testimony of those who had seen and known Him was attainable; and (2) that owing to certain of His expressions, there was a general expectation of His early second coming to judge the world, and to assume the rule over mankind. When the death of many had thinned the ranks of those who could bear personal testimony, and when the lapse of time made it appear that Christ's second coming might be deferred to a later period, the need for records began to be felt. But before this period had arrived, a series of letters, the Epistles of St. Paul, were already in existence, having been written on the spur of particular occasions, which are for the most part specified. Thus 1 Thessalonians was written in A.D. 52 or 53, on the return of Timothy, whom Paul sent from Athens to the Thessalonian Christians. 2 Thessalonians followed some years later. The Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians are obviously written soon after the circumstances related in them, and must be ascribed to dates about A.D. 57 and 58. Several other epistles were written during the apostle's imprisonment at Rome. The so-called Pastoral Epistles (Timothy, Titus) are those on whose authenticity most doubt has been thrown; for although their recognition by orthodox Fathers was widespread and early, some heretical teachers, such as Marcion, rejected them, or did not mention them. They have some peculiarities of phrases and words which do not occur in the other Pauline epistles; and it is not easy to harmonise them with the narrative in the Acts. It is suggested that they were written after St. Paul's release from imprisonment at Rome—a release of which there Probably written years after events. The Pauline epistles.

is an independent tradition. In that case the Acts of the Apostles would be already written before their date, for it appears probable that the record of the apostolic labours was written during St. Paul's imprisonment, and this affords the most satisfactory reason for the sudden ending of the Acts—because nothing more of importance had then happened. Already before any one of the gospels, as we have them, had been written, the Pauline epistles were in existence, and many confidently assert that all the essentials of the character and teaching of Christ can be put together from these alone.[1] Thus we certainly have some documents which substantially, in their present form, have come down to us from the apostolic age, when the facts and persons mentioned were known, and when critics, who were quite as hostile and as eager to destroy at that time as now, would sharply examine and unsparingly denounce any statements known to be untrue.

When the gospels as we have them began to be written, the narrations given by the apostles and evangelists had already long been current; and as the most striking sayings of Jesus would be often repeated, they must have become widely and generally known. Therefore it is inconceivable that accounts which were largely at variance with the apostles' teaching should have become accepted. It could only be those which were in accord with them that gained general acceptation; and when we find early Fathers as well as some heretics quoting phrases from and referring to the gospels in the second century, we cannot doubt that the gospels which survived them were genuine products of the apostles or their immediate hearers.

Repetition of the sayings and doings of Jesus.

Nothing seems more likely than that various early hearers of the apostles should have written down what they had heard; and this is indeed definitely stated in the preface to St. Luke's gospel, which reveals to us its own genesis. Out of fragmentary or partial records, more or less accurate, as well as by personal inquiry, he "traced the course of all things accurately from the first," and wrote them "in order." And this may be taken as the process of construction of the other gospels, with variations dependent upon the writer, his circumstances and his opportunities.

Early partial narratives.

It is evident that many passages are narrated substantially in the same words, though often in a different order, by the three first gospels, which are consequently termed synoptic. Their accounts of the life of Jesus are very similar, even to their recording the majority of the same events and discourses.[2] In many instances they use precisely the

Synoptic gospels.

[1] See Rev. Prof. Beet, "Epistles to Romans, Corinthians and Ephesians" (Hodder and Stoughton.)

[2] "Of a total of 1,071 verses, Matthew has 387 in common with Mark and Luke, 130 in common with Mark, 184 in common with Luke, and 370 peculiar to himself. Of Mark's 662 verses, 406 are common to all three synoptists, 145 common to Mark and Matthew, 60 common to Mark and Luke, and 51 (on a liberal estimate) peculiar to himself. Luke out of 1,151 verses shares 390 with Matthew and Mark, 176 with Matthew, 41 with Mark, and has 544 peculiar to himself. They often agree in a remarkable manner in the order in which they give the events they relate . . ."—*Chambers's Encyclopædia*, vol. v., 1890; art. "Gospels."

same words, even to the use of rare words or expressions, sometimes quoting from the Old Testament in a form different from either the Hebrew or the Septuagint.

The principal hypotheses on which it is sought to explain the facts are three. The first is that the second evangelist (in order of time) borrowed from the first, and the third from the other two. Thus Mark has been supposed to have condensed his narrative from Matthew, and Luke to have had both before him when he wrote. The second hypothesis is that of a primitive written gospel, not now in existence, but more or less traceable in the words and passages common to all three synoptists. The third is that there was a common oral gospel, generally diffused in practically identical terms, of which each evangelist made independent use. It can be shown that no one of these views satisfactorily explains every discrepancy or difference. Some regard a combination of all the hypotheses as furnishing the best explanation. In fact, there is a tendency to consider that there were two primary documents: that from which St. Mark may have borrowed, and another described as the "Logia,"—sayings or discourses of Jesus. **Theories of their origin.**

Here we may quote from Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, in the first half of the second century. All we have from him is contained in half-a-dozen sentences quoted by Eusebius; but their meaning has been unduly strained, and also very insecure inferences have been drawn from what he does not say in these sentences, and from what it is thought Eusebius would certainly have quoted if Papias had said it. Papias wrote an exposition of the oracles (or discourses) of the Lord, and in the fragments quoted by Eusebius and Irenæus we find the earliest extant mention of Matthew and Mark as evangelists. He says: "If I met anywhere with any one who had been a follower of the elders, I used to inquire what were the declarations of the elders; what was said by Andrew, by Peter, by Philip, what by Thomas or James, what by John or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of our Lord; and the things which Aristion and the elder (or presbyter) John, the disciples of the Lord, say; for I did not expect to derive so much benefit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice." On the authority of John the elder (whether this is the Apostle John or not cannot be decided), Papias writes: "And this also the elder said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately all that he remembered of the things that were either said or done by Christ; but, however, not in order. For he neither heard the Lord, nor followed Him, but subsequently, as I said, Peter, who used to frame his teaching to suit immediate wants, but not as making a connected narrative of our Lord's discourses. So Mark committed no error in thus writing down particulars just as he remembered them; for he took heed to one thing, to omit none of the things that he had heard, and to state nothing falsely in his narration of them . . . Matthew wrote the oracles (or discourses) in Hebrew, and each one interpreted them as he could." These sentences give the chief basis for the belief that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that Mark's gospel represented the teaching of Peter. But in recent times some incline to **Testimony of Papias.**

think that a primitive Mark and a primitive book of discourses are here referred to; but without any evidence but supposition.

A still earlier document which quotes, though not with absolute precision, from our gospels or from tradition, is the Epistle of Clement of Rome, addressed to the Church of Corinth, probably as early as A.D. 96. The principal passages are these: "Remember the words of our Lord Jesus, for He said, 'Woe to that man; it were better for him that he had not been born than that he should offend one of My elect. It were better for him that a millstone should be tied about his neck, and that he should be drowned in the sea, than that he should offend one of My little ones'" (Clem. Rom. 46). "Especially remembering the words of our Lord Jesus, which He spake, teaching gentleness and long-suffering. For thus He said, 'Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done unto you; as ye give, so shall it be given unto you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye show kindness, so shall kindness be shown unto you; with what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured unto you.'" Whether or not Clement had our gospels when he wrote this, he had documents or traditions which substantially agree with them, and he assumed (by saying 'Remember') that the Church he was addressing had similar sources of knowledge.

Clement of Rome.

Another kind of testimony to the early existence of the synoptic gospels is found in the Epistles of Ignatius, second bishop of Antioch (A.D. 70 to 107 about), written probably in the first years of the second century. He employs the words of Matthew x. 16, almost verbatim, and has several short but striking phrases peculiar to St. Matthew; but all these passages are mingled with the writer's own words, and not marked as quotations. The authenticity of the various versions of Ignatius is doubted by some, though their early date renders them of great value in any case. They do not refer to any common or authoritative collection of books of the New Testament, but quotations from the Old Testament are prefaced by "It is written." There are frequent references[1] to Christ's life, including His baptism, crucifixion, resurrection, and His miraculous incarnation. There is no reference, however, to any written records of the nature of a gospel. There is, however, one saying of Christ quoted, not included in our gospels, and which indicates the existence of oral tradition. Thus Ignatius says in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans: "For I know and believe that He was in the flesh even after the resurrection; and when He came to Peter and his company, He said to them, 'Lay hold and handle Me, and see that I am not a demon (daimonion) without body,' (or 'an incorporeal spirit')." The writer also knows several of the Pauline epistles, for he writes to the Ephesians that the Apostle mentions them in every letter, but he does not quote exactly from any one.

Epistles of Ignatius.

The Epistle of Barnabas (variously dated from 70 A.D. to 120 A.D.), without giving a precise reference, appears to quote from a written book of

[1] See Lightfoot's great work on "The Apostolic Fathers."

the New Testament thus: "Let us beware, lest we be found, as it is written, many called, but few chosen." There is an allusion to the language of Matthew ix. 13, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners"; and there is a saying of Christ not found in our gospels: "Even so," saith He, "they that would see Me, and touch My kingdom, must take Me through persecution and suffering." These quotations are of value as showing (1) that the writer was acquainted with passages found in St. Matthew, and (2) that he knew of records or traditions of Christ which have not come down to us. Many believe the epistle not to be genuine because it contains numerous mistakes as to the rites and ceremonies of the Jews. The Epistle of Barnabas.

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians (bishop of Smyrna, born about A.D. 70, martyred A.D. 155 or 156, the disciple of St. John) uses New Testament language to a considerable extent, without formal quotations, though the fact of St. Paul having written to the Philippians is mentioned; and his quotations include passages (twenty-two in all) from Ephesians, and both Epistles to Timothy, as well as other Epistles. The form in which Polycarp quotes differs considerably from that used by Clement, and probably shows that in his time there was not yet an accepted canon of the gospels. Epistle of Polycarp.

The writings of Justin Martyr ("Apologies, Dialogues with Trypho"), (A.D. 145–7), contain abundant mention of written accounts of the Life of Christ, though without any author's name being assigned. He speaks of the "Gospel" or "Gospels," the memoirs or recollections of the apostles, and in reference to St. Mark's Gospel, the recollections of Peter. He quotes largely the language of our extant gospels and epistles without much variation, so that the gospel narrative might be fairly well reconstructed from them; and he says that in his day the memoirs of the apostles were read in the Church service as well as the prophetical books. And from this time onward there is full testimony to the existence of the first three gospels, while a fourth was so well known and approved by Irenæus, writing at the end of the second century, that he was convinced that it was essential that there should be four and only four gospels. Justin Martyr.

With the majority of readers the force with which a document speaks to them personally will outweigh proofs from external sources, and there can be no doubt that the force of the words of Jesus as recorded by the synoptic gospels is such that with most persons it compels belief in their genuineness. Even Renan speaks of the "naturalness, the ineffable truth, the matchless charm of the synoptic discourses; their profoundly Hebrew turn; the analogies they present to the sayings of Jewish doctors of the same time; their perfect harmony with the scenery of Galilee." "In all Christian literature," says Salmon ("Introduction to the New Testament"), "there is nothing like them. If, instead of simply reporting these discourses, the first disciples had invented them, they could have invented something else of the same kind. Actually, it is a little surprising that the men who were so deeply impressed by our Lord's teaching, and who so fully imbibed the spirit of it, should never have attempted to imitate Internal Evidences.

its form. In point of style, we travel into a new country when we pass from the synoptic gospels to the apostolic epistles."

Date of the synoptic gospels.

As to the date of the synoptic gospels, probably that of Mark was written before the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), and possibly considerably earlier. He omits genealogies, the birth and infancy of Jesus, and His appearances after the resurrection. The last twelve verses are not found in the two oldest Greek manuscripts and in some others, and are rejected by many. This appendix was quoted by Irenæus as early as A.D. 170, showing that it had already acquired authority; but in the fourth century Eusebius says that most of the copies in his time omitted these verses. There are many arguments in favour of Mark's indebtedness to St. Peter; and we may well say with Renan that "Mark is full of minute observations, which, without any doubt, came from an eye-witness. Nothing forbids us to think this eye-witness, who evidently had followed Jesus, who had loved Him, and looked on Him very close at hand, and who had preserved a very lively image of Him, was the Apostle Peter himself." Many small details indicate the originality of the narrative.

There are strong reasons—especially the abundant testimony of the Fathers—for believing that St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written in Hebrew. Yet the Greek work, as we have it, appears like an original, not a translation; there are many explanations of Jewish terms, customs, etc., as to a non-Jewish people. As to the date at which he wrote, we find in the last two chapters the expression "even to this day" twice over, signifying that a considerable space of time had elapsed since the events recorded. It is implied that the Jews still had a national existence, and from other indications it can scarcely have been written much before A.D. 70.

In St. Luke there are numerous signs of a later date, possibly at least A.D. 80. The tradition of eye-witnesses is spoken of in the past tense; the attempts of "many" to furnish gospel narratives are mentioned; there is a manifest attempt to raise the style of such records; Jesus is frequently referred to as "the Lord," etc. But if we accept an early date for the Acts, it seems to involve also an early date for the Third Gospel.

The Fourth Gospel.

We come now to the most important and most difficult of all New Testament questions—the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, together with that of the Epistles of St. John. It is clear from numerous coincidences of phrase and of spirit that the author of the Fourth Gospel also wrote the First Epistle of St. John. The earliest writer who mentions St. John in connection with a quotation from the Fourth Gospel is Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, who wrote about A.D. 170–180. He quotes from John i. 1–3, mentioning the Evangelist as one of the men inspired by the Spirit by whom the Holy Scriptures were written. The Muratorian fragment (A.D. 170) names the Fourth Gospel as by John, one of the disciples. It states that being requested by his fellow-disciples and bishops to write, he said to them "Fast with me three days, and let us narrate what shall have been revealed to each one of us. The same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should describe everything in his own name, all (the

rest) calling the past to mind (or revising)." And this agrees with the confirmation given in John xxi. 24, which implies something approaching to joint authorship or some kind of revision. This view is confirmed by the opening of St. John, where "we" is used, followed by the resumption of the first person. Consequently it has been suggested that the gospel was dictated by John, in extreme old age, to an amanuensis, who put it into form afterwards; or even that it represents the work of the disciples of St. John, reproducing the effect of his teaching. The argument drawn from differences between the style of the gospel and of the Apocalypse, that they cannot both have been written by the same author, is not very strong, in the view of those who believe the Apocalypse to have been written not later than A.D. 68, before the fall of Jerusalem, and the Gospel not before 98, an interval of thirty years, sufficient to produce a most marked change of style. It is easy to realise St. John's Gospel as the work of a ripe old age, when every thought of a long life had been perfected and purified, and when affection could give forth its richest geniality.

There can be no doubt, however, that the sayings of Christ recorded in the Fourth Gospel differ noticeably in style and words from those found in the synoptics, and also that they greatly resemble the author's own style and words, so that it is sometimes difficult to determine where one ends and the other begins. Moreover the whole gospel has a marked unity of object and mode of presenting thought, and has a construction apparently designed to set forth certain aspects of truth not presented in the previous gospels. It may be inferred that it was written with full knowledge of the other gospels, from the absence to a large extent of repetition of narratives, and from the things added. While the writer writes as an eye-witness, he writes as if many years had elapsed since the events took place. It is notable how the universal aspect of Christ's mission is dwelt upon, and how the writer repeats the words in which Christ described the nature of His person and mission. Christ is set forth as the Truth, the perfect revelation of God the Father, the perfect pattern of life, the uniter of the finite and the infinite. Great prominence is given to the idea of various forms of witness to the truth, such as that of God the Father, of Christ Himself, of works, of Scripture, of John the Baptist, of the disciples, of the Holy Spirit of Truth sent from God after Christ's death.

Distinctions of style.

Another aspect of the Fourth Gospel is the prominence it gives to the doctrine of the Logos, or Word. Here we come to the two most opposite schools of thought on the gospel. Some see in the Fourth Gospel a development of Philo's doctrine of the Logos, such that none but a Hellenic Jew versed in Alexandrian learning could have written it, while some even attribute the gospel to Philo as author. Others, seeing that Philo's Logos is impersonal, regard the use of the idea of the "Word" of God in the Old Testament as representing the personal action of God, as sufficient to suggest the forms of teaching in the Fourth Gospel. Many now consider that Philo's influence on the Fourth Gospel is evident, but that

Doctrine of the Logos.

in seizing and presenting the idea of the "Logos made flesh" the latter is strikingly new and original.

Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian (end of second and beginning of third century) quote from the Fourth Gospel freely, and Eusebius (third and fourth centuries), who had access to many works and much knowledge now lost, spoke of it without reserve as unquestionably written by St. John. In the latter part of the second century it was accepted even by heretics and opponents of Christianity. Athenagoras (about 176) plainly uses the language of the gospel as one thoroughly familiar with it. Tatian (about 160 A.D.) quotes words from the gospel as being well known. The Ignatian epistles contain several of the same phrases, such as "bread of heaven," "bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ," "the spirit knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth." Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, in the epistle which has been preserved, uses a striking verse from 1 John, which must be by the same author as the gospel. Papias, according to Eusebius, used testimonies from "the former epistle of John"; and both these facts, by confirming 1 John, confirm the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Justin Martyr shows in his writings the influence of its teaching about the Word.

Early testimonies.

But for Christians the internal evidences that St. John wrote the Fourth Gospel (whether it was afterwards edited or not) are full and strong. The author was evidently a Jew, with full knowledge of everything Jewish,—opinions, observances, Old Testament, language, style of thought. He was a resident in Palestine, familiar with minute details of time and place. He was an eye-witness of what he described, an apostle; and if an apostle, he could only have been John, for John is the only apostle not named, except by special phrases upon which the subject of them would love to dwell. He alone completely satisfies all the indications.

Internal evidence.

We cannot here analyse and compare the contents of the gospels; but it may be remarked that the simplest way of accounting for divergences and diversity is by looking at the recorders as human beings capable of mistake or misinterpretation, and the editors or copyists of their works as not exempt from the same frailties. Just because precisely the same picture is not given by each narrator, each biography gains in value, and by careful study and combination it is possible to obtain a much more vivid notion of the character and life of Christ than if none of the narratives varied in style or matter.

That the "Acts of the Apostles" was written by St. Luke is so wel attested and so generally received that we need here only note the fact. Its early propagation and acceptance is well established, even though it is doubtful whether writers so early as Clement of Rome, Ignatius and Papias make distinct references to it or its contents. Dr. Davidson says of the sections in which the narrator uses the first person plural, that they are "characterised by a circumstantiality of detail, a vividness of description, an exact knowledge of localities, an acquaintance with the phrases and habits of seamen, which betray one who was per-

Acts of the Apostles.

sonally present"—who must therefore have been an intimate companion of St. Paul. Renan admits that the similarity in style throughout the book is such that the same author must have written the whole. The book breaks off abruptly, and it is surprising that nothing has been added describing the later life and death of St. Paul; but this is explicable, if the book was written within the two years after the apostle's arrival at Rome (61–63). It may be granted that the matter of the "Acts" does not altogether justify the title, as it gives a partial account only of the deeds of some of the apostles; but it is not certain that this was the original title, though it is undoubtedly very ancient. It is more properly described as a history of the most important facts in the growth of the early Christian Church.

The New Testament books are not the only narratives we have which purport to describe the life of Christ and the early days of Christianity. There are both apocryphal gospels and apocryphal Acts. The "Gospel of James," which is known to have existed early in the fourth century and probably earlier, not only supplements our gospels in many particulars, but expands them in many places, especially in regard to events preceding Christ's birth. The most obviously legendary matter is largely included. There is also an early "Gospel of St. Thomas," giving accounts of extraordinary and foolish miracles performed by Christ in His boyhood. The "Gospel of Nicodemus" (a modern title) contains a full account of the trial of Jesus, and of His descent into Hades. Various gospels were in use by the Gnostic sects, one known as the Gospel of the Egyptians, others forbidding marriage. The most important heretical gospel is that known as the Gospel of Marcion, who taught in the first half of the middle of the second century. He formed a gospel out of the Gospel of St. Luke, omitting every part which was inconsistent with his peculiar doctrines and views. This gospel has not come down to us, but there are sufficient early testimonies by the Fathers as to what it contained. Some have even conjectured that Marcion's gospel was the original out of which Luke's was subsequently constructed, but this has been decisively disproved, and it is evident that his gospel testifies to the early existence and acceptance of St. Luke's. Marcion also rejected the Acts and the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul, including only ten Pauline Epistles in his "Apostolicon." There were numerous apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, such as "the preaching of Addai" (Thaddæus) "to Abgarus, king of Edessa," "the Acts of Paul and Thecla," exalting virginity and condemning marriage, the Acts of St. Thomas, of St. Philip, of St. Peter, of St. John, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. All these are so plainly fabulous in their contents that it is not worth while to give details.

Apocryphal Gospels and Acts.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, ascribed in our Authorised Version to St. Paul, in the oldest manuscripts bears the simple title "To the Hebrews." The anonymous author has been singularly successful in suppressing his identity, for to this day there is the greatest diversity of opinion on the subject. Its early date and authenticity are not however questioned, and it is believed to have been written before the Fall of

Epistle to Hebrews.

Jerusalem. It is quoted abundantly in the Epistle of Clement of Rome; and it was believed to be by St. Paul throughout the Eastern Church. But the differences in style between it and the Pauline Epistles have strongly impressed many since the second century; and in the Western Church it was long regarded as doubtful whether it was St. Paul's. Apollos and Barnabas are the two possible authors whose claims are viewed with the greatest favour. Tertullian names Barnabas as the author with great confidence. Careful analysis shows that there are very many words and expressions common to this Epistle and St. Paul's writings and used nowhere else in the New Testament.

Epistles of Peter.

The First Epistle of Peter was thoroughly accepted and attested as genuine early in the second century; but it gives internal evidence of its own comparatively late date in its language about persecutions, and can scarcely be dated earlier than A.D. 64, being possibly written at Rome. It shows St. Peter as a strong supporter of the Pauline theology, but with many personal characteristics. As to the Second Epistle ascribed to Peter, there was much doubt as early as the time of Eusebius and Jerome: later, the Church agreed to accept it; since Erasmus and Calvin many have rejected it. This epistle is of special interest as being the only New Testament writing which predicts the entire future destruction of the heavens and the earth by fire.

Epistle of James.

The Epistle of James has also been much doubted, both Eusebius and Jerome reckoning it doubtful, though Eusebius quotes it as the work of an apostle. Its contents indicate plainly that it was written early in the history of Christianity by a Jew for Christian Jews. There are numerous indications in it of the direct influence of Christ's discourses, as given by a personal follower. The dispute as to whether the second half of the second chapter is an attack upon St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, is answered by saying that "he has denied nothing that Paul has asserted, and asserted nothing that a disciple of Paul would care to deny." St. James's doctrine of works is really found fully expressed by St. Paul. The epistle is characterised by abundance of moral maxims rather than by teaching about Christ.

Epistle of Jude.

The Epistle of Jude was accepted as genuine earlier than the preceding. It is remarkable that neither of them claims distinctly to be written by an apostle, and it is inferred that James and Judas, the "brothers" of Jesus, were not apostles. Jude quotes twice from apocryphal books, viz., the contest for the body of Moses, from "The Assumption of Moses," and the words of Enoch (verse 14) from the book of Enoch. In several points the contents of the Epistle, such as the reference to the fallen angels, are such as to make it difficult of reception.

The Revelation.

The "Revelation of John" is the most valuable specimen of a kind of literature which was abundant in the later Jewish and early Christian period, purporting to reveal the history of mankind and of Jews and Christians. Many believe it to have been written before the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 68 to 70. Many, however, prefer to accept the testi-

mony of Irenæus, the friend of Polycarp, St. John's disciple, who writes that "the Revelation was seen no long time since, but almost in our own generation, towards the end of the reign of Domitian" (A.D. 81–96); and Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Jerome agree that St. John was banished to Patmos during the reign of Domitian. In language of grand imagery, the author gives a picture of the future history of the Church, including the destruction of the Roman empire, the chaining of the devil, the reign of Christ. The glory of the heavenly Jerusalem is set forth in the later chapters in language which is indelibly written in the hearts of Christians, and which has comforted and strengthened multitudes in the trials of life and in the hour of death. There are many arguments which support the belief that St. John wrote the Revelation earlier than the Fourth Gospel; both contain many of the same ideas, though widely divergent in style and matter. The diversity of style is to most persons explained by the state of prophetic ecstasy in which it was written. The interpretation of the book in detail is too complex, and a subject of too great differences of opinion, among orthodox and heterodox alike, to be entered into here.

We will now briefly give an account of the manuscript sources from which the New Testament is derived. Early manuscripts of any important book are rare, and there is no complete copy of Homer of earlier date than the thirteenth century: whereas the manuscripts of the New Testament are comparatively abundant and ancient, testifying to their early importance, and the prolonged care taken of them. Apparently, the oldest now existing is the Codex Sinaiticus, discovered in the convent of St. Catherine on the supposed Mount Sinai on the 4th of February, 1859, by Tischendorf, and now deposited in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. It contains, besides a large portion of the Septuagint Old Testament, the whole of the New, together with the Epistle of Barnabas and part of the Shepherd of Hermas. Though some have attributed it to a later date than the next manuscript, there is a very general assent to its being a true relic of the middle of the fourth century—a view depending on many details of evidence. Its text does not agree precisely with any other.

Manuscripts of New Testament.

Codex Sinaiticus.

The Codex Alexandrinus, in the British Museum, derived early in the seventeenth century from Alexandria, contains the whole of the Septuagint, and most of the New Testament, except a great part of St. Matthew, and parts of St. John, and of 2 Corinthians; also the Epistle of Clement of Rome. It dates from the beginning or middle of the fifth century. The Codex Vaticanus of the Vatican Library, Rome, has been there since the middle of the fifteenth century (excepting when it was transferred to Paris by Napoleon). It contains the greater part of the Septuagint, and the New Testament down to Heb. ix. 14; the concluding portion was added, probably, in the fifteenth century. The manuscript dates from about the middle of the fourth century. The Codex Ephraemi, at Paris, is a specimen of a palimpsest, or

Codex Alexandrinus.

Codex Vaticanus.

Codex Ephraemi.

manuscript made out after having been partially erased to receive a newer manuscript. Vellum or parchment being valuable in early days, previous manuscripts were often erased and written over. Portions of every part of the New Testament have been recovered from it, amounting in all to two-thirds of the whole. It dates from the fifth century, or even somewhat earlier. The Codex Bezæ, in the University Library, Cambridge, presented by Theodore Beza, in 1501, contains the gospels and Acts in Greek and Latin. It exhibits many bold and even extensive interpolations, some of them supported by the Old Latin and Syriac versions: all other Greek manuscripts are of the seventh or later centuries. The earliest dated manuscript yet discovered bears the date A.D. 949, and the dates of others have to be inferred from various kinds of evidence. There are also some very early manuscripts of parts of the New Testament. All before the tenth century are written in uncial characters, or capital letters, each formed separately, and in the earlier manuscripts without any space between the words.

Codex Bezæ.

Seeing that all the earliest manuscripts differ considerably in details, the earliest copies of versions in other languages than Greek become of great importance. Consequently, the Peshito Syriac, used by the Eastern Church long before the separation,[1] and the old Latin translations, are in the first rank as authorities, for they apparently represent a text of the New Testament which existed in the middle of the second century A.D. There are other versions, the Egyptian, the Curetonian Syriac, the Latin Vulgate, the Gothic, Armenian and Ethiopian, which are of high value, some having been made as early as the third or fourth century. The Peshito is the most valuable, being extremely faithful where it can be judged, remarkable for ease and freedom, and seldom loose.

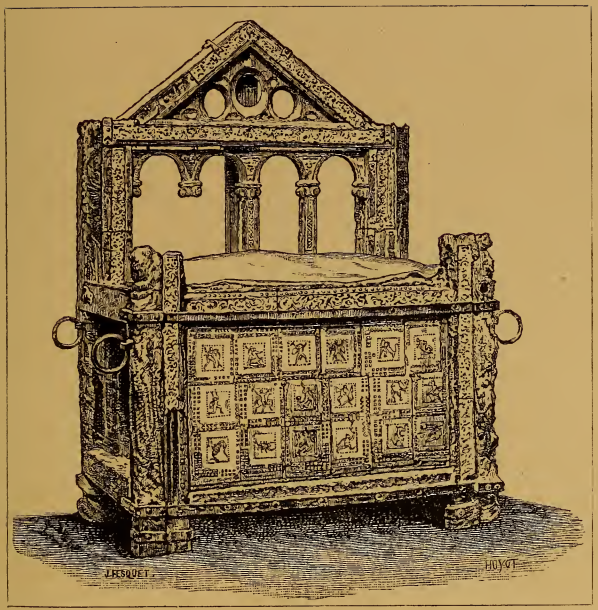
Versions.

Peshito Syriac and Old Latin.

Quotations in the early Fathers are of much less value than might have been expected, for accuracy and precision in quotation were evidently not much considered by them; and what they quoted has often been altered in copying.

The autographs of the New Testament authors appear to have perished early, and the early Fathers refer to ancient and approved copies, never having apparently seen any originals. Some critics still hope to recover an original text, either by the discovery of new manuscripts, or by comparative and minute study of all the evidence supplied by existing manuscripts. Many of these have as yet not been carefully collated or criticised. It is evident that the true readings cannot be derived from any one set of authorities, but must be the result of a patient comparison and weighing of the evidence of all taken together.

[1] This version is now used alike by the Nestorians in Kurdistan, the Monophysites in Syria, the Christians of St. Thomas on the coast of Malabar, and the Maronites of Lebanon.



ST. PETER'S CHAIR AT ROME.

CHAPTER III.

The Apostolic Times.

Difficulty of founding the Church—St. Peter—The Rock and the Keys—First successes—Martyrdom of Stephen—Persecution—Admission of Gentiles—His later actions and influence—St. Paul—His early life—His conversion—His labours at Antioch, Corinth, and Ephesus—Arrest at Jerusalem—Imprisonment at Rome—His character—His writings—His theology—His teaching about Christ—Human faith—Penalty for sin—The new spirit of the Christian—Jewish ideas of sacrifice—The Church as the Body of Christ—Ministry—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—Lofty outbursts—Teaching as to women—St. John—His first Epistle—St. James—Faith and works—The first general persecution—Pliny and Trajan—Ignatius—His epistles and martyrdom at Rome—Polycarp—His martyrdom at Smyrna.

THERE can be no manner of doubt that the life and death of Christ, combined with the preaching of His disciples, founded the Christian Church. But a careful consideration of the gospels will show that surprisingly little in the way of a definite Church existed at the time of the Crucifixion, and that it almost entirely lacked formal doctrines and organisation. Thus an enormous work was left to be accomplished by those who had received and assimilated the direct teachings of Jesus. Deprived of the inspiration of His bodily presence, they had to act, in order to succeed, as boldly and courageously and wisely as if they still had the stimulus of His presence and encouragement; and it is claimed by the Christian Church that it was only in virtue of a realisa-

Difficulty of founding the Church.

tion of His invisible aid and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit which He had promised to them that they accomplished what they did.

Everything appeared to be against the chances of the establishment of the new religion. The Founder was dead under circumstances of shame and of desertion by His disciples. A prominent disciple, Peter, had denied knowing Him with oaths and curses. The triumphant enemies of Jesus were ready to crush His followers if they dared to show themselves. Yet, by some extraordinary stimulus, which is most rationally referred to their absolute certainty of having seen their risen Master, and to their feeling an overpowering impulse to tell what they had experienced in their companionship with Him, they succeeded in drawing to their ranks within a few weeks many thousands of adherents in Jerusalem, the scene of the Crucifixion; and the recreant disciple became the most prominent of the apostles, bold, fiery, and eloquent. According to the extant narratives, he had been distinguished by a special appearance of Christ to him after His resurrection, and he had received from Him a special pastoral charge over His "sheep" and "lambs." Previously to his denial of Christ he had made a notable and full confession of belief in Him as "the Christ the Son of the living God," and had received a blessing containing the words, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church. . . . I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," etc. These words are relied upon by the Church of Rome as constituting Peter the head of the Church, and as giving him power to transmit his headship; and in other ways they are regarded as establishing the powers claimed by Roman Catholicism. It is held by opponents of this view (1) that Christ spoke of Himself, not Peter, as the Rock; (2) that Peter's confession of faith was the rock; or (3) that Peter is addressed in a representative capacity as chief disciple. Whatever may have been the meaning, we find Peter taking the lead on the day of Pentecost as the chief preacher and exponent of the new teaching. Yet we have no sign of a dictatorship or even primacy on his part; he did not act apart from the other apostles; at a later time, St. James occupied the leading position at Jerusalem; and there is no record that St. Peter transmitted or assigned his position to any one at his death.

St. Peter.

The Rock and the Keys.

A wonderful enthusiasm was excited by the first preaching of the Gospel and the signs and wonders which followed it. A tendency to live in social unity, with a common fund, was manifested, and the only care of the first Christians was to continue praying and worshipping in the Temple and testifying to the truth. Soon, however, the high priest and the Sadducees grew alarmed at the success of the new party, especially as it condemned their own recent action, and before long they stoned to death a convert named Stephen, who himself was preaching with great power. Stephen had proclaimed at the end of his defence that he "saw the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God," and we may trace some affinity be-

First successes.

Martyrdom of Stephen.

tween this vision and that which subsequently converted Saul, afterwards Paul, a young man who took part in the stoning by protecting the clothes of the witnesses to Stephen's so-called blasphemy. Stephen's dying utterance, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," reminds us of his Master's similar prayer for the forgiveness of His murderers.

This tragedy was followed by a persecution which, scattering the infant Church, was a means of its spread. Saul took violent action in entering houses and forcibly dragging Christian men and women to prison. Among the places to which the Gospel was carried by Philip the evangelist was Samaria, and the Samaritans readily accepted his teaching. Peter, going down with John to establish the converts,[1] was besought by Simon, a magician, to impart to him for money the power which attended his laying his hands on the believers, and received a crushing rebuke. By this incident traffic in holy things for money was once for all condemned, and from it we have derived the term "simony." Another important event was the call of Peter to teach Cornelius, a devout Roman centurion at Cæsarea, and his first opening the teaching of the Gospel to Gentiles. His action in baptising him and his household is recorded to have been based on their "having received the Holy Ghost" like the Jewish converts. Peter had learnt the great truth that God is no respecter of persons, and that "in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to Him." The apostles and other Christians at Jerusalem, who at first

Persecution.

Admission of Gentiles by Peter.

STATUE OF ST. PETER, IN ST. PETER'S, AT ROME.

[1] This occurrence marks the institution of "confirmation" by laying on of hands; which the Western Church has always maintained should be performed by a bishop.

objected to Peter's action, when they heard the details found their objections silenced, and said, "Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life."

Peter's later actions and influence.

After this period, and his deliverance from prison, when the Apostle James had been killed by Herod Agrippa (A.D. 40), we have little direct information about Peter, except when he took the lead at the so-called council of Jerusalem, and maintained the conditions of equality on which he had admitted Gentiles to the Church. But he did not call, preside at, or pronounce the decision of the council, and these facts appear fatal to the Roman claims as to the primacy of St. Peter. From this time Peter mainly preached to Jews, and still remained so far attached to Jewish practices that he incurred a sharp rebuke from Paul at Antioch for withdrawing from eating with the Gentile converts. It is believed that Peter visited Corinth, and by many that he visited Rome, and was martyred there, probably A.D. 67. His impressive energy, power of rapid decision and action, and practical tendency, if at times too strongly inclined to follow apparent expediency, had a powerful effect in establishing the early Church.

St. Paul.

But a greater light arose out of the martyrdom of Stephen. The first martyr of Christ had a distinct influence in developing the Apostle to the Gentiles. But here also the great teacher was a Jew of the purest lineage, though born a Roman citizen in a city distant from Palestine. The Semitic element was all powerful in founding the new Church. Taught by Gamaliel, a leading rabbi, Paul at first far outdid his teacher in his fanatic regard for Jewish usages. It appears that St. Paul had never seen Jesus before the date of his vision while on the way to Damascus to extend the area of his persecution of the Christians. His religious life was early of a very intense kind; and after he had seen, as he was certain, the living Christ, just as evidently as He was seen by the apostles after His death, he became even more energetic as a preacher of Christianity than he had been as a persecutor. Even if this vision is regarded as one of ecstasy, and as describing an inward and not an objective vision, nothing can get rid of the fact that something sufficiently powerful transformed a violent persecutor into an ardent believer and a zealous preacher of Christianity against the severest difficulties and opposition. Paul himself solemnly declared that his commission to teach, and the matter of his teaching, had been directly received from Christ; and those who even think they can account for the success of his preaching by various natural causes, have to charge Paul with being either a deceiver or a visionary, which will not readily fit in with his practicality of method all through. His preaching rested upon no human commission; he was the Apostle of the Gentiles, "not from men, neither through man."

His early life.

His conversion.

His labours.

We shall not attempt to describe the events of his well-known life, his indefatigable labours, his extraordinary successes among the most diverse peoples, his terrible sufferings, his heroic fortitude, his dauntless courage. It is evident that the Acts of the Apostles records but

a small portion of his labours. We derive a fuller notion of them from his own epistles, where he describes his numerous whippings by the Jews, his beating by the Roman lictor's rods, his being

His labours.

ST. PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS.

stoned, his three shipwrecks, his many perils, his sufferings from hunger and thirst, from cold and nakedness. He was prominent in the founding of the Church at Antioch, where the name "Christian" was first applied to the converts, and where the Gentiles and the

At Antioch.

Jews first lived in common. He also planted the Gospel throughout Asia Minor, in Macedonia and Greece. Although he always seems to have preached first to the Jews in any place he visited, it became obvious and acknowledged that his chief mission was to the Gentiles, and he insisted that no burdensome or ceremonial obligations of the Mosaic law should be laid upon them.

Paul had less success in philosophic Athens than among the crowded masses of industrial cities, where the sensuality of the rich and the wretchedness of the poor and the slaves afforded him full scope for his fiery preaching. Corinth and Ephesus were two such centres. 1 Cor. iv. 11–13 gives a vivid picture of his painful life in Ephesus, an object of scorn and humiliation, a suffering, hungry worker of uncertain habitation, "dying daily." At one time he had to fight with beasts in the arena; at another he was barely saved by Prisca and Aquila, "who for his life laid down their own necks." One noticeable effect produced at Ephesus was the falling off of the trade of the silversmiths who made models of Artemis and of her temple for sale to worshippers; and this led to a disturbance, which was followed by his second visit to Europe. During this journey he described himself (2 Cor. vi. 9, 10) as dying yet living; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things. Then, as always, he remembered the poor and suffering, and took especial pains to obtain a large contribution for the Christians of Palestine, which he himself took to Jerusalem. On his way he touched at Ephesus, and in his farewell address to the Ephesian elders quoted a saying of Jesus not given in the Gospels, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." At Jerusalem he was soon attacked as a molester of Jewish customs and a polluter of the temple. The Roman governor, who had seized him in order to protect him, was constrained to grant him the appeal to the Roman Emperor (Nero), and to send him to Rome, where, according to the Acts, he was kept in a qualified state of imprisonment for two years, having opportunity to teach those who came to him, making converts among the Jews, the Prætorian guard, and even the Imperial household. Whether he was released after this and afterwards preached in Spain, whether he was in fact martyred at Rome in A.D. 64 is by no means certain, though generally believed. He is described in the "Acts of Paul and Thekla" as "a man small in stature, bald-headed, bow-legged, stout, close-browed, with a slightly-prominent nose, full of grace; for at one time he seemed like a man, at another time he had the face of an angel."

At Corinth and Ephesus.

Arrest at Jerusalem.

Imprisonment at Rome.

Occupying, by common consent, the second place in the history of Christianity, St. Paul is surpassed by no man in the variety of his experiences, and only by his Master in his readiness and power of adaptation to every circumstance. Intensely human, his natural impulse was to gain and exert a predominant influence; his disciplined aim was to use his influence entirely to propagate the most important truth, and to elevate and strengthen mankind. It is impossible to conceive a man under-

His character.

taking such labours and perils without an inner conviction amounting to certainty of his Divine commission; and no one impeaches his sincerity. Equally impossible is it to explain away his achievements. Few will deny that Paul was one of the greatest men who have ever lived. By turns practical administrator, organiser, conciliator, pleader, orator, reasoner, original thinker and writer, he was actuated in everything by an absorbing devotion to the end he had in view, to persuade men to union with God through Jesus Christ. And if in the fervour of his advocacy he perhaps too lightly assumed that his view of human nature included everything, and was too urgent in pressing every one into his own mould, it was because of the strength and sincerity of his beliefs, and because, if all he thought was true, every man and woman was in imminent danger of eternal death.

In his teaching about Divine things, while very largely practical, Paul was intensely theological—the founder of theology as now understood. Not having been a companion of Jesus, he was not surcharged with His personal teachings, and rarely quotes Him. He rather comes before us as one who had absorbed the spirit of Jesus, and superadded to it the conceptions of a mind persistently endeavouring to gain definite ideas of the system of Divine and human relationships. Thus the matter of his epistles is quite different in style and form from that of any other New Testament writer. It is as if he had laboured to arrive at a clear understanding of man's nature and dreadful sinfulness and the remedies for it, and had spent his utmost effort to express this. He did not possess all the highest literary gifts, and is sometimes complex and involved; sometimes his analogies are imperfect; sometimes his thoughts do not seem logically to grow out of one another. His impulsiveness sometimes hurries him rapidly through a high flight of thought; but he is essentially a theologian for the most part, and tries to present a sort of mathematical view of salvation.

His writings.

His theology[1] was based upon the universal fact of sin, wrong-doing, and the tendency to do wrong, a state of disobedience to God's law, assumed to be known by every man. This is so far personified that we seem to verge near something like the Zoroastrian Ahriman, a personality constantly suggesting evil actions and seeking to antagonise and crush good impulses. The fact of death coming upon all men is adduced as a proof that all have sinned. The fact that Adam sinned is put forward as involving the necessary sinfulness and death of all his descendants. There was for the Jew a law given by Moses which it was impossible for him perfectly to obey; there was for the Gentile an inner law of the heart telling him what was right and rebuking his transgressions; but his fleshly desires were in permanent captivity to sin.

His theology.

Thus, without God's intervention, which, however, was foreordained and as much part of the general scheme as sin had come to be, man's state was one of hopeless ruin. This intervention was in the form of His Son Jesus Christ, made a true man, freely given and giving Himself, intended to die

[1] See Dr. Hatch's valuable article on St. Paul in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition.

for man on the cross and to be raised again. This latter event was the guarantee of the truth of the Gospel, of man's forgiveness by God. The varying expressions of Paul about the way in which the death of Christ saved man have afforded the basis for various theories of redemption.

His teaching about Christ.

Christ "became obedient unto death," He was "made to be sin for us," "Christ our Passover is sacrificed," "we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son," "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself," "ye were bought with a price." The sinner, as a condemned criminal, might be acquitted by the favour of God through the death of Christ. Christ and His followers are represented as having together died to sin, and together risen to righteousness. Thus men might once more become righteous by the gift of God, might receive a new life, might be adopted as the sons of God.

Although this salvation was intended and prepared for all men, they could only enter into its enjoyment by the co-operation of their own mind and will, through faith, that faculty by which one is convinced of and mentally appropriates that which is not immediately tangible. Thus men are said to be saved by their faith, as well as by Christ's blood; and their new righteousness is the result of faith. They can only do this by an act of repentance, of grief for past sins, and a resolute turning away from them.

Human faith.

Great objections were evidently raised against this doctrine, as one which condoned all sins without the payment of a personal penalty; it appeared to pass over crimes too readily, and no State has refrained from punishing men for crimes because of their becoming Christians afterwards. Nor is Paul able, in the imperfect knowledge of his time, to lay full stress on the physical and social punishment which attends and follows wrong-doing in this world, and on the doctrine of physical heredity, which explains much that is most striking in his theory of sinfulness and death through "Adam." The view that the Christian doctrine of forgiveness wrongly condones crimes, and that it is immoral to conceive of a guiltless person as suffering the penalty due to the guilty, has not yet lost its influence, and forms a perpetual question for the Christian philosopher. St. Paul describes the saved man as actuated, even filled, by a new spirit. Christ's Spirit dwells in him. It is impossible for him to sin, so long as he realises his new state; and after lapses, repentance brings reinstatement. The new life of mankind is intimately connected with the hope of the general resurrection, of which Christ's resurrection is a pledge. The advent of Christ, which Paul conceived as near at hand, was to be followed by a reign during which He will put all enemies under His feet. Sometimes unbelievers are threatened with eternal destruction; at others we are told that in Christ *all* will be made alive. On this subject, as on numerous others, we may account for the variety of presentation by the fact that the work and influence of Christ had various bearings, and could only be adequately stated by using such variety. It was so great that no one form of words sufficed to describe it fully.

Penalty for sin.

The new spirit of the Christian.

There is much in Paul's theology which is closely—too closely and pedantically, according to some—linked with Jewish ideas of the necessity of sacrifice—especially if we regard the Epistle to the Hebrews as his. It was also related to philosophy, the freewill and necessity controversy, Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Asceticism. The doctrine of predestination has been founded very largely on certain expressions of his, while others, displaying the freewill of man, are equally quoted by its opponents. The question whether salvation is by works or by grace alone is largely a matter of discussion from his writings.

Jewish ideas of sacrifice.

The body of a Christian was described by Paul as "the temple of the Holy Ghost." Every believer was part of Christ's body. The whole number of believers constituted a collective "body," the Church of Christ; and the members each had their function, without the due discharge of which the whole body suffered. We gain a good idea of the local communities from his epistles, and the way in which their diversities of gifts were utilised. Every man had the right to speak in the assemblies, but this right was withheld from women, as among the Jews. A system of government, depending sometimes upon the vote of the assembly, sometimes upon the authority of the apostles or elders, was gradually built up; and in various ways the new life showed itself in original composition, in teaching, and in works of mercy and hospitality carried to an extent little practised before. Every such work was part of the ministry (*diakonia*), and every worker was so far a deacon. The special fixing of the name deacon, presbyter, bishop, on particular individuals, arose by natural evolution as the churches became organised. What is known as the priestly power is little manifested in St. Paul's references to any but himself, the other apostles, Timothy, and Titus, and it shows no tendency to assume a power to forgive sins, or to pass beyond the declaration of forgiveness through Christ. Baptism was the mode of formal admission to the Church, and believers were regarded by Paul as buried with Christ through baptism, and rising with Him in newness of life. Baptism made all men brothers in Christ Jesus, so that afterwards he recognised no distinction of persons—Jew and Greek, slave and freeman, were all equal. All partook of a common meal, the Lord's supper, thus realising the unity, and participating mystically in the body and blood of Christ, as symbolised by bread and wine.

The Church as the body of Christ.

Ministry.

Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

In the midst of doctrinal elaborations, St. Paul again and again breaks into lofty outbursts like the unsurpassed description of Christian love in 1 Corinthians xiii., and the apostrophe to the wisdom and knowledge of God (Rom. xi. 33–36). By such passages, quite as much as by his powerful doctrinal statements, going to the root of human difficulties, St. Paul still influences the world far more than it knows.

Lofty outbursts.

In one important direction many hold that St. Paul falls behind the loftiest ideal—namely, in the position he assigns to women. Many of his references to them emphasise their subjection and subor-

Teaching as to women.

dination to men. As regards wives, he finds an analogy between the relation of the Church as subject to Christ, and that of wives to husbands.

St. John.

The Apostle John also ranks among the foremost of the founders of Christianity; but we are singularly ignorant as to his personal history, with the exception of the incidents recorded in the gospels. The name given by Christ to him and his brother James, "Boanerges," sons of thunder, implies something different from the idea of gentle feminine affection so generally associated with St. John, and was justified by several actions and sayings of the brothers. But he is specially distinguished as "the disciple whom Jesus loved," and as having been entrusted by his Master with the care of His mother after His death. From this time forward we have no trace of his special individual action, though he took part in the general proceedings of the infant Church at Jerusalem. According to tradition, he spent most of his later life at Ephesus, and lived to a great age, having among his disciples Polycarp, Papias, and Ignatius, and dying about the close of the first century. His first epistle is one of the most important books in the New Testament. It nowhere deals with the Christian life in the tone of St. Paul, but bears strong testimony to the reality of Christ's history. It gives a view of the nature of the Divine Being, "God is light," which adds to the repertory of Biblical descriptions of God, and he applies the image in a number of ways. Christians have confessed their sins and are forgiven, and the "blood of Jesus" cleanses them from all sin. They are the sons of God, and the proper fruit of that relationship is sinlessness. Their true life is to be manifested by love. Christ had laid down his life for them, and they ought to be willing to lay down their lives for their brethren. It was only by mutual love that the real Christian life could be shown. With matchless simplicity, directness and clearness, the apostle describes the place love occupies in the Christian life and evidences.

His first Epistle.

St. James.

It cannot be precisely decided what is meant by the designation of "brethren of the Lord," in which the authors of the Epistles of James and Jude are included. They naturally had great influence in the early Church; and the Epistle of James is a robust, weighty document, addressed to Jewish converts to Christianity, designed to elevate their standard of practical life. It appears to have been written in a time of difficulty and persecution, and contains many expressions bearing specially upon such a season. He condemns the lack of full trust in God, and a too great regard for temporal possessions, and reminds his readers of the perfection of God's gifts, and the unchangeableness of His nature. It is a matter still under dispute whether it was written before or after St. Paul's epistles, and whether it makes any reference to his doctrines. Many regard the epistle as directed against mistaken inferences from St. Paul's teaching. "The argument turns mainly on the interpretation of the doctrine of faith and works in James ii. 24, which formally, at least, is in direct opposition to Romans iii. 28. Now it is certain that the antithesis between Paul and James is not really so sharp as

Faith and works.

it appears in the verses just cited, because the two do not attach the same meaning to the word "faith." In fact, James's faith without works is not Paul's justifying faith, but the useless faith without love spoken of in 1 Corinthians xiii. We have to deal with two types of doctrine using the same terms in different senses, so that it is not inconceivable that the two may really be capable of such reconciliation in the practical Christian life as to make their divergences unimportant." (Prof. Lumby, in *Encyc. Brit.*)

The persecution under which the apostles Peter and Paul have both been generally believed to have been martyred became known as the first general persecution. It took place (A.D. 65) under Nero, who, having set fire to Rome, charged the Christians with the crime. Those who were arrested were horribly treated, some being crucified, others set on fire, others clothed in wild beasts' skins and torn by dogs; and such cruelty gained compassion for the victims even from the Romans. The persecution was widely extended through the provinces, and the Christian religion was proscribed by laws and edicts. Fortunately for the young Church, before the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus, in A.D. 70, the Jerusalem Christians had withdrawn to Pella, a village in Decapolis beyond the Jordan. There was no cessation, however, in the spread and progress of the new religion, and about 95 or 96 the Emperor Domitian set on foot the second great persecution.

The first general persecution.

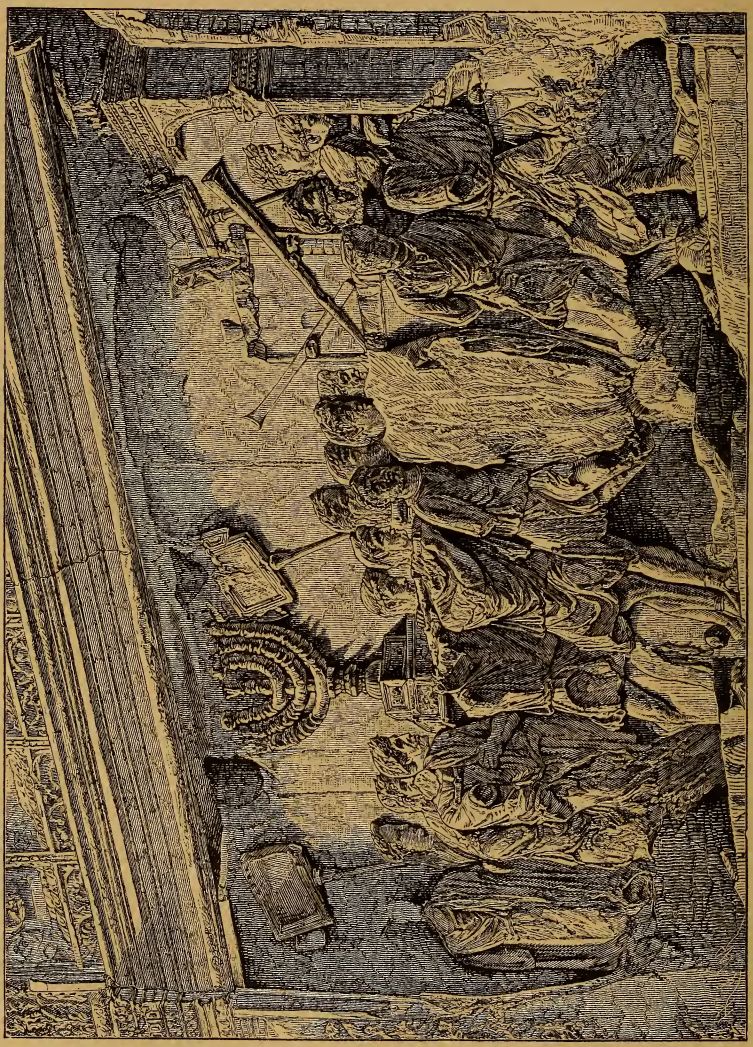
The third persecution of which we have any account is that of Trajan, dated about 112. We learn from a well-known letter of Pliny the younger, as proconsul of Bithynia, that he had put to death those Christians who were informed against and obstinately refused to recant; those who denied that they were Christians were compelled to invoke the gods, and supplicate the emperor's image with incense and wine, and to curse the name of Christ. Pliny's testimony as to the early Christian practices is very valuable. He says, "They affirmed this to have been the utmost of their crime or error, that they were accustomed on a fixed day to assemble before daylight, and sing a hymn alternately to Christ as to a god; and they bound themselves by a sacred oath, not to some crime, but to commit neither thefts, nor robberies, nor adulteries; not to break their word, not to deny a deposit when called upon: which being over, they departed, but came together again to take food, in common, and without any guilt." The meeting day here spoken of is generally believed to have been "the Lord's day," or first day of the week, and the common meal is identified with the love-feast eaten in connection with the Lord's Supper.

Pliny and Trajan.

Pliny's measures brought back many to the worship of the temples. Trajan, in reply to him, directed that while informers and anonymous accusations were to be discouraged, those convicted must be punished; but those who renounced Christianity and supplicated the gods were to be pardoned. The death of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who has been previously mentioned (p. 708), is referred to the persecution under Trajan. Ignatius is said to have been one of the disciples of St. John, and at any rate was contemporary with some of the apostles. He appears to have been condemned to

Ignatius.

death about A.D. 107, and to have been sent to Rome, where he was killed by beasts in the sports of the arena. A good many



RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS AT ROME, SHOWING THE SPOILS OF THE TEMPLE CARRIED IN TRIUMPH.

details of his journey to Rome are preserved in his celebrated epistles. That addressed to the Romans contains some striking meditations on his approaching martyrdom; indeed, it has been called a martyr's manual, and

from early times had a great influence on others. He rejoiced in the prospect of his death. "Let me be given to the wild beasts," he wrote, "for through them I can attain unto God." His journey had been a constant struggle with wild beasts (the guards who accompanied him). "Let fire and cross, and grapplings with wild beasts, wrenching of bones, hacking of limbs, crushings of my whole body come. . . . Only be it mine to attain unto Jesus Christ. It is good for me to die for Jesus Christ rather than to reign over the farthest bounds of the earth. Him I seek, who died on our behalf; Him I desire, who rose again. The pangs of a new birth are upon me. When I am come thither, then shall I be a man. Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God." Parts of his epistles attack the docetism of the time, which denied Christ's humanity. His evidence is also important as to the early appointment and recognition of bishops. His martyrdom.

His friend Polycarp, another disciple of St. John, was also martyred, but many years later. He was learned, of spare diet and simple clothing, a liberal almsgiver. At an advanced age he was chosen bishop of Smyrna, and was a companion of Papias and Ignatius, who, indeed, charged him to write to the churches eastward of those to whom he had written. His only extant letter to the Philippians has already been referred to. Various testimonies show that Polycarp exercised very wide influence. Irenæus, afterwards bishop of Lyons (A.D. 177), a pupil of his, has described many characteristics of his person, teachings, and character. Polycarp.

Polycarp, in his later years, visited Rome, where he conferred with Bishop Anicetus about the time for celebrating the death of Christ, which, Polycarp said, according to the practice of St. John and the other apostles with whom he had spoken, should be kept on the day of the Jewish Passover, the 14th Nisan, on whatever day of the week it might fall. Polycarp's end came as a consequence of a popular demand for victims for the public games in Smyrna. The cry "Away with the atheists!" (disbelievers in the Greek and Roman gods), "Let search be made for Polycarp," led to his apprehension, when, after a simple "God's will be done," he stood and prayed for two hours, and then went steadfastly before the authorities and refused to recant. When pressed to revile Christ, he said, "Fourscore and six years have I served Him, and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I speak evil of my King, who saved me?" He was led to a stake and burnt to death (A.D. 155 or 156). With his sufferings, it is said, the persecutions of the Christians for a time ceased. His martyrdom.

It is evident from these examples that the men who immediately succeeded the apostles were inspired by the same spirit, endued with the same love for the truth they had received, and resolute to die rather than deny their Lord and Master. It was this spirit, this resolution to face death rather than do, say, or acknowledge anything they believed untrue to Christ and to their religious belief, which laid the foundation of the Christian Church so broadly and strongly during the early centuries, when the vast power of the Roman empire was continually occupied in discouraging and often in trying to exterminate it.

THE SEVEN SONS OF ST. FELICITAS, SAID TO HAVE BEEN MARTYRED UNDER MARCUS AURELIUS.

CHAPTER IV.

Christianity Persecuted: Second and Third Centuries.

Persecution by Marcus Aurelius—A Roman senator martyred—Wide spread of Christianity in second century.—Persecution by Septimius Severus—Period of toleration—Persecution by Decius—Cyprian on flight—The martyr spirit at Rome—Gallienus's edict of toleration—Persecution of Diocletian—Galerius's decree of toleration—Constantine grants religious freedom—"Teaching of the Twelve Apostles"—Justin Martyr—His first apology—Second apology—Dialogue with Trypho—Justin's characteristics—Melito—Tatian—Athenagoras—Theophilus of Antioch—Irenæus—The Pseudo-Clementine writings—Clement of Alexandria—Origen—His works—"First Principles"—"Answer to Celsus"—Hippolytus—Tertullian—Cyprian—Heretical baptism—The unity of the Church — Ebionism — Gnosticism — Basilides —Valentinus—Marcion—Tatian—The Encratites—Manichæism — Manes, or Mani — The Monarchians—Paul of Samosata—The Patripassians—Sabellius—The Montanists—The Millenarians—Churches—The Church—Catechumens—Baptism—Confirmation—Worship—The Lord's Supper—Love-Feasts—Eucharistic doctrine—Discipline—Fasting—Easter—The Quartodecimans—Whitsuntide—Growth of the priestly order—Bishops—Popular election—Parish and diocese—Metropolitan, archbishop, patriarch—The bishopric of Rome—Unity of the Church.

IN dealing very briefly with the vast amount of interesting history pertaining to the first ages of the Church, we shall first refer to the general course of the history, then to the great teachers and writers, and the chief heretical movements affecting the Church, and finally describe the main features of Church life and organisation in the first three centuries.

Persecution by Marcus Aurelius.

The philosophic emperor, Marcus Aurelius, a sceptic about the gods he upheld (see page 438), strangely enough was a more severe persecutor of Christianity than his predecessors. Adopting from the Stoics their incredulity about marvels, and contemning what he thought the obstinacy or tragic airs of the Christians, he was not unwilling to see in their refusal of homage to the gods to whom he paid outward homage an act of treason against his own majesty. The calamities which occurred during his reign were followed by fresh outbreaks of persecution more or less throughout his empire. Some of the inscriptions in the catacombs of the Christians at Rome record the severity of their lot, and the

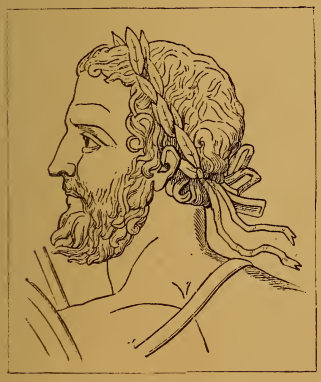
fact that they resorted even to caverns to worship, without being able to escape martyrdom. During the time of M. Aurelius, Justin Martyr was beheaded at Rome (about 166), Polycarp suffered at Smyrna, Melito at Sardis, Pothinus, bishop of Lugdunum (Lyons), in Gaul (177). In the latter province Christian slaves were crucified, natives of Gaul were thrown to wild beasts, and Roman citizens beheaded by order of the emperor. Dogs were allowed to eat the bodies, and what they left was burnt and the ashes thrown into the Rhone in contempt for the belief in the resurrection. The famous Irenæus, afterwards successor of Pothinus, carried a letter from the Gallic churches to those of Asia and Phrygia describing these events.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

During the reign of Commodus (180–192), there is recorded the striking fact of the martyrdom of a Roman senator, Apollonius, who, however, was permitted to read a full apology for his faith before the whole Senate. By the close of the second century Christianity had been preached with success in every province of the Roman empire, even possibly in Britain, though we cannot trust the tradition relating that a British king, Lucius, sent to Pope Eleutherus begging for instruction in Christianity. Beyond the Roman dominions, Parthia, Media, Persia, and various barbarous tribes of Europe had been evangelised with more or less success.

A Roman senator martyred.

Wide spread of Christianity in second century.



SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

In 202 the emperor Septimius Severus, who had at first been favourable to the Christians, issued an edict forbidding his subjects to embrace Judaism or Christianity, and this edict started the fifth general persecution. In Egypt and the African province the Christians suffered severely. Leonidas, the father of Origen, and Potamiæna, a virgin of great beauty and courage, were among the martyrs at Alexandria. Potamiæna is related to have been first cruelly tortured, and then killed by immersion in boiling pitch. Her behaviour so affected Basilides, the officer who led her to death, that he treated her with humanity, and afterwards declared himself a Christian. In Africa, possibly at Carthage, Perpetua,

Persecution by Septimius Severus.

a young wife, Felicitas, a slave, and others suffered at a show on the birthday of Geta, son of Severus. The persecutions diminished under Caracalla (211-217); while Elagabalus (218-222), absorbed in his own idolatrous projects, appears to have tolerated all forms of religion, and to have proposed to celebrate, in the universal temple which he built on the Palatine Hill, the rites of Jews and Samaritans, as well as Christians. His successor, Alexander Severus (222-235), tolerated both Jews and Christians, and in his private chapel for daily worship he had statues, not of the gods, but of deified men, among whom were Abraham, and Christ, with Alexander the Great and Apollonius of Tyana. He had inscribed on his palace and on public monuments the negative form of the golden rule. His mother, Julia Mamæa, was decidedly favourable to Christianity, and invited Origen to the court at Antioch. In the reign of Severus the laws against Christians were codified by the famous jurist Ulpian.

Period of toleration.

Under the next emperor, the Thracian Maximin (235-238), occurred the sixth general persecution. The next emperors were of a milder type, and Philip the Arabian (244-249) was so favourable to the Christians that he has been claimed as the first Christian emperor. Decius (249-251) followed with a systematic attempt to destroy the Christian Church, and the bishops and clergy were especially sought out and punished. This (called the seventh) was the first really general persecution. Decius appears to have thought that the luxury and social evils which prevailed were due to the new superstition, and it is said that the lives of some Christians at least gave colour to the idea. Christianity had gained in social repute, and the clergy and members were taking up social arts and practices. Decius is reported to have said that he would rather have a second emperor at his side than a bishop at Rome; and consequently Fabian, the bishop of Rome, and many other bishops throughout the empire, were among the martyrs of this time. Origen was imprisoned and tortured in various ways, and only regained freedom to die in the second year after Decius. Many of those prosecuted yielded and offered sacrifice and incense to the gods; others by money payments gained certificates to the same effect. Many, even bishops and priests, fled, either from cowardice or from prudential motives. The latter course was defended by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, in these words: "Our Lord commanded us in times of persecution to yield and fly. He taught this, and practised it Himself. For since the martyr's crown comes by the grace of God, and cannot be gained before the appointed hour, he who retires for a time and remains true to Christ does not deny his faith, but only bides his time." The Christians in prison at Rome wrote to their African brethren in a noble strain of martyrdom: "What more glorious and blessed lot can fall to man by the grace of God than to confess the Lord God amidst tortures and in the face of death itself; to confess Christ the Son of God with lacerated body and with a spirit departing yet free? . . . Though we have not shed our blood, we are ready to do so." Persecutions continued under the reign of Gallus, and in the fifth year of Valerian (257-8) there began an eighth persecution in

Persecution by Decius.

Cyprian on flight.

The martyr spirit at Rome.

which Cyprian perished, as well as Sixtus II., bishop of Rome, and his deacon Laurentius, related to have been slowly roasted to death on a grid-iron. The martyrdoms under Valerian were followed by the First Edict of Toleration, issued by his son Gallienus, and addressed to the bishops. He recalled Christian exiles, restored to them their cemeteries, and acknowledged their religion as "permitted." The bishops were informed that the officials had been ordered to evacuate the consecrated places, and that they were to reoccupy them; and the edict was to suffice as their authority. Thus the right of the Church to hold property was effectively granted.

Gallienus's Edict of Toleration.

His successor, Aurelian, despised the Christians, being a devotee of the Sun, and he had prepared an edict for a persecution of the Christians, wrongly termed the ninth, when he was assassinated. The edict was revoked by his successor, Tacitus. Diocletian, a rough Illyrian soldier (Emperor, 284–305), even had a Christian wife, Prisca; and Valeria, his daughter, married to Galerius, his associate Cæsar, is credited with having been able to check hostility to Christianity. Many important state offices at this time were held by Christians, churches were built in every important city, and that at Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, then the seat of Diocletian, was especially fine. The opponents of Christianity were stirred to make a great effort to crush it. It was represented that profane persons (Christians in the Emperor's service) prevented the proper results of divination from being attained; all such persons were ordered by Diocletian to sacrifice in person. At last, after several preliminary steps, on February 23, 303, an edict was issued commanding the demolition of all Christian churches, the burning of all sacred books, the degradation of Christians from all offices and their deprivation of civil rights, and the reduction of non-official Christians to a state of practical slavery. The church of Nicomedia was destroyed. Diocletian's wife and daughter were compelled to join in sacrifice to the gods. Persecution was extended far and wide. Very many Christians were burnt or drowned; many were imprisoned in dungeons. Every person who pleaded in a court of justice was compelled to sacrifice before his plea was heard. Great ingenuity was shown in devising new tortures. Only in Gaul and Britain, then under Constantius Chlorus as Cæsar, was there any toleration for Christians, and even here some martyrdoms took place, as that of St. Alban at Verulam. Elsewhere cruelty raged. All officials of Christian churches were seized and tortured to make them give up their sacred books, and no doubt at this time many invaluable manuscripts perished. In the language of Eusebius, executions went on till the swords were dull and shattered, and the wearied executioners had to relieve each other. Strangely enough, Diocletian was

Persecution of Diocletian.

DIOCLETIAN.

the last Emperor deified by the Roman Senate, and the last who celebrated a triumph at Rome. In 305, Diocletian, worn out by ill-health, abdicated at Nicomedia, and Maximin did the same at Milan, Galerius and Constantius succeeding them, with Severus as Cæsar in Africa, and Maximin in Syria and Egypt. Galerius, seconded by Maximin, continued the persecution, which was even increased in rigour. All imperial subjects were compelled to sacrifice, and food exposed in the markets was sprinkled with the libations to the gods in order that Christians should find it impossible to avoid pollution with idolatry. At last, when dying of loathsome disease, Galerius in 311 issued a decree of toleration, which acknowledged the failure of previous edicts to suppress Christianity. It was pretended that the edicts had been inspired by a desire to bring back Christians to their own primitive faith. Permission was granted to them to rebuild their churches and resume their meetings, on condition that they did nothing to disturb the State; and finally they were begged to pray to their God for the health and welfare of the emperors. In 312, Constantine, after his victory over Maxentius near Rome, proclaimed toleration for the Christians, and in June, 313, he granted freedom of religion and its exercise throughout the empire. In 327 he professed Christianity, and urged all his subjects to embrace the Christian religion. Thus ended the first great period of the history of Christianity.

Galerius' decree of toleration.

Constantine grants religious freedom.

Before beginning to review the early Apologetic Literature, we may refer to a book which has only in recent years been discovered and published in Constantinople by Bryennius, namely, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," probably dating from the end of the first century A.D., and exhibiting a notable relation to the Epistle of Barnabas. The first six chapters deal with the Two Ways, of Life and Death; the former summed up in the precepts "Love God who made thee," and "Love thy neighbour as thyself, and do not to another what thou wouldest not have done to thyself." The Sermon on the Mount is quoted, the Decalogue is enforced, and evils resulting from breach of the spirit of the Commandments are denounced. Directions are given for baptism, to be preceded by fasting; for modes of prayer, and the form of the Eucharist (which consists of very simple thanksgivings, not like those now associated with that office). The blessing of the cup precedes that of the bread. The wine is identified with "the vine of David" made known through Jesus. The first thanksgiving is directed to be said "after being filled," which apparently excludes anything like the modern type of Communion, but which would be applicable rather to the early Love-feasts. Due honour and respect for apostles and prophets are enjoined. In chapter xv. the instruction is given, "Elect therefore to yourselves bishops and deacons," apparently to conduct the weekly services. Those only may attend who have confessed their sins in the church. The last chapter (xvi.) exhorts the Church to watch for the Lord's second coming. It is conjectured that the book was produced by Christian Jews living to the east of the Jordan after the fall of Jerusalem.

"Teaching of the Twelve Apostles."

Very early in Christian history began that series of "Apologies" or answers to objections to Christianity which has never since ceased. The earliest of which we hear were addressed to the Roman Emperor Hadrian about 125, by Quadratus, Bishop of Athens, and Aristides, an Athenian philosopher. At first it was very necessary to show the distinctions between the Christians and the Jews. The first great apologist whose Apology has come down to us is Flavius Justinus, commonly known as Justin Martyr, born at Neapolis in Palestine (now Nablous) about the end of the first century. After studying Greek philosophy and becoming a Platonist, he adopted Christianity, partly by study of the sacred books and partly through witnessing the steadfastness of the Christians under persecution. We have already mentioned his martyrdom at Rome. His first Apology was addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and refutes the false charges brought against Christianity, declares its principal truths, and describes Christian worship and practices. His courage is very marked. "As for us Christians," he says, "we do not consider that we can suffer any ill from any one, unless we are convicted of wickedness or evil-doing. You can kill us, indeed, but damage us you cannot." Against the charge of setting up a new kingdom, he says, "Surely we are the best friends a ruler could desire,—we who believe in a God whose eye no crime can escape, no falsehood deceive,—we who look for an eternal judgment, not only on our deeds, but even on our thoughts." He alleges as proofs of the truth of Christianity that its chief events had been predicted in the Old Testament, and that it had produced moral conversion in all kinds of offenders. His second Apology, written apparently not long after the first, was instigated by some atrocious condemnations of Christians to death, showing that a future day of retribution would come, and that Christianity was far above the State religion in its moral character, and above the philosophical systems in vogue. Bold protests of innocence were made, and Justin shows that Christians had nothing to withdraw or give up.

Justin Martyr.

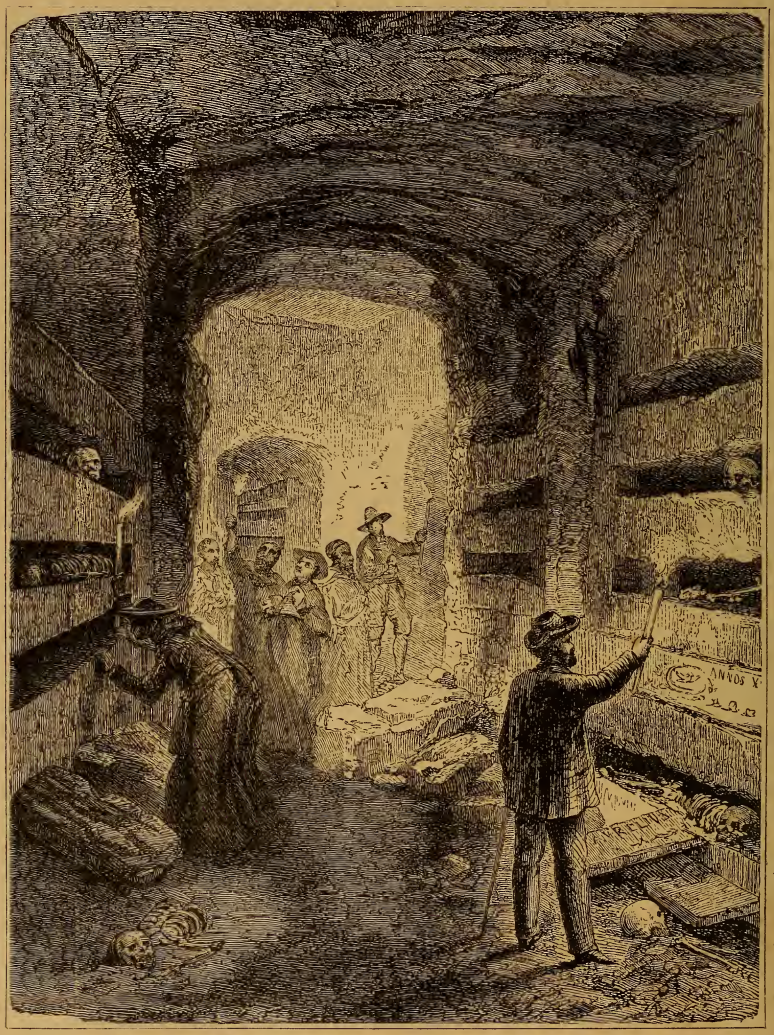
His first Apology.

Second Apology.

In his "Dialogue with Trypho," a Jew, Justin proves the Christian position from the Hebrew Scriptures. Typho wonders how the Christians could profess to serve God, and yet break the Mosaic law which God had given, and how they could believe in a human Saviour. Justin in reply shows that the binding nature of the Jewish law passed away with the coming of Christ, who, while human, was truly divine, pre-existent, yet subordinate to the Father, then became incarnate, was crucified, rose again and ascended to heaven. He defends himself against the charge of advocating a plurality of gods by bringing numerous passages of the Old Testament to show that they involved the existence and manifestation of such a person as Christ (*e.g.* in the Theophanies). This dialogue has great value as showing the mode of interpreting Scripture at a very early date, and as covering a great part of the ground of theology. Justin is also remarkable for his allowing that the Divine Being was revealed in part to the Gentiles, and especially to such philosophers as Socrates, who, he says,

Dialogue with Trypho.

was martyred for Christ. As regards the Holy Spirit, Justin was less definite, but he holds Him worthy of Divine honour, as being concerned in



THE CATACOMBS AT ROME: BURIAL-PLACES OF EARLY CHRISTIANS.

creation and in inspiration. He holds mainly the Pauline view of original sin and its remission through Christ; believes in the resurrection of the body, and eternal (æonian) punishment of sinners.

It is admitted that Justin interprets Scripture in a way very antagonistic to Judaism, and that many of his reasonings will not stand the tests of strict logic or fuller knowledge. The number and minuteness of his references to Christ's life and words give evidence that he knew substantially the same history that we have. The same body of facts is referred to, with but some few additions and alterations, such as that Christ was born in a cave, was not comely of aspect, and made ploughs and yokes, emblems of righteousness; that the Jews ascribed His miracles to magic, that Christ said, "There shall be schisms and heresies," and "In whatsoever I find you, in that will I judge you." He calls the records that he refers to "Memoirs of the Apostles," records of Christ's sayings and doings written by the apostles or their followers. There is strong reason to believe that he knew St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Gospels; but his inexactness of quotation prevents our being certain that he did not use some gospel or original document which has not come down to us. There is much in common between his ideas of the word and the Fourth Gospel, but he has no direct quotation from it. One or two passages, however, seem only compatible with a knowledge of this gospel. He has distinct references to 1 Corinthians and 2 Thessalonians, and makes other allusions only compatible with knowledge of other books of the New Testament. Further, it must be remembered that Justin apparently wrote other books which are lost, and which, probably, contained many of the things we miss.

Justin's characteristics.

Melito, bishop of Sardis, in the third quarter of the second century, wrote an Apology (addressed to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius), as well as numerous other works mentioned by Eusebius. In one of his works he gave a list of the acknowledged books of the Old Testament.

Melito.

Tatian, born in Assyria about 120, was a hearer of Justin Martyr, at Rome, and wrote a *Discourse to the Greeks*, which is practically an "Apology for Christianity," in which he denounced the immorality and absurdities of the Greek stories of the gods, and vindicated the "barbaric" (*i.e.* the Christian) writings. He evidently used the Logos philosophy of the Fourth Gospel, often in almost identical language, and developed the idea of the Spirit beyond Justin. The Spirit of God, he says, takes up His abode with those who live justly, and proclaims truth in the form of prophecies. Tatian was the first who is recorded to have made a harmony of the gospels (the *Diatessaron*), which has been in modern times recovered and reconstructed by Zahn from an Armenian version of a commentary on it by Ephraem the Syrian in the fourth century. It is deduced from this that Tatian accepted and affirmed the historical character of the four gospels, though he does not regard them as infallible in their chronology, but re-arranges it according to probabilities. After the death of Justin Martyr, Tatian was considered to have become unorthodox, and to have adopted gnostic views. His extant works only discover certain tendencies which may have led him from the Christian standards; but he was condemned by Irenæus as "puffed up as if superior to other teachers, and forming his own type of doctrine."

Tatian.

Athenagoras, of Athens, was a philosopher who studied Christianity in order to write a refutation of it, but became a teacher of the faith.

Athenagoras.

His "Apology" (which he calls an "embassy" concerning Christians, addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus, and Commodus) defends Christians against the current charges of atheism, incest, and cannibalism at their feasts. Its date is probably about 176. Another work of his "On the Resurrection of the Dead," argues the question mainly from philosophy, and from the nature of God and of man. He strongly upholds the unity of the Godhead, while teaching that in God there dwelt from eternity the Logos, His Son. He quotes numerous phrases from the New Testament without mentioning their source.

Theophilus of Antioch, Bishop of Antioch in the latter part of the second century, wrote an Apology addressed to an unbelieving friend named Autolycus, which is perhaps most notable as being the first book in which the Trinity (Gr. *Trias*) in the Divine nature is referred to. The first three days of creation, he says, were types of the triad—God, His Word, and His wisdom; but the personality of the Holy Spirit still remains indistinct in his account.

Theophilus of Antioch.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, a native of Asia Minor, in his youth a pupil of Polycarp, and thus connected with St. John, was chosen as the successor of Pothinus at Lyons, in 178, and probably held that see for twenty-five years. He was a zealous preacher, both to the heathen and against heretics, and was notably eager to preserve peace within the Church. Already in his time the Roman Church, through Bishop Victor, was seeking to compel the Churches of Asia Minor to keep Easter on the same day as the Romans did (see p. 372), and Irenæus remonstrated agains Victor cutting them off from his communion, and his circular letter probably prevented other Churches from following the Roman example. It is doubtful whether Irenæus was martyred. The great work of Irenæus is usually known by the brief title "Against Heresies," but its complete designation is "Detection and Upsetting of falsely-called Knowledge," (Gnosis), written in Greek against the gnostic heresies. We have the greater portion of a Latin version, and fragments of the original Greek.

Irenæus.

Here we may refer to the works known as the pseudo-Clementines, written probably in the second half of the second century, in the name of Clement of Rome. The *Homilies*, described as "a philosophico-religious romance, based on some historical traditions," profess to give an account of the discourses of St. Peter on his apostolic journeys, as given to Clement. The author puts into the mouth of Peter a mixture of Ebionite and Gnostic teaching, seeing in Christianity merely a restoration of the pure primitive revelation. Much of its teaching is interpreted as a veiled attack on St. Paul. The *Recognitions* purports to be an autobiography addressed by Clement to James, bishop of Jerusalem. The books resemble one another in many points, and are regarded as diverse forms of one original. To Clement were also ascribed the *Apostolical Con-*

The Pseudo-Clementine writings.

stitutions and *Canons*, the former consisting of eight books of Church laws, customs, liturgies, and moral exhortations, an early work, and the latter, probably collected in the fourth or fifth century, containing a system of discipline for the clergy. All the four gospels, principally St. Matthew, are quoted in the Clementines, with considerable verbal differences from our present text; and a few passages not found in our gospels are quoted.

Clement of Alexandria was the earliest great teacher at Alexandria devoted to the instruction of catechumens or those preparing for Christian baptism, from about A.D. 190 to 203. He was followed by the still more notable Origen. Of the three chief works of Clement, the *Exhortation to the Greeks* shows the folly and immoral character of the Greek religion; the second, the *Tutor*, inculcates Christian morality, and the third, "*Stromata*," or Patchwork, gives the deeper Christian teaching in an unsystematic fashion. Clement represents that in his teaching he is reproducing original unwritten tradition, derived from the apostles, and constituting a true guide to knowledge or gnosis, in opposition to the false gnosis then abundant. He quotes with emphasis the Epistle of Barnabas, and also "the Preaching of Peter," and the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," as well as the books of the canon; but he quotes loosely and inaccurately. He describes the philosophic believer as comprehending the complete truth of God, and becoming as far as possible like God. Man is born for God's service, for which he is fitted by painful training, and by receiving the Holy Spirit. He recognised and valued highly the good side of heathenism and of Greek philosophy. "The training of the Jews and the training of the Greeks were in different ways designed to fit men for the final manifestation of the Christ. . . . The various schools of philosophy are described as rending in pieces the one truth, like the Bacchants, who rent the body of Pentheus, and bore about the fragments in triumph. Each one, he says, boasts that the morsel which it has had the good fortune to gain is all the truth. . . . He that again combines the divided parts and unites the exposition in a perfect whole, will, we may be assured, look upon the truth without peril" (Westcott, in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*).

Clement of Alexandria.

A pupil of Clement, Origen (in full, Origenes Adamantius) was destined greatly to excel his master in fame. Born at Alexandria in 185 of Christian parents, and baptised in infancy, he early studied both the Bible and Greek literature. During the persecution of A.D. 202, his father Leonidas was martyred, and Origen would have suffered the same fate but that his mother hid his clothes. He afterwards supported himself and his mother and family by teaching Greek and copying manuscripts. In 203, at the age of eighteen, he was made head of the catechetical school vacated by Clement. To further qualify himself for this office he studied under Ammonius Saccas, the founder of Neo-Platonism, a teacher who no doubt greatly broadened his views. He lived a most ascetic life, and to guard himself against temptation, through having numerous female catechumens, he emasculated himself; and by his teaching and life made many converts. About 211 he visited Rome, where ideas of a visibly united Church,

Origen.

made up of baptised persons, were already strong, while the Alexandrians regarded the Church as composed of all holy people both in heaven and on earth. Returning to Alexandria, Origen made a fresh study of Hebrew, and started a great commentary on the Bible, for which Ambrose, a rich convert, provided a library, shorthand writers and copyists. In his numerous foreign journeys to instruct princes and notable people who sent for him, the bishops of Jerusalem (Alexander) and Cæsarea invited him to preach in their churches, though he was still a layman. Later, he was ordained a presbyter by the same bishops (A.D. 228), which excited the anger of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, who in 231 and 232 held two councils at Alexandria, at which Origen was accused of having mutilated himself, of having been ordained without the consent of the bishop under whom he worked, and of teaching erroneous doctrines, such as that the devil would be finally saved, etc. He was forbidden to teach, and excommunicated, a sentence which was confirmed by the Roman and Western Churches, but rejected in Palestine, Phœnicia, and Greece. Origen withdrew to Cæsarea, where he continued to teach. Afterwards he again travelled widely, partly owing to persecution by Roman emperors and by Christians. Meanwhile he continued to work at his commentary and other writings. During the persecution of Decius, Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem was martyred, and Origen was condemned to death and cruelly tortured. But the death of Decius freed Origen, who however was shattered in strength, and died a few years later at Tyre, about 255.

The Church of Rome refused to Origen the titles of Saint and Father, in common with Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian; but he was certainly one of the greatest scholars and most powerful intellects of his time. He was very fond of allegorical and mystical interpretation, and also of literal following of ascetic teaching. He was the first to attempt a complete study of and comment on the Bible, and to endeavour to settle its text by a Polyglott Old Testament (called Hexapla), including six versions side by side; namely, the Hebrew, the same in Greek letters, the Septuagint, Aquila's Greek version, the text of Symmachus (possibly an Ebionite), and that of Theodotion, an Ephesian. This great work, kept in the library at Cæsarea, was still in use in Jerome's time. Only a few portions have survived. Of his other numerous writings we have little beside the "Answer to Celsus," an important work, and the "De Principiis," a work on the first principles of Christian doctrine; but these suffice to show Origen to have been the greatest Christian writer who had appeared since the apostolic times. His work on "First Principles" was the first attempt to fashion a philosophy of the Christian faith. The object or end of life, he says, is the progressive assimilation of man to God by the voluntary appropriation of His gifts. Rational beings are endowed with freewill, and with responsibility for their actions; they can never cease to be. They have the power of learning from the revelation of God's will in the Scriptures, upon which a rational faith is to be founded. Bishop Butler, in the introduction to his "Analogy," quotes a famous sentence from

His works.

"First Principles."

this book as having supplied an important hint for his own work. "He who believes the Scripture to have proceeded from Him who is the Author of Nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the constitution of Nature."

Origen's "Answer to Celsus" is a powerful reply to the "True Discourse" of Celsus, an Epicurean philosopher, who in it attacked the whole idea of the supernatural, the incarnation and resurrection of Christ, and the intellectual and moral character of the Christians. Origen's answer is close, and in many parts conclusive; but his lack of the true historic sense mars much of his work. He maintained the true and perfect manhood of Christ, subject to the conditions of natural growth, and the true and perfect divinity of the "God Word," which was so united with the Man Christ Jesus, through the human soul, as to be one person.

"Answer to Celsus."

ST. APOLLINARIS IN CLASSE, RAVENNA (538–549).

He regarded the Son as less than the Father, and as reaching only to rational beings; while the Holy Spirit was still less, and extended only to the saints. The work of Christ was for all men, and for the whole of man. His life and death was a vicarious sacrifice for sin, and was even of value to heavenly beings. The future consummation of the world would include the restoration of all beings to unity in God. Future punishment, proportionate to sin, awaited all sinners. "His gravest errors," says Westcott, "are attempts to solve that which is insoluble." He has been so far misunderstood as to be charged with being the forerunner of Arianism, and with holding many other heresies. For his own age he is a remarkable example of boldness and freedom of thought arising in the new Church. Among the followers of Origen who can merely be mentioned are Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 248–265; Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus, 244–270; Pamphilus of Cæsarea, the friend of Eusebius; and Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, martyred in 311; while

Methodius, bishop of Patara, in Lycia, attacked his views of the creation and resurrection of the body in three dialogues.

Going back to the contemporaries of Origen, we must briefly mention Hippolytus, bishop of the port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber, whose statue was dug up in 1551 in Rome, inscribed with the names of his works, including one "against all heresies," of which the greater part only became known by a discovery in the monastery of Mount Athos, in 1842. It is entitled "Philosophoumena," and describes heathen philosophies, and all the heresies since the apostles' times, and incidentally gives considerable information about the author's life and beliefs, and the history of the Roman Church. He strongly censured the laxity of the contemporary Roman bishops Zephyrinus and Callistus. He was probably martyred near Rome, near the close of the first half of the third century.

Hippolytus.

The earliest great Latin Christian writers flourished in the Roman province of Africa, chiefly in the old territory of Carthage. Tertullian, born between 150 and 160, was trained as a lawyer, and only became a Christian about A.D. 192, after which he was a presbyter of the Church. He joined the Montanists about the end of the century. His death took place somewhere between 220 and 240. While still remaining an orthodox Christian, Tertullian wrote several important works, such as his Address to the Martyrs, and his Apology, his greatest writing. After he became a Montanist, he wrote many books defending the special doctrines of the sect, though without giving up any of what he considered to be the true teaching of Christianity. The character of his writings is described as "abrupt and impetuous, eloquent and stern," though often with tender and beautiful passages. He vehemently denounced flight in persecution, second marriages, ostentatious and elaborate dressing by Christian women, and enjoined severe fasts and other ascetic practices.

Tertullian.

Cyprian, the second great African father, was born at Carthage, about A.D. 200, of a wealthy family, was highly educated, and became a famous teacher of rhetoric. He was baptised a Christian in 245 or 246, and studied the Scriptures and Christian writers so successfully that in 248 he was called by popular acclamation to take the bishopric of Carthage, though still only a layman. When the Decian persecution broke out, he fled as a matter of expediency. On his return, he had to deal with many cases of those who had fallen away under persecution and now sought restoration to the Church. Many had even obtained indulgences in the name of martyrs, who while in prison under sentence of death were allowed to recommend the restoration of persons under condemnation by the Church. Consequently, many lax and disorderly persons obtained admission into the Church, and occasioned difficulty and scandal. Cyprian in 251 called a council of African bishops, which voted in favour of restoring only those of the lapsed who were truly penitent. After this, Novatus, a presbyter, with a rich layman named Felicissimus, raised an outcry against Cyprian's election as irregular and illegal, and the latter set forward Fortunatus as bishop of Carthage, and obtained his ordination by five bishops, all of

Cyprian.

whom were either condemned heretics or had lapsed under persecution; but this schism soon vanished.

Another great controversy in which Cyprian took an active part, was about the acceptance of Christian baptism as valid when performed by heretical teachers. He held that no such baptism was valid, and that its efficacy depended not only upon the minister being a priest of the orthodox church, but on his personal holiness. In this matter Stephen, Bishop of Rome (253–257), took the broader view that the validity depended on following the institution of Christ, not on the state or belief of the minister. Those baptised by heretics only needed confirmation. Stephen appears to have shown more than a dawning of the high pretensions of the see of Rome, having even refused to receive those who brought the decisions of the African council to Rome, denouncing Cyprian as "a false Christ, a false apostle, and a deceitful worker." This harshness was followed by the rejection of all communion with the African and the Eastern Churches; and gradually the broader view prevailed, and was accepted by the Church generally at the Council of Nicæa. Cyprian's martyrdom under the persecution of Valerian has already been mentioned. He left behind him eighty-one epistles, giving most valuable accounts of ecclesiastical questions in his age. He also wrote a work "On the Unity of the Church," which is the first full assertion of the principle of a great united visible Church. He says that "the Church was founded from the first by Christ on Peter alone. . . . She has ever since remained one, in unbroken episcopal succession. . . . He is not a Christian who is not in the Church of Christ. Whoever separates himself from the Church is a foreigner, a profane person, an enemy. '*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*'" (outside the Church there is no salvation). Through Cyprian's influence the Church Council first became of prime importance to the life of the Church, and episcopacy acquired a greatly increased power. He also strongly asserted the independence of bishops when once elected.

Heretical baptism.

"The Unity of the Church."

During the first three centuries the successive setting-up of different forms of opinion, which their advocates thought compatible with Christianity, led to the discussion and settlement by the Church of numerous questions of the highest moment. Ebionism was the first important development, a movement full of zeal for the law of Moses, and tending to exalt the old at the expense of the new Covenant. The Ebionites,[1] who first came into prominence about the beginning of the second century, regarded Jesus as the son of Joseph and Mary without any supernatural conception, and as a mere man. Only after His baptism did He become anointed as Christ and endued with His mission as Messiah. They neither believed in His pre-existence nor in His divinity; they looked for His future coming, when the earthly Jerusalem would be restored, and the Jews would return there to take their place in the Messiah's millennial kingdom. They insisted that the Jewish law should be observed by all Christians, and they

Ebionism.

[1] *Ebion*, poor; hence Ebionite, a follower of Christ's teaching about poverty.

strongly opposed the teaching and the claims of St. Paul. There was a further type of Ebionism which was specially ascetic in its tone, and identified Christianity with what was called genuine or primitive Mosaism. The Ebionites only accepted the Pentateuch, and even rejected parts of that. They did not define the precise moment of union of Jesus with the Messiah, who, they held, was ordained to combat and conquer the devil. As the latter was their special enemy, they refused every kind of worldly indulgence, except that they recommended early marriages. They observed both the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Lord's day, but they had no regard for the Jewish sacrifices and temple; yet they refused all communion with the uncircumcised. Many of them sought to propagate their views. They exerted much influence in the second and third centuries in Syria, but did not succeed in establishing themselves elsewhere. The teaching of Paul prevailed, and the bishops of Palestine, as well as those of Rome, showed their disregard for Jewish customs in the settlement of the Paschal controversy in the second century. The Ebionites gradually died out without having exerted any wide influence. No formal pronouncement of a council against them was necessary. Their doctrines died a natural death, though a few Ebionites were still heard of up to the middle of the fifth century.

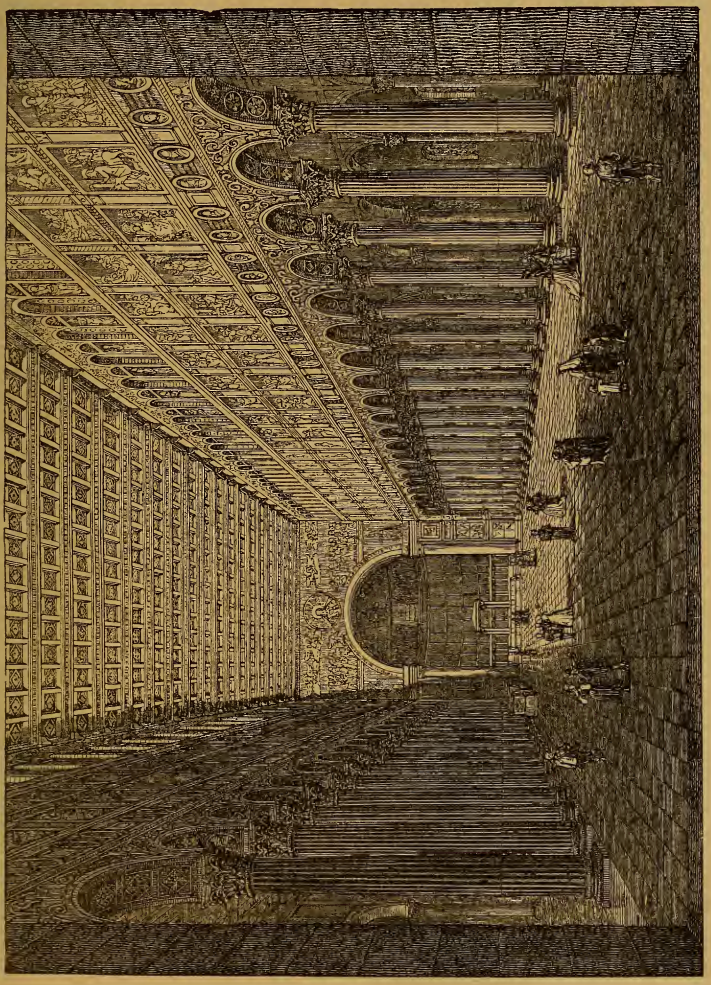
Gnosticism, though it fills a vast space in the religious history of the first centuries of Christianity, is in many features not directly its product.

Gnosticism. It appears to have been related largely to Greek and many other non-Christian philosophies, and it attempted to add to the Christian faith a knowledge which was superior to faith. It also claimed to be the depository of a secret tradition of early Christianity. The term Gnostic is used to cover many diverse sects, the more important of which did not arise till the second century. The principal general features of gnosticism as a philosophy are the idea of the essential antagonism of spirit and matter, the conception of a Demiurgus or effective creator of the world, distinct from the supreme God, and the idea that Christ's human body was but a phantasmal appearance. The Divine being was supposed to become manifested in the form of æons, a term applied to all spiritual powers. The Demiurgus, or maker of the visible world, was supposed to be produced by the union of the lowest æon with matter. The liberation of human nature from evil was effected by the work of Christ, the most perfect of the æons. Two principal views of morals were held by various gnostic sects: one, that all matter, including human nature, was corrupt, and every material pleasure was consequently to be avoided; the other, that the pure spirit could not be defiled by any material thing or act. We can but briefly refer to a few of the leaders of gnostic sects.

Basilides, who flourished at Alexandria in the reign of Hadrian (117–138), is best known to us by the extracts given from his writings in the work of

Basilides. Hippolytus against all heresies. His high philosophical teaching is too complex to be detailed here. The sect he founded lasted in Egypt till about the end of the fourth century. Its members professed to possess a hidden knowledge, reckoned themselves more than Christians,

claimed and exercised great freedom about contact with heathendom, indulged in magic and invocations, and were reputed to practise much immorality. Their ideas were very different from those of their founder.



INTERIOR OF ST. PAUL'S OUTSIDE THE WALLS, ROME (A.D. 386).

Valentinus, a much greater man, was probably also an Alexandrian. He is known to have taught at Rome about 138–160, and to have died in Cyprus in 160. His system became the most general form of gnosticism, and was widely spread through Egypt, Syria, Italy,

Valentinus.

and Southern Gaul. Early in the third century the Valentinians were the most numerous of heretics; in the fifth they were quite extinct.

Marcion (first half of the second century), son of a bishop of Sinope in Pontus, but excommunicated by his father, went to Rome and sought restoration from the presbyters there. Failing to obtain his object, he formed a sect of his own, by whom he was recognised as bishop, and became the founder of a line of Marcionite bishops. His sect was very widely diffused by the end of the second century, and their strict asceticism, which included celibacy and abstinence from meat and wine, and their ardent spirit of martyrdom, made them strong and gave them much success. They still existed in the seventh century, but they had been largely eclipsed by the newer Manichæan heresy. Marcion recognised three ruling powers: the good God, first made known by Christ; evil Matter, ruled by the devil; and the righteous Demiurge, or world-maker, the angry god of the Jews. He rejected the authority of the Old Testament entirely, and regarded Christ as having suddenly descended from heaven to reveal God, His body being a mere appearance and His death an illusion. By His work He cast the Demiurge into Hades, secured the redemption of humanity, and commissioned St. Paul to preach it. The Marcionites observed the usual church rites, though their Eucharist excluded wine. They fasted on Saturdays. Marcion's canon is referred to at page 713.

Marcion.

Tatian, of whom we have already spoken (p. 737), the convert of Justin Martyr, during Justin's lifetime showed in his writings tendencies to gnosticism, and later became pronouncedly an ascetic gnostic, founding a sect known as the Encratites (the abstemious), which lasted until the fourth century.

Tatian.

The Encratites.

Our space is quite inadequate to deal with Manichæism, which may be briefly defined as an attempt to combine Christianity with Zoroastrianism. Ormuzd and Ahriman appeared as Light and Darkness, each presiding over a distinct kingdom and engaged in perpetual contest. Manes, or Mani, a Persian magian converted to Christianity, was its founder, about 270, and was cruelly martyred in 277. His teaching spread widely through Asia, and reached Africa and Rome. Although repressed by the Christian emperors, Manichæism survived as a distinct sect till the sixth century.

Manichæism.

Manes, or Mani.

Manichæism resembled the gnostic sects in describing Christ's body as only an appearance, and consequently rejecting the accounts of His birth and early life. As primal man He dwelt in the sun by His power and the moon by His wisdom. Hence these two were worshipped as being His habitations. The Old Testament was rejected, and the Gospels were only partially accepted, as having arisen much later than the time of Christ and the apostles, and as having been greatly corrupted. Mani himself claimed to be the Paraclete, and propounded his teaching as a revelation. In morals the higher order of Manichæans, "the perfect," professed asceticism, idleness, and celibacy; the hearers might live an ordinary life, though they might not destroy animals.

The Manichæans had an elaborate organisation—a chief priest, successor of Mani, twelve apostles, seventy-two bishops, and priests, deacons and evangelists. Their very simple worship included turning to the sun in prayer; anointing with oil instead of baptism of the "perfect," to whom the Eucharist was administered; and fasting on Sunday.

These were rather teachings conflicting with Christianity than heresies within its pale. We now come to heresies which claimed to express the true view regarding most important aspects of truth about the Divine Being in His various manifestations. The discussions upon these developed the Catholic doctrine about the Trinity of the Godhead, and about the union of the Divine and human natures in Christ. The Monarchians, who rose into prominence towards the end of the second century, denied the divinity of Christ, or else described it as a power which filled the human Jesus. Yet they mostly believed in His miraculous birth by the power of the Holy Spirit, and in the residence of Divine power in His nature from His conception. Theodotus of Byzantium was an early leader, and was excommunicated at Rome by Bishop Victor (about A.D. 200).

The Monarchians.

A distinct form of Monarchism originated with Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch from A.D. 260. He described both the Logos and the Holy Spirit as powers or manifestations of God, not distinct Persons. The Divine Logos, he taught, dwelt more fully in Christ than in any previous teacher. He was deposed in 269 by a council of Syrian bishops, but was protected by Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, and only finally deposed after his sentence had been confirmed by the Italian bishops.

Paul of Samosata.

A form of Monarchism which explained the three Persons of the Trinity as only the threefold aspect of the Divine Being, was termed *Patripassian* by Tertullian, because it was inferred that this view logically involved the belief that it was God the Father Himself who suffered upon the cross. Praxeas brought this doctrine to Rome from Asia Minor near the end of the second century, and was at the same time a strong anti-Montanist. He urged that the doctrine of the Trinity was a belief in three Gods; and his mode of explaining his own teaching was that the one God, who as Father was Spirit, as Son was flesh; and that the Father sympathised and suffered with the Son. He was condemned by the Roman Church, and went to Carthage, where Tertullian wrote a book against him. Noëtus of Smyrna had his own special form of this heresy, to which Zephyrinus, Callistus (Calixtus I.), and Sabellius were won. Callistus thus expressed his view: "The Father, who was in the Son, took flesh and made it God. Father and Son were therefore the name of the one God, and this one person cannot be two; thus the Father suffered with the Son."

The Patripassians.

Sabellius, however, went farther than Callistus, by whom he was excommunicated A.D. 218, and was the most original and profound of the Monarchians. He taught that the unity of God unfolded itself in three different forms at successive periods, and after the completion of redemption returned into unity. The Father is revealed in the law,

Sabellius.

the Son in the incarnation, the Holy Spirit in inspiration. The Logos he imagined as the one God in transition to the Trinity, the three Persons being only successive aspects of the Logos, or world-ward side of the Divine. His views led to the enunciation of the Nicene Creed. After his excommunication at Rome, he appears to have preached in Egypt, where he was condemned in 261, at a council called by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria; and it is significant that the terms of his condemnation declared the subordination of the Son to the Father in a form almost identical with the subsequent Arian heresy.

The Montanists, an ascetic sect, arose in Phrygia about the middle of the second century, under the preaching of Montanus, a priest of Cybele.

The Montanists. He believed, or gave out, that he was himself the medium of the Paraclete or Comforter promised by Christ; and during the persecution by Marcus Aurelius he proclaimed the immediate coming of the Holy Spirit, and the commencement of the millennial kingdom of Christ, and he and his followers prepared for it by a life of severe discipline and a spirit of enthusiastic martyrdom. Most of the Asiatic Churches regarded this announcement as made by demoniacal influence, and excommunicated the Montanists. In the West it met with more favour, being supported by Tertullian, and many Africans and Roman Christians, by Irenæus and the Churches of Gaul. Praxeas and Caius, however, obtained its condemnation at Rome; but the powerful advocacy of Tertullian greatly raised its importance, and led to renewed and enlarged belief in the work of the Comforter. On other than these special views, the Montanists were orthodox in doctrine, acknowledging the entire authority of both Old and New Testaments, and agreeing with the Church in their views of the Trinity.

By a natural transition we come to the Millenarians or Chiliasts, who believed in the speedy second coming of Christ to reign in person a thousand

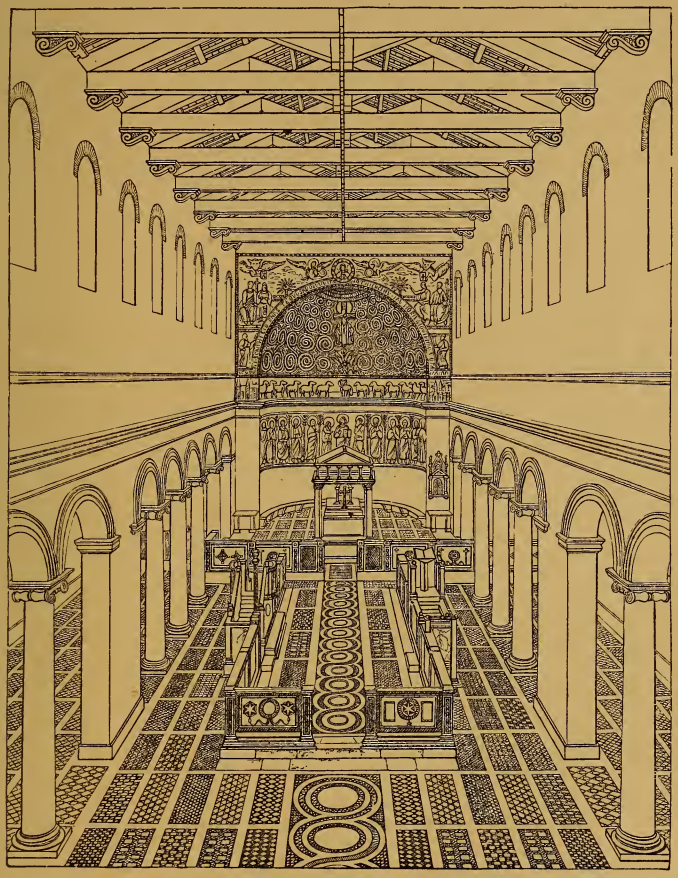
The Millenarians. years before the general resurrection and last judgment. The Montanists were among the most fanatical believers in this, but it gradually died after the adoption of Christianity by Constantine, to be revived again in more recent times.

The Christian Churches (assemblies of Christians) only gradually acquired fixed local habitations, and the word "ecclesia" was applied to

Churches. meetings of believers from its current use for other meetings. 1 Cor. v. 18, which speaks of the Christians "coming together in the church," shows how the meeting place became identified with the meeting. Still for a long time the Church met anywhere it could, and private houses were generally used, though it was often necessary to assemble in desert places, and at catacombs and other burial places. We do not find mention of special buildings for Christian worship until about the end of the second century, when, in addition to the name *ecclesia*, they were called "the Lord's houses," and "houses of God." The name "Lord's house" referred specially to the Lord Jesus Christ. In French *ecclesia* appears as *église*, in Welsh as *eglwys;* but the Anglo-Saxon *cyrice*, *cyrc*, English church, Scotch kirk, German *Kirche*, supplanted it. Whether this

word is derived from the Greek word for "Lord's house," or from a primitive Aryan word meaning enclosure, is doubtful.

During the second half of the third century many churches were built, often of considerable architectural pretensions, and provided with gold and



INTERIOR OF S. CLEMENT'S, ROME (TWELFTH CENTURY).
(*Built above a sixth-century basilica. The choir, probably dating from the sixth century, is here an enclosure within the nave.*)

silver vessels. The church at Nicomedia, destroyed by Diocletian, was one of the grandest.

In its application to persons, the "Church" signified the whole body of Christians, those dwelling in any town or neighbourhood constituting the Church in that place. Of course admission to the Church had to be guarded, and exclusion had to be practised as necessity arose. **The Church.**

Baptism constituted the rite of admission, accompanied by a profession of faith. To ensure the soundness of the latter, previous instruction was needed, and in the second century classes of "catechumens" were formed, in which two or three years might be spent before baptism. The latter rite was often administered on the eve of Easter and Whit Sunday. A confession of faith had to be made at baptism, including the chief heads of the Christian faith, and the devil was formally renounced. The sign of the cross was made upon the forehead, the kiss of peace was given by the minister, and usually baptism was by immersion. The rite was not restricted to adult converts, but was also administered to the children of Christian parents, this practice being derived from the apostles. Tertullian was a prominent opponent of infant baptism, believing that it brought children too soon into a condition of responsibility, and that deadly sins committed after baptism could not be forgiven. But the tendency to very early baptism (on the second or third day) was strongly marked in the middle of the third century. Sponsors not only took the vows on behalf of infants, but appeared as sureties for adults. Of course in the case of children the catechumen stage had to follow baptism.

Catechumens.

Baptism.

Confirmation, in the case of adults, originally followed baptism at once, the presbyters laying their hands on them and anointing them with holy oil. In the second century this rite was usually performed by bishops, but infants as well as adults were confirmed, and afterwards the Lord's Supper was administered, even to infants in some churches.

Confirmation.

Simplicity characterised the Christian meetings during the first two centuries. The meeting places had an elevated seat for the minister to read and preach, a plain table for the communion, and a basin of water for baptism; but during the second century the table came to be called the "altar," and it was enclosed within railings, together with the reading desk and the seats for the clergy. Justin Martyr in his Apology gives the following most interesting account of Christian worship in his time. "On Sunday a meeting is held of all who live in the cities and villages, and a section is read from the Memoirs of the Apostles, and the writings of the Prophets, so long as the time permits. When the reader has finished, the president[1] in a discourse (homily) gives the admonition and exhortation to imitate these noble things. After this, we all rise and offer prayer. At the close of the prayer, bread and wine and water are brought. The president offers prayers and thanks for them as he is able, and the congregation answer *Amen*. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to each one and partaken of, and are carried by the deacons to the houses of those absent. The wealthy and the willing then give contributions, according to their free will, and this collection is deposited with the president, who therewith supplies orphans and widows, the poor and needy, prisoners and strangers, and takes care of all who are in want." Other accounts give fuller descriptions of the singing of Psalms, of the songs in the New Testament, and of specially composed hymns, both of praise and

Worship.

[1] The presiding presbyter, or bishop.

doctrine. Antiphonal or responsive singing was early introduced. Of these hymns there remain the fine hymn by Clement of Alexandria, and the morning and evening hymns of the Apostolical Constitutions.

In the latter part of the second century the Lord's Supper was separated from the ordinary Sunday service, and only full members were allowed to remain. Both bread and wine were given to all communicants, water being mixed with the latter. The Love-feasts of the early Churches originated out of the common social meal, but soon became more or less perverted to occasions of ostentation on the part of the richer members. They at first combined a meal with a special religious service. Collections were made for the poor or for necessitous Churches; the "kiss of love" preceded the breaking up of the meetings. As special buildings came into use for worship, it was felt that they should not be used for such common meals; and this practice was forbidden by councils in the fourth century. The Love-feasts continued to be held in the evening, after the Eucharist had been transferred to the morning; and they often became little more than a meal given to the poor.

The Lord's Supper.

Love-feasts.

The great controversies which have surrounded the Eucharist or Holy Communion date in essence from near the apostolic age. Thus Ignatius, in answer to those who denied that the Eucharist was the body of Christ, affirmed that it was "the flesh of the crucified and risen Lord, a medicine of immortality, an antidote to death, giving eternal life in Jesus Christ." Both Justin Martyr and Irenæus speak of the descent of Christ into the consecrated elements as being like His incarnation. Tertullian says that the words of Christ, "This is My body," mean "This is the figure or symbol of My body"; but he also says that the body and blood of Christ are really received into the body of the communicant. Clement of Alexandria describes the wine as a symbol or allegory of the blood of Christ, explaining that the recipient receives the spiritual, not the physical, blood of Christ. But the early fathers in general were strongly influenced by Jewish ideas, and regarded the Eucharist as in some sense a sacrifice, which superseded the former sacrifices. In the second century the fathers mainly regarded it as a thank-offering; but the African fathers, and especially Cyprian, in the third century, inclined to look upon it as a sin-offering.

Eucharistic doctrine.

Discipline was, on the whole, strict in the early Church. Excommunication was the great weapon against offences; but it might almost always be taken off, after a shorter or longer period of probation, instruction, fasting and prayer. Tertullian expresses the view that this penance was a satisfaction rendered to God. Sometimes penance was continued throughout life, and full restoration was by some of the stricter bishops denied to some offenders even in the hour of death. But ultimately it was agreed that the Church should grant absolution and restoration to any penitent upon his deathbed.

Discipline.

Fasting early became an aid to prayer and a means of self-discipline. Partial fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the great fast before

Easter, in memory of the forty days' fasting of Jesus, were observed in the second century. At first this was of very varying length; and it was only later that a forty days' fast was settled, through the influence of the Roman Church. The Montanists often fasted fourteen days at a time, eating only bread and salt and drinking water.

Fasting.

Tertullian is the first writer who records the giving up of ordinary business on the Lord's Day: but fasting was forbidden on that day of joy; also prayer was made standing, not kneeling, as on other days. Many Christians kept both the Jewish and the Christian Sabbath. Easter was of course the most important festival, combining the influence of the Jewish Passover and the Christian resurrection. This double significance led to a long dispute as to the proper time of keeping Easter. One party held to the Passover date, the 14th of Nisan, irrespective of the day of the week; these were termed the Quartodecimans. The other party, and especially the Roman Church, insisted on the fact that Christ was crucified on a Friday, the day preceding the Jewish Sabbath, and rose again on the Sunday, on which therefore the anniversary ought always to be kept. About A.D. 160 it was agreed between Polycarp and Anicetus, bishop of Rome, to permit differences of practice on this point. About 170 the Laodiceans, opposed by other Asiatic Churches, observed the Jewish Passover by eating the Paschal lamb; and the controversy became so acute that in 196 the Roman bishop Victor tried to get the whole question of Easter settled, and councils of bishops in various countries adopted the Roman practice; but the Asiatic Churches maintained their usage till the Council of Nicæa.

Easter.

Quarto-decimans.

The period between Easter and Pentecost (Whitsuntide) was observed as a continued festival, during which prayer was always made standing, the communion was received daily, and fasting was given up. Ascension Day was apparently first observed in a special manner in the third century. Christmas and saints' days were not kept till later.

Whitsuntide.

Coming now to the official members of the Church, the growth of a hierarchy or governing priestly class followed a natural and rapid course of evolution in these early centuries. At first the exercise of the ministry (outside the ranks of the apostles) was a direct consequence of gifts, believed to be imparted by the Holy Spirit. Those marked out as specially qualified for giving instruction, leading worship, and administering the affairs of the Church were inducted to their ministry by the laying on of hands by the apostles and the elders already appointed, in a Church meeting. Various expressions describing these ministers, such as prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, bishops or overseers, presbyters or elders, deacons, etc., are found in the New Testament, but not as yet quite defined in their functions or rank. The terms bishop and presbyter (elder) are mostly used interchangeably; but the latter term alone is used in the Acts of the Apostles; and where we read of bishops of a Church it is always in the plural. The emergence of the office of bishop as the chief officer of a large Church or group of

Growth of the priestly order.

Bishops.

churches was, however, very speedy, although the two terms, bishop and presbyter, are used as synonymous by Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and even by Irenæus. Out of various possible modes of organisation, one gradually emerged which appeared best suited to the conditions of the Church. But the idea of the priesthood of all Christian believers remained active for a considerable time; and Tertullian says that where there were no ministers, any Christian administered the sacraments, as a priest to himself alone.

But Ignatius, in his epistles, already recognises the full dignity of the office of a bishop, and the three orders of bishop, priest and deacon; and by the beginning of the third century the ministry, the priestly order, the clergy, are ranked as a distinct order, to which admission could only be had by ordination. Minor orders, such as those of sub-deacon, acolyte, exorcists, reader, were also in existence. In proportion as the clergy were distinguished from the people, they were maintained at their expense, by means of weekly collections and other gifts. With all their ideas of commission by Divine calling, yet the people chose their own ministers, though they might accept the nomination of the bishop or priests; and it is remarkable how the consent of the entire congregation was held necessary to an appointment during the first three centuries, and the election of Cyprian to the bishopric of Carthage by popular acclaim is a strong case in point. By the end of the third century the power of the bishops was largely increasing; the episcopal office in its entirety was regarded as the continuation of the apostolical office, and the bishop was the "vicar of Christ" to the churches he ruled. "Blessed are they who are one with the bishop, as the Church is with Christ and Christ with the Father," says Ignatius. An unbroken episcopal succession was most highly valued. Cyprian describes bishops as the channel or medium through which the Holy Ghost is bestowed on the Church in unbroken succession. "The bishop," he says, "is in the Church, and the Church is in the bishop, and if any one is not with the bishop, he is not in the Church." But he regards the entire order of bishops as exercising an undivided episcopate, and each bishop as representing in his diocese the authority of the whole order. So the way was prepared for the idea of the visible unity of the Catholic Church.

Popular election.

The word which we render "parish" at first signified the sphere of a bishop's action; the term diocese arose in Constantine's time. Bishops of central meeting-places were termed metropolitans, and those of the most important churches, such as those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, were early known as archbishops or patriarchs. Gradually the superior influence of the Church and Bishop of Rome grew in accord with its central position and its being the seat of the empire, and of the supposed bishopric of St. Peter, and also its supposed foundation by St. Paul. Irenæus, at the end of the second century, gives the Church of Rome precedence as being the chief centre of apostolical tradition derived from Peter and Paul. Cyprian calls the Church of Rome "The chair of St. Peter and

Parish and Diocese.

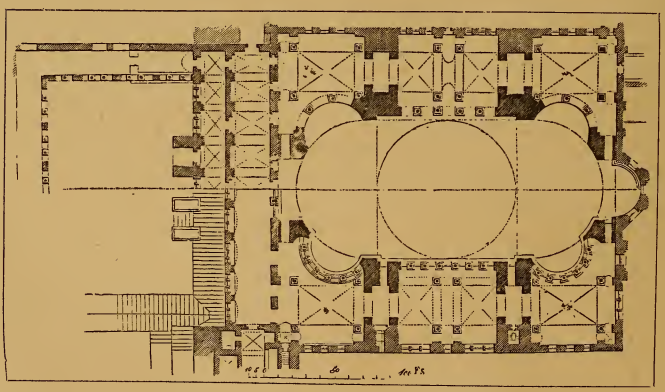
Metropolitan, Archbishop, Patriarch.

The Bishopric of Rome.

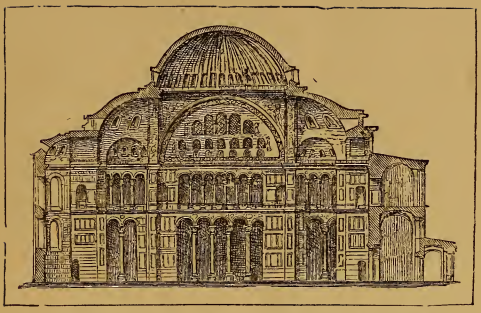
the chief church, the source of the unity of the priesthood, the root and mother of the Catholic Church," yet he writes to the Bishop of Rome as his brother and colleague, not as Father (Papa, or Pope). This latter was not used as the special title of the bishops of Rome till the fifth century.

Unity of the Church.

The unity of the Holy Catholic Church was held by the great fathers of the second and third centuries as an indisputable and natural fact, springing from unity with Christ. During the conflicts with heresy, the need for the exclusion of the heretics became prominent. Tertullian's sentence, "Outside the Church there is no salvation," has already been quoted. Irenæus wrote: "The Church is the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost on earth; where the Church is, there is also the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace." As yet this unity had not been evidenced in any universal council; but it was believed that the Councils or synods which were assembled from time to time in important centres were specially guided by Divine grace in their decisions. In some of these presbyters and even the laity took part. Thus in the first ages the main outlines of the whole scheme of the Church were elaborated as necessity arose; and it is astonishing to find how much the ground of recent controversies on church organisation was anticipated by the wisdom of the first three centuries.



GROUND PLAN OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.



INTERIOR SECTION OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

CHAPTER V.

Christianity as a State Church: Fourth Century.

The Emperor Constantine—The Edict of Milan—Constantinople—The Donatists—Arius and Arianism—The Council of Nicæa—Athanasius—Later victories of Arianism—Death of Arius—Exile of Athanasius—Julian the Apostate—Athanasius in power—His writings and character—The Athanasian Creed—Arianism in the West—Council of Constantinople—Ambrose—Hermits—St. Anthony—St. Symeon Stylites—Pachomius, Founder of Monasteries—St. Martin of Tours—Eusebius—Basil—Gregory of Nyssa—Gregory Nazianzen—St. John Chrysostom—Epiphanius, Cyril, Ephraem—Lactantius—Jerome—Christianity beyond the Empire—The Goths—Ulfilas—Christianity as a State Church—Influence of the Emperors—Power of Bishops—Power of Clergy—Deacons—Exarchs and Primates—The See of Rome—Rise of the Papal Power.

THE Emperor Constantine had strong leanings to the old gods and the old Roman religion, and it was not till 324 that he formally professed Christianity, and recommended his subjects to adopt it. Yet he dedicated his new City of Constantinople (324) jointly to the God of the Martyrs and the Goddess Fortune, while his coins, stamped on the one side with the monogram of Jesus, on the other bore an image of the Sun God. He kept the Roman title of Pontifex Maximus (Chief Pontiff), and was not baptised till he was near death. Consequently some deny to Constantine the title of Christian; yet he undoubtedly was its steadfast protector and promoter. For details of his celebrated (and probably fabulous) dream, in which he saw a cross in the heavens with the legend, "By this conquer," followed by the appearance of Christ, we must refer to secular history. To this dream is traced his adoption of the monogram-cross on his standard called *Labarum*, the cross representing the two leading letters *X* (CH) and *P* (R) in the Greek name of Christ. This monogram was very largely used on the shields and helmets of soldiers, on coins and guns, as an amulet, etc., but it almost certainly dates from an earlier time than Constantine's.

The Emperor Constantine.

We may here give some of the clauses of the Edict of Milan (313) which first granted universal toleration in religion. It granted "both to the Christians and to all, the free power of following the religion which each chose, and that none who should give his mind to the rites of the Christians, or to that religion which he thought fittest for

The Edict of Milan.

himself, should at all be denied its exercise." Later, Constantine exempted Christian ministers from all military or civic services, abolished numerous laws and customs that were specially objectionable to Christians, gave facilities for setting Christian slaves free, made bequests to churches legal, and contributed largely to their building; had his sons educated in Christianity, ordained the civil observance of Sunday, and removed the symbols of the Roman gods from his coins. Among his principal advisers were Hosius, Bishop of Corduba (Cordova), in Spain, as early as 313; and later, Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, the great church historian, and Lactantius, often called the Christian Cicero.

ST. ATHANASIUS.

Constantinople.

Constantinople was from the first a Christian city, adorned with churches and crucifixes, and pictures from sacred history. Constantine not only attended Christian worship, but himself wrote and delivered addresses strongly in favour of Christianity, calling himself the Bishop of bishops.

The Donatists.

We must pass lightly over Constantine's action in reference to the Donatist schism in Africa. His intervention was first sought by the Donatist party, and after the Council of Arles (314), and the Emperor himself at Milan (315), had pronounced against the Donatists, and for the Catholic party which held the Romish Church, yet he was so far tolerant, when they stood firmly to their principles, as to grant them full liberty of faith and worship.

Arius and Arianism.

A more famous controversy led to the summoning of the first of the great Christian Councils known as *œcumenical*, that of Nicæa, in 325. This was the Arian controversy, which centred about the teaching of Arius (256–336), a native of Libya, who first became notable by attacking the moderation of Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, towards the lapsed. Arius, then a deacon, was excommunicated by Peter, but was restored and ordained presbyter by his successor, Achillas. A still later bishop of Alexandria, named Alexander, was charged with Sabellianism by Arius, who brought forward views which may be traced to those of Paul of Samosata, and maintained that the Son was created by God out of

nothing, and afterwards created the world, and was invested in large measure with Divine power. Against him Alexander maintained the unity or identity of substance (*Homoousia*) of the Father and the Son. Having been condemned by a Council of Egyptian and Libyan bishops, Arius went to Nicomedia, where the Bithynian bishops declared his views orthodox. Thence he issued works of various kinds in support of his belief, and the whole Church was shaken so much, that in 324 the Emperor Constantine addressed the Alexandrian Church in terms of great solicitude, begging for the return of peace. This proving unavailing, Constantine conceived the plan of calling a general council, which assembled at Nicæa in 325. The Latin Churches sent only seven bishops, and Sylvester, of Rome, was not present, though represented by two presbyters. In all there were over 318 bishops at Nicæa, including the Patriarchs Alexander of Alexandria, and Eustathius of Antioch. In the debates which followed, Athanasius, Archdeacon of Alexandria, became conspicuous as an antagonist of Arius. The party of Arius was in a great minority, but he defined his doctrine with great clearness, not only maintaining the finite existence of the Son, but also denying that He was immutable or incapable of sin. A moderate party, led by Eusebius of Cæsarea, was in favour of declaring the divinity of Christ in words derived from the New Testament; but the majority insisted on declaring the full Homoousian doctrine, and embodied it in the famous Nicene Creed, as far as the words "and in the Holy Ghost"; the rest of the Creed having been added by the Council of Constantinople in 381. Arius was banished to Illyria, his books were burnt, and other severe penalties were decreed against him and his followers. The power of the State was thus formally used against heretics for the first time. Yet when Constantine was approaching death, Eusebius of Cæsarea induced him to recall Arius, who drew up a creed which satisfied the Emperor, and the semi-Arian party of Eusebius regained their influence at Court. At Alexandria, Athanasius became bishop on the death of Alexander,

The Council of Nicæa.

Athanasius.

ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA.

Later victories of Arianism.

and refused to re-admit Arius to communion, as he had been condemned by the œcumenical council. But after several attacks had been made against him, Athanasius was banished by the Emperor to Treves (336); his Church still refused to receive Arius. The latter was about to be received back by the Church of Constantinople, when he was suddenly taken ill and died (336). He was acknowledged to be of an unblemished moral character, modest in demeanour, and ascetic in life. The controversy became even fiercer after his death; an Arian bishop was afterwards appointed to Alexandria, and Athanasius was condemned by successive synods and councils, and exiled more than once (343, 356), while the Arians violently persecuted the Catholics. Meanwhile the followers of Eusebius of Cæsarea, after his death, became a distinct party called the *Homoi*ousians, the term expressing the belief that the essence or substance of the Son was *like*, though not *the same* as that of the Father; they also held that the Son was like the Father in all things, and was not a creature, but begotten as a Son before all worlds. This doctrine was adopted by the majority of Eastern bishops. The Arians became more pronounced than Arius, emphasising the view that the Son was a creature, and unlike the Father both in substance and in will. A series of councils vainly endeavoured to compose these theological differences.

Death of Arius.

Exile of Athanasius.

The Emperor Julian, a grandson of Constantius Chlorus, though educated in Christianity, renounced it before being named Cæsar in 355, and when he succeeded to the empire in 361, he proclaimed his pagan faith, while granting universal toleration. But he took away from Christianity all the peculiar honours granted by Constantine, and renewed the worship of the old gods at great cost. He encouraged the Jews, as being enemies of Christianity, and forbade Christians to teach rhetoric and grammar in schools. He even attempted to remodel the pagan priesthood, and to moralise the old mythology. Comparatively few persons, except his immediate flatterers, followed Julian in his return to heathenism, and his name was branded as Julian the Apostate.

Julian the Apostate.

The impartiality which Julian boasted had one important effect, in taking away from the Arians the advantages they had gained. The exiled Catholic bishops returned to their dioceses (361), and Athanasius was restored to his see of Alexandria, only to be again banished on a frivolous pretext in 362. But Julian's death in 363 restored the supremacy to Christianity, and the new emperor Jovian adopted the Nicene creed and gave Athanasius a leading place in his councils. The great bishop remained in possession of his see till his death in 373. Most of his writings were in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. They include "Orations against the Arians," a treatise on "the Incarnation of the Word," and "Epistles in defence of the Nicene Creed," all written in a clear and cogent style. All historians bear testimony to his singular ability, conscientiousness, and judiciousness, his fearlessness in the midst of opposition, his patience and perseverance, which was fitly summed up in the motto "Athanasius against the World." The creed to

Athanasius in power.

His writings and character.

which his name is attached probably expresses his views, but it is not known to have existed before the sixth century or even later, and it was first used in Church services in Gaul in the seventh century, at Rome in the tenth century. The Greek Church only received it after altering the article on the Procession of the Holy Ghost.

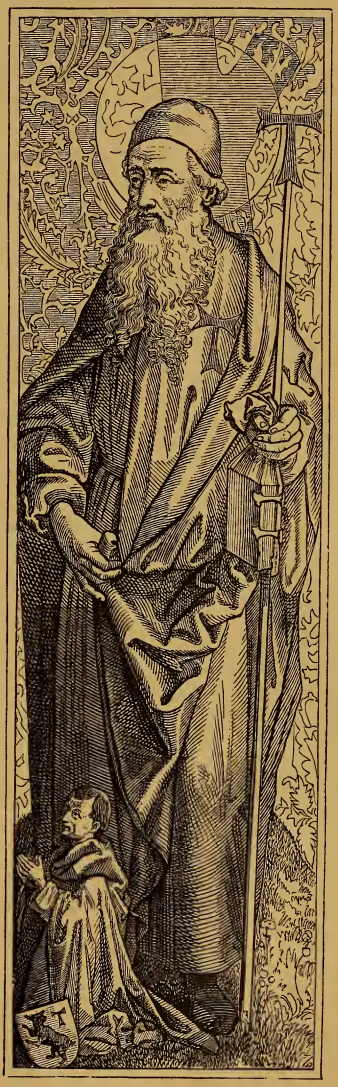
The Athanasian Creed.

After many fluctuations and much controversy, Arianism was suppressed within the Roman empire by the end of the fourth century by the coercive action of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian II.; but many of the Teutonic converts to Christianity adopted Arianism, which they only slowly gave up, the Lombards retaining it till 662.

Arianism in the West.

Theodosius the Great (379–395) on his baptism (380) issued an edict that none should be recognised as Catholic Christians but those who adopted the faith in the co-essential Trinity. Gregory Nazianzen, who had distinguished himself as an orthodox teacher, was made bishop of Constantinople (but soon resigned) at the council of Constantinople (381), to which none but believers in the Nicene Creed were summoned. This council added to the creed the paragraph describing the nature of the Holy Ghost, as proceeding from the Father (the words "and the Son" were added at the council of Toledo in Spain, A.D. 589), and His equality with the Father and the Son. This council also condemned the Apollinarian heresy, which taught that Christ possessed a real body, but that the "rational soul" in Him was replaced by the Divine Logos.

Council of Constantinople.



ST. ANTHONY.

In the West a remarkable man, Ambrose, prefect of Liguria, was called to be bishop of Milan in 374 by the popular voice, though only a layman and a catechumen. He thereupon sold his property for the poor, and led an ascetic life. He was the first bishop who censured, withstood,

Ambrose.

and overawed emperors, and maintained the superior rights of the Church. Miracles are reported in connection with his important actions. He refused to receive the Emperor Theodosius to communion after his massacre of the Thessalonians in 390 until after he had spent eight months in penance and seclusion, and had granted an edict forbidding capital punishment to take place till at least thirty days after the sentence. He died in 397, two years after Theodosius. His influence on Christian hymnology and liturgical sayings was great, and several of his hymns are extant. He procured the confiscation of the revenues of heathen temples and the withdrawal of most of the privileges of their priests and vestals. In 382 the emperor Gratian removed from the meeting-place of the Roman senate the altar of the goddess Victory, on which the senators took the oath of fealty, and on which offerings were made at every meeting. The old sacrifices were forbidden, and many temples were destroyed. In Alexandria the Serapeum and most other temples throughout Egypt were destroyed. In 392 Theodosius issued a comprehensive edict against heathenism of every description throughout the empire, and he also exercised strict discipline against Christian heretics, the Manichæans, Arians, and all others not recognised as true Catholics. The old religion however continued to have many adherents, as is made evident by the frequent decrees against them during the first half of the fifth century; and the Goths, who had become Christians, when they invaded Greece and Italy, destroyed many temples and altars which survived, and were more zealous against heathenism than the Roman Christians.

ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

During all this period monasticism had been spreading. From the earliest times of Christianity there had been a strong tendency towards withdrawal from public life to attain greater sanctity. Some of the gnostic sects strongly believed in asceticism, celibacy, and solitude. Hermits were not infrequent, especially in Egypt and Syria, in the third century. Paul of Thebes was the first who was very noted, having retired to the desert of Upper Egypt in 251 in his twenty-third year; he is said to have lived ninety years alone.

Hermits.

St. Anthony is the great founder of monasticism. Born of Coptic parents about 251, in Lower Egypt, in 270 he sold the estate left by his parents and gave the proceeds to the poor, and adopted an ascetic life, with

the rule, "Pray without ceasing," though continuing to work. Later he lived in a tomb, in a ruined castle near the Red Sea, and in a cave between the Nile and the Red Sea. In all these retirements he was attacked by sensual temptations, and was said to be personally assailed by the devil. Ever cheerful, he gave advice and consolation to all comers, and was said to have worked many miracles. He hated heresy, especially Arianism, and in 351, when 100 years old, appeared in support of Athanasius, at Alexandria, and converted many heretics and heathens. He died in 356; and his life, written by Athanasius, proved a powerful stimulus to the monastic life.

St. Anthony.

St. Symeon Stylites was the first of a type of solitary monks who practised forms of voluntary pain. He was a shepherd who is said to have fasted throughout Lent for twenty-six successive years. In 423 he betook himself to a solitary place forty miles east of Antioch, where he stood for thirty-six years on the top of a pillar surrounded by a railing, sometimes leaning, and often bowing in devotion. The pillar was gradually increased in height, till at last it was thirty-six cubits high. Food was taken up to him by his disciples by means of a ladder. Here he preached twice a day to those who resorted to him, and gave counsel to kings and emperors. He died in 459.

St. Symeon Stylites.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

Developing the idea of monasticism to which St. Anthony had given such vivid life, Pachomius, also born in Lower Egypt, founded in 325 a society of monks on an island in the Nile. The order grew till, when the founder died, in 348, there were eight or nine societies, numbering 3,000 members. The members were not bound by rigid vows, and varied manual labour was mingled with religious exercises. Three lived in each cell, eating in common but in silence, making their wants known by signs. Pachomius also established a cloister of nuns under his sister, whom he did not allow to visit him, saying that she should be content to know that he was still alive. In the East, especially in Pontus and Cappadocia, monasticism grew rapidly, and Basil and Gregory Nazianzen made the monasteries centres of religious education. In the West Athanasius first started monasticism into vigorous life, and it was attended with fewer vagaries of asceticism than in the East. St. Martin of Tours, a zealous destroyer of temples, founded the first monastery

Pachomius, founder of monasteries.

St. Martin of Tours.

in Gaul, near Poitiers, and while Bishop of Tours, led a monastic life at the head of eighty monks. He was reported to have conflicts with the devil, and to have three times raised the dead to life.

We cannot dwell on the many names of eminent Churchmen during the fourth century, who by their writings and teachings settled the great Catholic doctrines. Eusebius of Cæsarea (270–340) was the great ecclesiastical historian of his time. His Life of Constantine is extremely eulogistic. His "Præparatio Evangelica" and "Demonstratio Evangelica" are of high importance, and storehouses of learning. Basil the Great (329–379), Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, an ascetic, and founder of a hospital for lepers, whom he did not fear to kiss, was a noble example of Christian fortitude. When threatened with confiscation, banishment, and death by the Emperor Valens for his resistance to Arianism, he said: "Not one of these things touches me. His property cannot be forfeited who has none. Banishment I know not, for I am restricted to no place, and am the guest of God, to whom the whole earth belongs. For martyrdom I am unfit; but death is a benefactor to me, for it sends me all the quicker to God, in whom I live and move." Among his writings were 365 epistles. Though Catholic as to Arianism, he did not take the highest ground about the Deity of the Holy Ghost, and thus incurred the displeasure of the high Catholics.

Eusebius.

Basil.

Gregory of Nyssa was the younger brother of Basil, and a voluminous and acute writer. Among his more important works were a great catechism of Christian doctrine, and a book on "The Soul and the Resurrection." He believed in the final redemption of all intelligent creatures. Gregory Nazianzen (330–391), the bosom friend of Basil, was most noted for the eloquence of his orations, especially five delivered at Constantinople in defence of the Nicene belief. He is esteemed only second to John Chrysostom, who was born at Antioch A.D. 347, and chosen Patriarch of Constantinople in 398. His eloquence won him his surname Chrysostom (golden-mouthed); and he was unsparing in denouncing the hypocrisy of the court of the Emperor Arcadius, successor of Theodosius I., and the vices of his age. He was more than once banished by court influence, and died during a compulsory journey to the east of the Black Sea, in 407. He wrote more than 600 homilies, 242 letters, and many other works.

Gregory of Nyssa.

Gregory Nazianzen.

St. John Chrysostom.

Epiphanius (died 403), a Jewish convert, wrote three important works against heresies. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (died 386), wrote an important catechetical work on Christian theology. Ephraem the Syrian, the great divine and poet of the Syrian Church (died 379), wrote commentaries in Syriac on the whole Bible, and hymns that were long popular.

Epiphanius, Cyril, Ephraem.

Lactantius (died 330) was the earliest great Father of the Latin Church, and the tutor of Constantine's son Crispus in Gaul. His "Divine Institutes" is a great refutation of heathenism and defence of Christianity, full of eloquence. Hilary of Poitiers (died 368),

Lactantius.

called the Athanasius of the West, wrote a great work on the Trinity. Hieronymus, commonly known as St. Jerome (340–420), one of the greatest and most learned of the Fathers, combined with his great ability and zeal, much bitterness, pride, love of power, and irritability. **Jerome.** Born on the borders of Dalmatia and educated at Rome in profane learning, on receiving Christian baptism about 370 he became an ascetic, and travelled to the East, coming under the influence of Gregory Nazianzen, and acquiring much Greek and Hebrew learning. In 382 he went to Rome and assisted Bishop Damasus in his correspondence. By this bishop's suggestion Jerome began to revise the Latin version of the Bible, which became the foundation of the Vulgate, and which he afterwards completed at Bethlehem, translating the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew. He was a successful promoter of monasticism at Rome, and had many disciples among noble ladies whom he incited to celibacy, beneficence and asceticism, and whom he praised extravagantly. The widow Paula and her maiden daughter Eustochium were among his intimates, and were made the occasion for reproaching him. He left Rome for the East in 385, followed by these ladies, and in 386–7 they settled at Bethlehem, already a centre of religious devotees. His Latin version of the Scriptures was denounced as a corruption, and as a daring innovation. He died in 420, leaving, besides his translations, commentaries on many books of the Bible and numerous letters and religious tracts.

Early in the fourth century Christianity was introduced into Ethiopia (Abyssinia), and Frumentius, ordained by Athanasius, became the first bishop of Axum. In the middle of the century the Gospel was preached in Arabia, and even reached India. In Persia it maintained the ground gained in earlier centuries, and Christians were tolerated for long periods or persecuted, according as peace or war prevailed between Persia and the Roman Empire. **Christianity beyond the Empire.** The Goths, first evangelised by Roman captives, were represented by a bishop, Theophilus, at the Council of Nicæa. Ulfilas, his successor (348), descended from Cappadocian captives, led a large number of Christian Goths across the Danube to ask protection from the emperor (355) from tyranny at home; and his labours in Mœsia were invaluable. He invented an alphabet for the Mœso-Gothic language, reduced it to writing, partially translated the Scriptures into it, and was largely instrumental in spreading Arianism among the Gothic people, who, when they conquered Rome, cruelly persecuted the orthodox Catholics. **The Goths.** **Ulfilas.**

Christianity as a State Church largely influenced politics, and was itself in turn influenced by the State. It was not that, as in so many other cases, State and religion rested upon one common basis, the ruler being either ex-officio priest or inseparably connected with the priestly class. The Christian priest based his claims upon the unseen, upon a Divine revelation independent of any earthly power, and had a standpoint from which he could impartially judge, censure, denounce, or approve of earthly potentates: and he did not fear death or temporal **Christianity as a State Church.**

penalties in comparison with his hope of heaven and dread of hell. Naturally the clergy wished to direct public events to favour the ends they believed righteous; but they not infrequently fell under the temptation to gain court influence by servile behaviour. Consequently the emperors assumed a sort of guardianship of the Church, and an attitude of watchfulness against the spread of erroneous opinions, which really acted as a check to freedom of thought and opinion. But the emperors were seldom original thinkers in religion, and depended upon one or other party in religious thought or political questions. Yet they did not hesitate to summon councils of the Church and even to preside at them, and to enforce their decisions as if they were State laws. Religious disputes were again and again brought for decision to the imperial courts, and one party at least always found it advantageous to have the support of the physical force wielded by the Empire. The bishops even gained a sort of civil authority in regard to religious questions referred to them, for the governors and magistrates were ordered to carry out their decisions.

Influence of the emperors.

Power of bishops.

With this influence it is not surprising that the clergy began to claim exemption from civil law, and to demand that they should be judged only by their spiritual peers. But they also exerted a humanising effect over the laws and their administration, and often interceded for offenders, gaining respite for them that they might by prayer and penance make peace with heaven, protecting those who resorted to the churches for asylum. Even in these respects abuses crept in, and some made gain out of their intercessions, or protected gross criminals without reason. As the Church increased in wealth and influence, many entered the ministry from motives of ambition, especially in the great cities, and there was a tendency to seek gifts, legacies, etc., from the wealthy. But many bishops and clergy showed conspicuous munificence and self-denial, and by their labours for the poor, by building hospitals, redeeming captives and other pious works, showed the reality of their Christian profession. Deacons gained more and more influence, and had enlarged spiritual functions, being sometimes permitted to preach and baptise, though as yet forbidden to administer the Eucharist. One of their number presided in each church, was termed archdeacon, and often succeeded to the bishopric. The marriage of the clergy became less frequent in this century, especially in the West.

Power of clergy.

Deacons.

As the clergy rose in esteem, so the bishops became more and more elevated above the clergy, and were less subject to popular election. Emperors, other bishops, canons which fixed the qualifications of bishops, accusations by factions, all had much influence in these appointments. The superior bishops of Constantine's thirteen dioceses gained the title of *Exarchs* in the East and *Primate* in the West. We have already seen that the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria were recognised by the Council of Nicæa as presiding over the Western, the Eastern and the African Churches respectively. The Council of Constantinople (381) assigned to that diocese precedence next to Rome. It was not

Exarchs and Primates.

till 451 that the Council of Chalcedon gave to these four chief bishops the title of Patriarch and Pope (Papa). The See of Rome at first gained its dignity more as being the bishopric of the ancient capital of the Empire than as the See of St. Peter. The council which met at Sardica in Illyria in 343 granted that bishops might appeal, if they desired it, from a synod to Julius, Bishop of Rome, but if this required to be granted, it was not generally acknowledged as a right. In the fourth century the Churches generally held to their local and provincial rights against all attempts of the Roman bishops to exercise authority over them, and the Eastern and African bishops took their own independent course. But the transfer of the seat of empire to Constantinople and elsewhere made the bishop of Rome more prominent, and by reason of frequent appeals for advice and decision from conflicting parties in the East, by the habit of referring questions to Rome throughout the West, and by constantly taking the orthodox side, the Roman bishop became more and more a pontiff, exercising a sort of imperial power in the Church. Letters (decretal epistles), sent from Rome in answer to applications, gave directions and even commands, and were written in the name of the bishop, who gradually became known as the Pope. The fourth century placed the Church in a very different position as an established Church from that which it had occupied in the preceding three centuries.

The See of Rome.

Rise of the Papal Power.

ANCHORITE.

ST. AUGUSTINE AND MONICA.

CHAPTER VI.

The Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries.

St. Augustine—His "Confessions"—His conversion—Made Bishop of Hippo—His influence—Pelagius—Cœlestius—Pelagianism condemned—Semi-pelagianism—Theodore of Mopsuestia—Nestorius—Cyril—The Council of Ephesus—The Nestorians—Eutyches and Dioscurus—The Monophysite controversy—The "Robber-synod"—Council of Chalcedon—Later Monophysite proceedings—Theodoric—Justinian—Fifth general council—The Monothelites—Sixth general council—The Syrian Jacobites — The Copts — The Abyssinian Church — The Armenian Church — Doctrines — The Maronites—Christian progress among Goths, etc.—Conversion of Clovis—Increased power of the Pope—Leo I.—The Pope above human judgment—Relations with emperor—Development of Clericalism—Monastic life—St. Benedict—The Benedictine Order—Basilican churches—Memorial churches—Consecration—Relics—Crosses and crucifixes—Pictures and images—Worship of the Virgin—The Saints—Pilgrimages—Opposition to new practices—Jovinian—Vigilantius—The Creeds—Eastern Liturgies—Western Liturgies.

FROM this time forward we find a marked distinction between the questions agitating the Church in the East and in the West, presaging the separation which took place later. We will speak first of the controversies which surround the famous name of St. Augustine, since he partly belongs to the fourth century. Aurelius Augus-

St. Augustine.

tinus was born not far from Hippo, in Numidia, in 354, his mother, Monica, being one of the most devout, affectionate, and intellectual women who have ever lived. His education was considerable, but his wayward life had more influence upon his subsequent thoughts. It is recounted in the deeply-felt "Confessions" written about 400, and acknowledged as a masterpiece of truthfulness and enthralling interest. "Thou hast made us for Thyself," it begins, "and our heart is restless till it rest in Thee." From nineteen to twenty-six he was a Manichæan, but at last found the doctrines untenable, and the lives of the leaders insincere. After teaching grammar and rhetoric at Carthage he went to Rome in 383, where he became sceptical, in 384 migrating to Milan, still teaching rhetoric. Here he was a hearer of Ambrose, became a catechumen, studied St. Paul's writings, heard of the lives of St. Anthony and other recluses, and finally (in September, 386), was suddenly converted by the reading of Rom. xiii. 13, 14, "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." While on her way back to Africa with her son, Monica died at Ostia; and Augustine, after a stay at Rome, returned to Carthage in 388, was ordained presbyter in 391, and Bishop of Hippo in 393, which bishopric he held for thirty-five years, gaining a position second to none in the African Church. He died in 430, during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals. Among his voluminous works, personal, philosophical, apologetic, doctrinal, practical, and polemic, we must mention, besides his "Confessions," his "Retractations," written in 427, his "City of God," contrasting the transitory cities of earth with the eternal city of God, his "Discourse on the Apostles' Creed," his books "On the True Religion," and on "Heresies," and many controversial tracts and discourses.

His "Confessions."

His conversion.

Made Bishop of Hippo.

Under the influence of St. Augustine the canon of Scripture was settled in its present form (including the Apocrypha) at the Councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397). His exposure of Manichæism gave that system its death-blow; and through him the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son completed the Nicene view of the Trinity. He took the Catholic side against the Donatists, with their strict exclusiveness and painful asceticism, and was in favour of using compulsory measures to reclaim them from their errors. His influence on the development of almost all the main Catholic doctrines was great, and has never ceased. Against Pelagius, he asserted the supreme importance of the Divine influence in man's redemption, deriving all human desire for good from divine grace, so that the entire glory belonged to God.

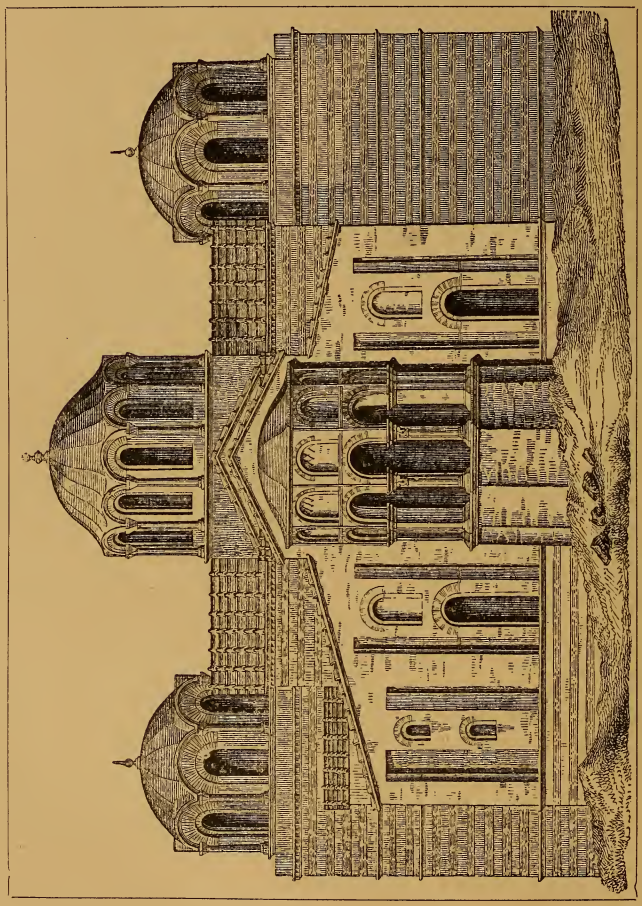
His influence.

Pelagius, a British monk, born about 350, was an ascetic who especially exalted the human self-reliant element and the power of man's free will in his elevation. He visited Rome, Africa, Palestine, etc., and was opposed by both Jerome and Augustine, and by Orosius, a pupil of Jerome's. The latter accused Pelagius at a Synod in Palestine; but the dispute was referred to Rome. Cœlestius, a convert of Pelagius at Rome,

Pelagius.

developed his system intellectually, and the heresies with which he was charged were as follows: that Adam was created mortal, and would have died if he had not sinned; that Adam's fall injured only himself, and that children were born uninfluenced by his fall; and that though unbaptised, children dying in infancy receive eternal life; that

Cœlestius.



CHURCH OF THE VIRGIN MARY, CONSTANTINOPLE.

there were sinless men before Christ; and that the human race does not die through Adam's fall. Cœlestius was condemned twice by African synods, and Pope Innocent I. endorsed the condemnation. Zosimus, his successor, at first approved of Cœlestius and Pelagius, and later condemned them, ordering all who maintained their views to be

Pelagianism condemned.

excommunicated. Cœlestius was further condemned by the third œcumenical Council at Ephesus (431). But the Eastern Church did not adopt Augustine's views, and held a position (semi-pelagian) midway between Pelagianism and the Augustinian doctrine of free and irresistible grace and absolute predestination. John Cassian, a founder of cloisters for men and women at Marseilles, was the leader of semi-pelagianism in the West, and it obtained wide favour in the Gaulish Church.

Semi-pelagianism.

The Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries, which absorbed so much attention in the East, though they also affected theology in the West, were attended by so much non-religious intrigue, and were so intimately connected with affairs of civil history, that it is impossible to recount them even in outline. We must barely mention the most notable names connected with them, and the conclusions settled by councils of the Church.

In contradistinction to the Apollinarians (p. 759), who represented Christ as having the divine Logos in place of a rational human soul, Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, and Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (from 393 to 428), ascribed to Christ a two-fold personality, with perfectly distinct divine and human natures. Nestorius, however, who became patriarch of Constantinople in 428, gave his name to this party, the Nestorians. Their views led to the naming of the mother of Christ "Theotokos," "mother of God," while the opposite party termed her "mother of man." Nestorius proposed the term "mother of Christ," but was quite as bitterly attacked as the Arians had been. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, was his unbending opponent. The turbulent but indecisive œcumenical Council, which met at Ephesus in 431 under Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., stigmatised Nestorius as a heretic, and he was deposed; and two years later, 433, the more moderate Nestorians agreed to accept the term "mother of God," in consequence of the union without confusion of the divine and human natures in Jesus; and at the same time condemned Nestorius, who died in 439. His doctrines were still taught in the theological school of Edessa in Northern Mesopotamia until its dissolution by the emperor Zeno in 489.

Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Nestorius.

Cyril.

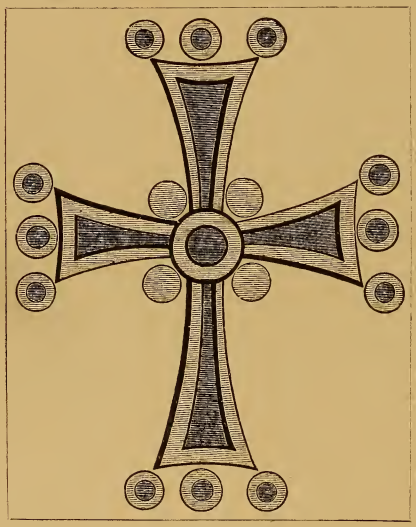
The Council of Ephesus.

After their virtual expulsion from the empire, the Nestorians travelled widely, disseminating their rendering of Christianity in Persia, India, and China, and later in Arabia, Syria, and Palestine. In the sixth century their liturgy was translated from Greek into Syriac, as still in use. They were considerably favoured by the Moslems, and had much success among the Mongols. In the thirteenth century the Roman Church began a long series of more or less successful missionary efforts among them, by which many were converted, especially in 1551, and these are under a patriarch of the Chaldæans, nominated by the Pope. Those who remain true to their ancient theological position are under a patriarch of their own; the Church is but a remnant of its former self, numbering about 70,000 in the Kurdish mountains and around Lake Urumiah. They

The Nestorians.

reject the name and the doctrine of Nestorius, and call themselves Chaldæans. American missionaries have, in the last fifty years, made great efforts to counteract the Romish propaganda, and have printed a translation of the Bible and other books in their Aramaic language; and there are now a number of self-supporting Protestant Churches formed by Nestorian converts.

Although in past times the Nestorians produced a considerable literature, little has survived except the Rituals and hymns. There are three liturgies—those of Nestorius, of Theodore, and the Apostles. Forms for daily worship are appointed to be said four times a day, consisting mostly of prayers, psalms, and readings of the Scriptures. In all essentials the Nestorians conform to the Catholic doctrines, except in those points affected by their special beliefs as to the twofold personality of Christ. They recognise the Bible as their sole rule of faith; and they have never practised image-worship and confession, or believed in purgatory. Their patriarch and bishops abstain from animal food, and are celibates. They have a special annual commemoration of the dead. They have many and prolonged fasts during the year, which are strictly observed. They believe in apostolical succession, and derive their orders from the original foundation of the Church in Persia by two of the seventy disciples sent forth by Christ. In recent years cordial communication has been opened up between the Church of England and the Nestorians, in order to instruct the latter in Anglican doctrines, in the hope of inducing them to make acknowledgments such as would enable the two Churches to enter into cordial communion. An interesting body of Nestorians still exists on the Malabar coast of India, named after St. Thomas, to whom they attribute their conversion. They use a Syriac liturgy, and acknowledge the spiritual headship of the Nestorian patriarch.



NESTORIAN CROSS.

The next great controversy, the Eutychian, had for its theological leader Eutyches of Constantinople, who held that Christ after His incarnation had only one nature, which was the nature of God become man. Thus it might be said, "God is born, God suffered, God was crucified and died." Dioscurus, Bishop of Antioch (444–451),

Eutyches and Dioscurus.

was the leader in action of this "Monophysite" (one nature) party. Eutyches, attacked by Theodoret, was deposed by a synod at Constantinople (448), which declared that Christ after His incarnation consisted of two natures in one substance and one person. This belief was approved by Leo I., bishop of Rome (440–461). A Council held at Ephesus in 449 was so turbulent as to be called "the Synod of Robbers"; it absolved Eutyches on his repeating the Nicene Creed, and deposed and excommunicated Theodoret and even Leo, its decrees being ratified by the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian. After further intrigues, the fourth œcumenical Council was held at Chalcedon, opposite to Constantinople, in 451, and was attended by about 600 Eastern bishops, and by two delegates sent by Leo of Rome. The proceedings of the "Robber Synod" were annulled, Dioscurus and Eutyches were banished, and the Nicene Creed was adopted, with an addition which acknowledged Christ "in two natures, without confusion, without severance, and without division." Finally, the Patriarch of Constantinople was declared to rank second to the Bishop of Rome, but with equal rights. Leo, however, claimed supremacy for the See of Rome, in virtue of St. Peter, its alleged founder.

The Monophysite controversy.

The "Robber Synod."

The Council of Chalcedon.

The Chalcedon declaration was at once impugned widely, and its opponents, who maintained the oneness of Christ's nature, though acknowledging that it was composite, were known as Monophysites. They proclaimed that "God has been crucified," and altered the Catholic Sanctus to this form: "Holy God! Holy Almighty! Holy Immortal! who hast been crucified for us, have mercy upon us!" New commotions and divisions arose; an attempted compromise by the emperor Zeno, tacitly giving up the Chalcedon declaration, failed; and fresh division of parties arose. Meanwhile the Arian Theodoric, the great Gothic king of Italy, had proclaimed the tolerance of all religious rites, and asserted that "we cannot impose religion by command, since no one can be made to believe against his will."

Later Monophysite proceedings.

Theodoric.

Justinian, who came to the throne of Constantinople in 527, aimed at restoring the glories of Church as well as Empire, reclaiming heretics, and settling the orthodox doctrines. He rebuilt the church of St. Sophia (see p. 555), and again rebuilt its dome after an earthquake in 557; for its service he appointed sixty priests, one hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, and other officials in proportion.

Justinian.

The decrees of the four general councils were made part of the imperial laws. Justinian condemned the Nestorian Theodore of Mopsuestia and the writings of Theodoret against Cyril, in the decree of the "Three Articles," which ultimately led to the summoning of the fifth general Council at Constantinople in 553, with no Western representatives; but its most important result was to assert the independence of the Eastern empire and Church of the bishop or Pope of Rome. The Monophysites were not reconciled to the Catholics; but when Justin II. (565–578) issued an edict of toleration, the party gradually died out within the empire, though

Fifth general Council.

it remained active beyond the empire in the Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian Churches.

The Monothelite (one will) controversy in the next century turned on another subtle attempt to define the nature of Christ. Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Theodore, an Arabian bishop, put forward the view that in Christ there was but one will, and one life-giving operation, the Divine, controlling the human. In 649 Martin I., Pope from 649 to 655, held a council, at which the doctrine of two natural wills and operations, the Divine and the human, in Christ was declared; and at the sixth general Council, held at Constantinople in 680–1—the last recognised as such by all Christendom—the Monothelite doctrine was condemned, and the doctrine of two wills was finally affirmed. "These two natural wills are not contrary, but the human follows the Divine and Almighty will, not resisting or opposing it, but rather being subject to it." At the same time the Pope Honorius I. (625–40) was condemned for his declaration in favour of one will.

The Monothelites.

Sixth general Council.

ABYSSINIAN PRIEST AND DEACON.

Of the Monophysite Churches still existing, the Jacobite is the least numerous. It accepts the decrees of the "Robber Synod" of Ephesus, and rejects the Chalcedon declaration. It is scattered over Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, numbering fewer than 250,000 members. It was founded by Jacobus Baradæus of Tella, consecrated bishop in 541 or 543, and thenceforward an active propagator of Monophysite doctrines for forty years. The head of the Church, called Patriarch of Antioch, lives at Diarbekir. The members and indeed the clergy are as a rule very illiterate and ignorant. Many Jacobites have in recent years entered into the Roman Catholic communion, under patriarchs at Aleppo and Damascus, and these have improved greatly in education and religious knowledge.

The Syrian Jacobites.

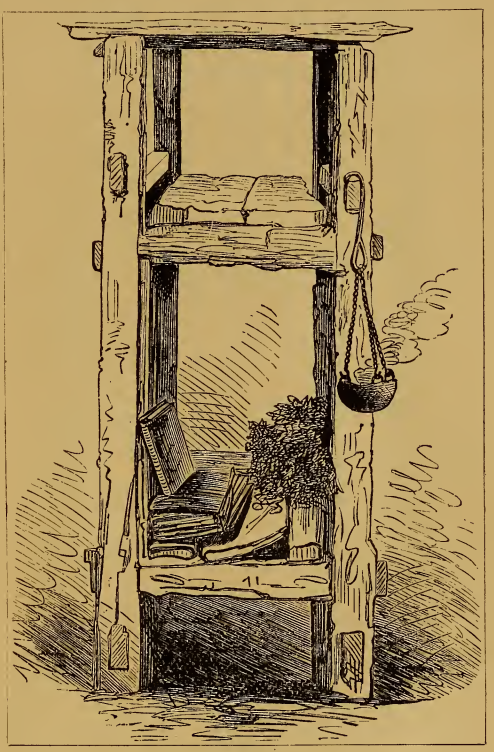
The Copts of Egypt are very closely connected with the Syrian Jacobites,

dating the origin of their monophysite faith from Baradæus. They have now about 130 churches and monasteries. They have a patriarch, bishops, arch-priests, deacons, and monks. They practise circumcision at the age of eight years. They are but a remnant of the ancient Coptic Church, having undergone very severe persecution from their Moslem conquerors, and many having embraced Islam. As early as the time of Pachomius, the Psalms and other Scripture books were translated into Coptic; and a large portion of the Bible, several apocryphal gospels, gnostic works, homilies, martyrologies, etc., exist in that language.

The Copts.

The Abyssinian Church was founded by Frumentius, a Tyrian merchant, ordained by Athanasius in 327, and afterwards first Bishop of Axum, in Abyssinia. Perhaps owing to the long residence of Jews in Abyssinia, Christianity is there more mingled with Judaic elements than anywhere else. Circumcision of male infants, as well as infant baptism, is practised; the Jewish Sabbath is kept in addition to Sunday; a great annual festival is kept, when the whole nation is re-baptised; and pork and other "unclean" food is strictly abstained from.

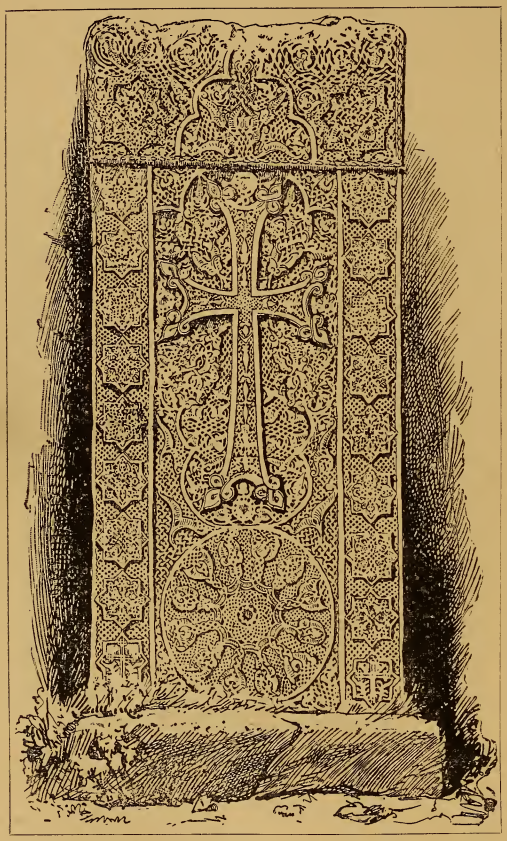
The Abyssinian Church.



ABYSSINIAN TABOT, OR ARK.

The Abyssinian Christians are zealous for the Monophysite doctrine. They revere saints, religious pictures, and the cross, but not the crucifix or images. The common people are very ignorant, and their religious notions are almost entirely superstitious, and their morals are little influenced by Christianity. Yet religious controversy is rife among them, and it is said that there are something like seventy different opinions held in Abyssinia respecting the union of the two natures in Christ. The churches in the province of Tigré are square buildings, while in Lasta and Amhara they are circular. Men and women enter by separate doors. There is an outer

court formed by the projecting eaves of the roof, and supported by posts outside the main wall; in this the congregation meet to sing psalms. There is a chamber on the north-west termed the "house of bread," in which the priests make the bread and wine for the sacrament. There is a second court decorated with paintings of the Virgin and saints, and Scripture scenes; and an inner court, to the east, which only the priests may enter, containing the ark, usually of four upright wooden posts, with a shelf midway, on which one or more volumes of the Bible, and crosses and censers are kept, and a stone slab at the bottom, carved with mystic lines, and inscribed with the name of the patron saint of the church. The ark is kept screened from view by a curtain, and it is specially reverenced. Bells are not used, but the congregation is summoned by two pieces of stone hung in the churchyard being knocked together.



CARVED STONE WITH CROSS, THE GOSH M. RHITHAR MONASTERY, ARMENIA.

The Abyssinian "Abuna," or chief bishop, is appointed and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria. He must be celibate, though the priests generally are married. The numerous monasteries and churches have valuable endowments; and the priests also receive large gifts and fees for the numerous offices they perform in relation to almost every department of life. They are on the whole unlearned, and do not allow the people to read the Gospel for themselves, but confine them to the Psalms. Funerals are celebrated with much religious pomp. The whole of the Psalms are recited; the funeral procession halts seven times on its way to

the churchyard, when incense is burned and prayers are offered; and prayers for the dead are repeated frequently within forty days after burial. Anniversary memorial services are obligatory, and are gone through with a dummy figure on a bier. Altogether the Abyssinian Church is one of the most degraded forms into which Christianity has degenerated.

The Armenian Church was founded by Gregory "the Illuminator," prince of the reigning family of Armenia at the end of the third century. His successors took the title of Patriarch, and later of Catholicos. The Bible was translated into Armenian in the first half of the fifth century, and does not follow any known text of the Septuagint or the New Testament. Armenian bishops took part in several of the Church Councils. Being unrepresented at the Council of Chalcedon (451), the Armenian Church never accepted its decisions, and in 491 their Patriarch annulled them. From this point the Armenian gradually lost touch with the orthodox Church, though they in later times denied that they held the Eutychian doctrine. Their bishops, however, attended the 5th, 6th, and 7th general Councils. In the fifteenth century the entrance of Jesuits into Armenia, who made many converts, occasioned much dissension. The Catholic Armenians became a distinct community at the end of the sixteenth century. **The Armenian Church.**

The Armenian Church now receives protection from the Czar of Russia, and its doctrines are almost identical with those of the Greek Church, denying the special doctrines of the Roman Catholics. They have the seven sacraments: (1) baptism by immersion, with anointing with holy oil, followed by the eucharist; (2) confirmation, at once after baptism; (3) the eucharist administered in both kinds to all, without mixture of water with the wine; (4) penance—confession with fasting; (5) ordination, by anointing with holy oil; (6) marriage; (7) extreme unction—the anointing being only for priests, while others only have prayers said over them. The liturgy, of very early origin, contains the Nicene Creed with a damnatory clause, and prayers of John Chrysostom and Basil. The dead are prayed for, though the Church does not believe in purgatory nor grant indulgences. Besides Sundays and the usual holy days of the Eastern Church, the Armenians observe ten national saints' days. They keep Christmas on the 6th of January. The priesthood, strangely enough in a Christian Church, is hereditary; during the lifetime of the father or grandfather, the heir of a priestly family may follow a secular calling, leaving it at the death of the priest he is heir to. But he may only marry before, not after ordination. Only the monks, called black clergy, can obtain the higher offices. The four Armenian patriarchs have their seats at Constantinople, Jerusalem, Sis (Nisibis) in Cilicia, and Etchmiazin, near Mount Ararat. The Church is entirely maintained by voluntary offerings of the people. **Doctrines.**

The Maronites, of Lebanon, numbering a quarter of a million, originated more especially from the Monothelite development of the "one nature" controversy. The name is derived from Maro, a fourth-century saint, to whom a great monastery in the valley of the Orontes **The Maronites.**

was dedicated, presided over in the latter part of the seventh century by another John Maro. His preaching and zeal diffused Monothelite doctrines throughout the Lebanon district, in which many Christian refugees from the Mahommedans gathered together. In the latter part of the twelfth century the Maronites were for the most part reconciled with Rome, but they retain their own Syriac ritual, communion in both kinds, and married priests. They have a large number of monasteries and convents. The people are very superstitious, and have suffered much from the Druses, who massacred them cruelly in 1860. (See page 578.) The College founded at Rome for the education of Maronites has produced a remarkable family

WEST ENTRANCE, MONASTERY OF ST. MACAR, ARMENIA.

of Oriental scholars, the Assemanni. A small remnant of the Maronites still reject communion with Rome.

Christian progress among Goths, etc.

In the West the Goths, Vandals, and other Teutonic peoples had accepted Christianity to an extent which was considerably softening their ferocity, and making possible their union with the Latin nations. Retaining many of their old superstitions, often accepting Christianity merely at the bidding of their princes, and professing Arianism for the same reason, they persecuted and plundered the Catholics wherever they went. Belisarius (534), the great general of Justinian, in turn destroyed the Arian Vandals, especially in Africa.

Clovis, king of the Franks, was baptised in 496 by Bishop Remigius (died 533), at Rheims, and took the Catholic side. Being at this time the

only Catholic monarch, all other Christian sovereigns being Arians or Monophysites, his successors on the Frankish and afterwards on the French throne received the title of Eldest Son of the Church. Clovis was not much less scrupulous in serving the ends of the Church than he had been before his conversion, but thought to atone for crimes by liberal gifts to churches and monasteries. He died in 511, the year in which the first Frankish Church Council met at Orleans. But the purity of religion degenerated greatly in the Frankish kingdom. Incredible miracles were alleged, superstitious and showy worship increased, while crime did not diminish.

Conversion of Clovis.

Meanwhile the Popes of Rome, at first oppressed by the power of the Exarchs of Ravenna, who now acted as imperial viceroys in Italy, were raising their pretensions and consolidating their power, being the only strong authority left in Rome itself. Innocent I. (400–417) asserted jurisdiction over Eastern Illyricum, and claimed that all the Western Church should conform its usages to those of Rome. Zosimus (417-8), Boniface I. (418-423), and Celestine I. (423-432), still further advanced their claims; but Leo I., the Great (440-461), was the most successful asserter of the papal rights, claiming unbroken apostolic tradition on behalf of everything done by the Church at Rome, gaining the submission of the African, Spanish, and Gaulish Churches, and procuring from the Emperor Valentinian III. a law which declared the Bishop of Rome ruler of the whole Church (445). At the Council of Chalcedon his legates took equal presidency with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and in other ways he paved the way for the most advanced claims of medieval Popes.

Increased power of the Popes.

Leo I.

During the Gothic rule over Italy, the Popes became more evidently the pivot of the Catholic Church. Theodoric, called upon to decide between rival Popes, Symmachus and Laurentius, decided for the former; and when moral charges were brought against Symmachus, summoned a Council of Italian bishops in 501 or 503, which acquitted Symmachus, because of difficulties which "must be left to the Divine judgment." Ennodius, afterwards Bishop of Pavia, in a Defence of the Council, developed the principle that the successor of St. Peter was above human judgment, and only responsible to God; and this view was adopted by the sixth Roman Council, held by Symmachus. The papal elections, with their intrigues, bribery, and strife, gave little countenance to the idea of human perfection surrounding the papacy. The Popes became dependent upon the Emperors for their confirmation in power, in return for which the Popes received new temporal privileges. The papal ascendency was maintained by appeals from all quarters, answered by "decretal epistles," given as from apostolical tradition, and asserted as being of universal authority. These epistles, together with the decisions of the Councils of the Church, were collected about the middle of the sixth century by Dionysius Exiguus, forming a standard text of Church law. Dionysius also framed the new cycle for the dates of Easter, adopted at Rome in 525, and settled the system of dating from the

The Pope above human judgment.

Relations with the Emperors.

Christian era, which he placed four or five years too late. The most important events in Christian history at the end of the sixth century are the renunciation of Arianism by the Spanish Church at the Council of Toledo in 589, the election of Gregory the Great as Pope in 590, the mission of Augustine to Britain in 596, and the baptism of Ethelbert, king of Kent, in 597. But these events usher in the dawn of the medieval period, contemporary with the rise of Mohammedanism.

There are a multitude of interesting details about the development of Church order, government, and practice, in the fifth and sixth centuries, which we must pass lightly over. The tonsure, a shaving of more or less of the crown of the head, was commonly adopted by the clergy in the sixth century. Schools of divinity arose at Alexandria, Antioch, Edessa, and other great centres, as well as in important monasteries. Bishops alone ordained ministers, and largely appointed them to their churches. Lay patronage, however, was granted by Justinian to founders of churches in 541. Celibacy of the clergy became common; though not required by any general Council, there was a growing assumption that no man could marry after becoming a deacon. Abuses soon arose which had to be corrected by special laws. Unfortunately, monasticism itself, with its strict professions, had a prejudicial influence on general Christian morality, it being thought that it was not necessary for ordinary people to aim at the correct conduct required of a monk. As the Church grew in State favour, it became infected by the worldliness of courts, and increased the pomp of its worship and the dignity of its surroundings, while too often showing glaring imperfections and impurity in conduct.

Development of clericalism.

ST. BENEDICT.

Monasteries naturally became the refuge of those who sought purity. The person of monks impressed the Goths and Teutons, who endowed monasteries in compunction for their sins, and from fear or veneration held monastic buildings and revenues as well as monks sacred from spoliation and injury. Yet even in the monastic life degeneracy crept in; and when St. Benedict (born in 480 near Nursia, in Italy) began his remarkable career, there was much need of reform. In early youth he became an ascetic, and his piety grew famous and was associated with many wonders and reputed miracles. Resorted to by many desiring instruction, Benedict founded twelve monasteries of

Monastic life.

St. Benedict.

twelve monks each in the hills forty miles east of Rome. Driven by envy to leave this locality, Benedict in 528 founded the monastery of Monte Cassino, which became the most famous and powerful in the Roman communion. Never ordained a priest, his influence far transcended his nominal position, and his system was established all through Western Europe before his death, in 543.

The Benedictine Order.

Benedict was the first who enjoined a vow of permanent monastic residence and discipline, marked by ceaseless striving after perfection of character and conduct, chastity, labour, poverty, great moderation in food, and entire obedience to the abbot, the superior of the monastery. The giving up of all private property to the monastery formed a nucleus of corporate property, which rapidly increased, and enabled the Order to be hospitable to strangers and the poor, and to set on foot many works of mercy as well as ecclesiastical and literary enterprise. The education of the young by the monks was made very important. Benedict had the judgment to allow in his "Rule" for different modes of life suitable for different climates, races, and circumstances. Episcopal supervision and the abbot's rule being granted, all the monks were held equal, and they chose their own abbots. The monasteries were so planned that every necessity of life could be provided for within its walls, and no monk might quit the building except by special leave. Vanity was checked by forbidding a monk to do any work in which he showed a tendency to pride himself on his skill.

Within three centuries there were scarcely any monks in Western Europe who had not adopted the Benedictine rule. They were not organised as a body corporate, but gradually individual monasteries formed societies or "congregations," of which there were at one time more than 150, in addition to the monasteries remaining independent. Fifty Benedictine monks have become popes, the first being Gregory the Great (590–604). In the 14th century it was reputed that there had been 37,000 Benedictine monasteries, and in the fifteenth there were 15,000. After the Reformation they were reduced to 5,000, and now do not number more than about 800. The congregations of Benedictines differ in many respects from one another, being only united by the essential vows of the order. In Protestant and heathen countries their principal activity is missionary.

Basilican churches.

The temples of the old gods did not furnish the models for the new Christian churches, one reason perhaps being that their small and dark inner sanctuaries were ill-adapted to the public nature of Christian rites. The Roman law courts and business places known as *Basilicas*, open from end to end, were more suitable, and were either actually given to the Church by Constantine, or were taken as the models of new buildings. We cannot give details, but the general style of these churches is seen in the figures we give of St. Paul's outside the walls at Rome and St. Apollinaris in Classe at Ravenna. The apse, the semicircular recess at the upper end in which the judges' and officials' chairs were set, was used for the bishop's and priests' seats and the Lord's table. It was known as the sanctuary or presbytery, and its wall was often covered

with mosaic pictures of sacred subjects. The "Lord's table" was already in the fourth century termed "the place of sacrifice," translated by Jerome "altar," wood being gradually replaced by stone in its construction, and the space beneath it being often used to receive the relics of the saint or martyr to whom the church was dedicated. Raised on steps, enclosed by pillars, with veils hung between, covered with a canopy or baldachino, decorated with gold, silver, and precious stones and carvings, it is not surprising that the altar on which the mysterious consecration of the elements of the Eucharist was performed, was specially venerated, and that the laity were kept at a distance from it by rails. The part next to it, the choir, had a raised floor, was set apart for the readers and choir, and included the desk or pulpit. Memorial churches, on the model of Roman circular tombs, were circular or polygonal, often domed, and from these the Byzantine type of architecture developed, of which the church (now mosque) of St. Sophia at Constantinople (pp. 555, 754, 755) is the finest representative.

Memorial churches.

Consecration. All churches were specially consecrated to divine service; and the possession of relics of some saint was early held of primary importance. The consecration service, at first simple, became a complex one, with special ritual, and it was essential that the Eucharist, consecrated by the bishop, should be placed with other relics in a chest. The sacredness of churches was further assured by forbidding arms to be worn in them; hence they became places of asylum from violence; but ordinary criminals, Jews, slaves, and other special classes were excluded from its protection. The loss of the relics took away the sacredness of the building.

Relics.

Crosses, carved and sculptured in various forms, were conspicuous ornaments of churches, and, as the material symbol of redemption, became venerated and even worshipped as having some mystic virtue; and in obedience to the same tendency to believe in charms, the sign of the cross was often made in order to preserve from danger. The Emperor Julian sneered at the Christians for reverencing the cross, and in the sixth to the eighth centuries numerous Christian writers defended its adoration, and adduced marvellous narratives to show the benefit of so doing. In fact, forms of service for the adoration of the cross are to be found in ancient liturgies, both Roman and Greek. With the figure of Christ crucified added, the cross became a crucifix, though in the beginning purely symbolical and not realistic in its representation. At first the type of the "Lamb of God" was used, and the crucifix was only ordained to be set up in churches at the Council of Constantinople in 691. Even before the fourth century pictures had come into use in churches; but separate pictures and images of Christ and sacred personages, at first regarded as contravening the second commandment, in the fifth and sixth centuries were commonly set up, especially those of the mother of Jesus with her infant son. Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, thus defended image-worship in the latter part of the sixth century: "I, worshipping the image of God, do not worship the material wood and colours; God forbid;

Crosses and crucifixes.

Pictures and images.

but laying hold of the lifeless representation of Christ, I seem to myself to lay hold of and to worship Christ through it."

We have already recounted the controversies about the veneration of Mary as "Mother of God," which developed a tendency to think of her on the same level as Jesus Himself; and it was a Monophysite Patriarch who first placed her name in all the prayers of his liturgy. In Justinian's reign she was invoked for the prosperity of the State; and the tendency to pray for the aid of a female mediator, which had been strong in the Greek and Roman religions, was transferred to the Virgin Mary. The surviving feeling for the old religion, too, welcomed the veneration of saints and martyrs in the place of the deified heroes; and prayers and vows to them became common. Relics were manufactured to meet the demand, as well as stories of spurious miracles; and marvellous biographies of saints, some with a foundation of fact, others entirely fictitious, were written and circulated. The title of "saint," at first and of right belonging to every Christian, as separated from a worldly life, was gradually confined exclusively to those who were conspicuous for their holy life or martyr's death. Names were inscribed in the roll of saints, and read out as deserving of commemoration, by authority of the bishop, and later of the metropolitan, synod, or even Emperor. Days were set apart for commemorating them, often the anniversaries of their martyrdom, and thus ecclesiastical calendars came into use.

Worship of the Virgin.

The saints.

Holy places also grew into reverence, beginning with the scenes of Christ's life and death. Constantine's building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the "finding of the true cross" by his mother Helena powerfully stimulated the idea of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Fragments of the supposed true cross were spread throughout Christendom, and were venerated as most sacred relics.

Pilgrimages.

There were not wanting opponents of the new practices of monasticism, invocation of saints, worship of relics and images, etc.; but their voices were overpowered by the strength of the supporters of the tendency of the times. Aërius, an Armenian (fourth and fifth centuries), Helvidius, Jovinian and Vigilantius in the Western Church are the most notable of these early Protestants. The three latter were all violently attacked by Jerome, who was very indignant at the success of Jovinian at Rome, who taught that all baptised Christians, if their conduct was consistent with their professions, were equal in Christian privileges, and that neither celibacy nor monasticism placed them on a special pedestal. Jovinian was excommunicated and banished from Rome about 390; and he appears to have died before 406. Vigilantius, born just north of the Pyrenees, became acquainted with Jerome in his house at Bethlehem, and excited his ire by his opposition to the worship of departed saints and their relics. Vigilantius thought it was better for a man to seek objects of charity around his own home, rather than give his property entirely to the poor or to the monks. The strength of Jerome's antagonism is a measure of the difficulty such a teacher had in getting

Opposition to new practices.

Jovinian.

Vigilantius.

heard by those who were most influential in the Church; and Vigilantius and his fellows were doomed to failure.

The creeds of the Church were practically settled in this period. The Nicene Creed, though mainly determined as we have already related, was based on an ancient baptismal creed found in the "Apostolical Constitutions," and it was as a baptismal creed that it continued to be used before it was inserted in any liturgy. In 511 Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople, ordered that it should be recited at every congregation; and about this time it was inserted in the principal Eastern liturgies. The Council of Toledo in 589 ordered that it should be recited before the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy.

The Creeds.

The Apostles' Creed, often regarded as the oldest, from its name, was only adopted as a written creed, in the Western Church, later than the Nicene. It no doubt represents a very early baptismal creed, having various versions, which do not appear to have been early put into writing.

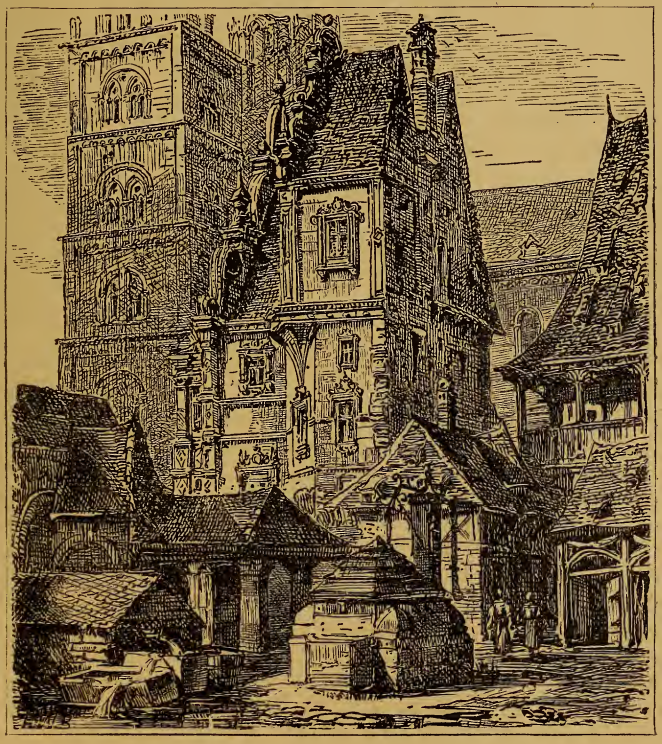
The Athanasian Creed, which is rather an argumentative and declaratory psalm, declaring the necessity of holding the Catholic faith as essential to salvation, was never a baptismal creed, nor was it the product of a Council. It is of Western though unknown origin, probably in the fifth century; it is first met with in the Gaulish Church, where its use spread into the whole Latin Church and part of the Greek. In 676 we find it required of every cleric to assent to this creed, at the Council of Cressy (Christiacum).

No fewer than a hundred ancient liturgies are known, the majority belonging to the Eastern Churches, centring round the metropolitan Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Rome. There are none which ascend to the apostolic age, though ascribed to apostles or evangelists, such as St. James or St. Mark; but they mostly took written form in the fourth to the sixth centuries. The Liturgy of St. Clement, probably the oldest, dates from the beginning of the fourth century. It is given in the "Apostolical Constitutions," and contains distinct services for catechumens and full members, very simple services, without even the Lord's Prayer, any creed, or the mention of saints' names. The Liturgy of St. James is the oldest of those proceeding from Jerusalem, and arose in the fourth century; it includes the Nicene Creed, with the terms Homoousios and Theotokos, and with commemoration of the mother of God and all saints, "that we through their prayers and intercessions may obtain mercy." From this were developed the liturgies named after St. Basil and St. Chrysostom—the latter, not originally associated with his name, being still regularly used in the Sunday services of the Greek Church, while that of St. Basil, a longer form, is reserved for Lent and some special occasions. A free translation into Syriac from the Liturgy of St. James is still used in various forms, in the monophysite Eastern Churches. The Liturgy of St. Mark (Alexandrian), used in Egypt till the twelfth century, contains the Nicene Creed as enlarged at Constantinople, and is probably derived from the Liturgy of Cyril. The Liturgy of Edessa, also termed that of Thaddæus, originated with and is used by the Nestorians.

Eastern Liturgies.

The Western liturgies include the Ephesian forms, connected with the name of St. John, and used in the early Churches of Spain, Gaul, and Britain; the Liturgy of St. Ambrose, still used in the diocese of Milan, and containing many of Ambrose's compositions, as well as others by Simplicius, his successor; and the Roman, or Petrine. The latter is very ancient in its leading features, but extant copies are not found of earlier date than the 461. The whole liturgy constitutes the Missal. The edition ascribed to Pope Gregory the Great, modified more than once, obtained precedence over every other, and was adopted by the Council of Trent. **Western Liturgies.**

We have thus traced the Church through the early stages of conflict, and its establishment as part of the Roman imperial system, to its gradual elevation above the civil power. We are now at the dawn of the medieval period, terminated by the Reformation. The greatest facts of this period are the final separation between the Eastern and Western Churches, the encroachments of Mohammedanism, and the evangelisation of the heathen peoples of Europe.



THE CATHEDRAL, BAMBERG, BAVARIA: FOUNDED 1004.

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT.

CHAPTER VII.

Christianity to the Separation between East and West.

(SEVENTH TO TENTH CENTURIES.)

Pope Gregory I.—Mission of Augustine to England—The early British Church—St. Patrick—St. Columba—Independent spirit of Celtic Church—Columban and St. Gall—St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany—Charlemagne and the Papacy—The Holy Roman Empire—Alcuin—The Eastern Church—The Controversy about Images—John of Damascus—Seventh Œcumenical Council—The Caroline Books against Images—Council of Frankfort—Leo the Armenian—Theodore the Studite—The Empress Theodora—Photius and Ignatius—Eighth Council (Roman)—Eighth Council (Greek)—Last disputes between East and West—Adoptionism—The Isidorian Decretals—The Real Presence—Paschasius—Ratramn—John Scotus—Predestination—Gottschalk—Scotus on "Predestination"—Hincmar—Council of Quiercy—Christianity in North and East Europe—Anskar—Olaf—Cyril and Methodius—Vladimir—St. Stephen of Hungary—the Wends, Lithuanians, and Pomeranians.

THE chief doctrines of the Christian Church being settled, and the ground plan of its organisation being complete, it enters upon its "middle age," lasting till the Reformation, and marked in the central point by the final separation of the Eastern from the Western Church. The great period of the Papacy begins with the remarkable Pope Gregory I., the Great. Born at Rome in 540, he was elected Pope in 590, when assaults of heretics, corruptions of members, etc., had greatly weakened the Church. In his own words the Church was "an old and shattered ship, admitting the waters on all sides, its timbers rotten, and shaken by daily storms." He literally reorganised the Church, re-arranged the liturgy, established the Gregorian form of chanting, and asserted the supremacy of Rome throughout the West and in Africa. While recognising the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch as his equals, he strictly objected to the Patriarch of Constantinople calling himself œcumenical bishop, and also renounced

Pope Gregory I.

the title for himself; yet at the sixth general council, 681, the title was granted to the Patriarch of Constantinople, was claimed by the then Pope, and usually taken by succeeding Popes.

On the whole, Gregory was tolerant towards heretics, and succeeded in reconciling several Arian Churches by emphasising the first four councils and reckoning the fifth as less important. He was, however, zealous against the Donatists and in uprooting the remains of heathenism. He was a strong supporter of monasticism, and his "Pastoral Rule" long guided the Western bishops. His 850 letters show remarkable practical wisdom. Before his death, in 604, he had heard of the success of the mission to England on which he had despatched Augustine in 596. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was baptised at Canterbury on Whitsunday, 597, followed by many of his subjects. Augustine became the Archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan of England, and the old British church near Ethelbert's palace was his cathedral. Augustine also founded the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Canterbury, afterwards more famous under the name of Augustine himself.

Mission of Augustine to England.

Long before the Anglo-Saxon invasion, Christianity had been widely diffused in Great Britain, probably from Gaul; and we find it recorded on undoubted authority, that three British bishops, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius of Caerleon, attended the Council of Arles in 314, and others were present at the Council of Sardica in 347, and of Ariminum in 360; and after this time various notable churchmen, such as St. John Chrysostom and St. Jerome, refer to the British Church. We have already mentioned that the originator of the Pelagian heresy was a British Christian, and bishops from Gaul visited Britain in 429 and 447 to counteract his influence, and to spread the gospel among the native Britons, now being deserted by the Roman legions. Gaulish monks from the great abbey founded by St. Martin of Tours at Marmoutier, preached the monastic life in Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

The early British Church.

Christianity was introduced into Ireland in the latter part of the fifth century by Patricius, or Patrick, a Briton born near Dumbarton, in Scotland of Christian parentage. In Ireland the tribe became the unit of ecclesiastical life. In fact, the chief became a sort of abbot, and the converted tribesmen and women devoted themselves to fasting and prayer, and often to celibacy. The chiefship and abbacy went together by hereditary descent. It is remarkable how the monastic life took hold of the Celts, who were so much in love with it that they went far and wide to propagate it, visiting many parts of Britain, and leaving their mark from Naples to Iceland, and extending as far as Franconia and Carinthia. St. Columba (521–597), a native of Donegal, of Irish blood royal, founded monasteries and churches in Ireland, and in 563 went to Scotland to convert the Picts. He received a grant of the island of Iona in 563, and there set up the famous church and monastery which for 150 years was the head of the national Church of Scotland. His Church, established at first outside the influence of Rome, became opposed

St. Patrick.

St. Columba.

to the Roman Church in several points, such as the date of keeping Easter, a matter held to be of great importance, and refused to yield obedience to the Roman pontiff. The abbot of Iona, though usually only a presbyter, exercised the authority as of a pope over the numerous bishops under his jurisdiction.

Scotland, Ireland, and Wales produced numerous saints in the seventh and eighth centuries, and they converted a considerable portion of England which had not yet been reached directly from Rome. The monks of the Celtic Church are credited with having been better missionaries than parish priests, and their Church gradually waned before the more systematic efforts of the Roman emissaries. In the seventh century the Irish accepted the Roman date for Easter, followed by the Welsh in the middle of the eighth. The monasteries of the Celtic foundations long kept up their independence of diocesan bishops; but in the eleventh century their subjection was finally accomplished. The interesting details of medieval English Church history must be sought in more extended works, especially the conflicts of the temporal with the ecclesiastical power, and of England with Rome; but England did not in these times do anything in development of the main features of Christianity.

Independent spirit of Celtic Church.

Meanwhile the Scoto-Irish monks were represented on the Continent by such men as Columban, who established monasteries under strict rule in the Vosges, maintaining his independence of the Pope; he afterwards travelled widely in Europe, dying in 615. His disciples also founded monasteries, the most famous being that of St. Gall in Switzerland. Other British missionaries evangelised Frisia in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Columban and St. Gall.

The greatest missionary sent out from England in Anglo-Saxon times was Winfrid, afterwards known as St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany (680–755), born at Crediton in Devonshire. In 716 he began to preach in Frisia, and in 718 received authority from Pope Gregory II. to preach to all the German tribes. This he did with great success, destroying objects of heathen worship, and founding churches and monasteries. Gregory III. in 732 made him archbishop and primate of Germany. After the great victory of Charles Martel over the Saracens in 732, that monarch seized church treasures and possessions to reward his followers; and the imperfection of the hold which Rome had on the Frankish Church, as well as the numerous disorders that were prevalent, induced Pope Zacharias in 741 to commit to Boniface the task of reforming it. He secured the assent and authority of the State for his reforms, but was not able to enforce the obedience of the Frankish bishops to metropolitans or to the Pope. The Scoto-Irish preachers, too, gave him much trouble; and we learn that, in addition to their rejection of Roman obedience, they discountenanced saint and relic worship, and pilgrimages. He is said to have crowned Pepin King of the Franks in 742; but this is doubtful. On June 5th, 755, his tent at Dokkum in West Friesland was surrounded by armed pagans, who massacred the whole party of fifty-two, Boniface having forbidden resistance.

St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany.

The connection of the Frankish kingdom with the Papacy had in 754 been strengthened by Pepin's accepting coronation at the hands of Pope Stephen II., who in 755 received from that king the famous *Donation of Pepin*, conquered from Astulfus, king of the Lombards, and constituting the beginning of the Papal States. Karl the Great (Charlemagne) in 774 extended the Donation to correspond with the old Exarchate of Ravenna, and at his several visits to Rome paid the utmost respect to the See of St. Peter and to the Pope. Pope Leo III. on his accession (795) offered to Karl the allegiance of the Roman citizens, sending him the banner of Rome and the keys of St. Peter's alleged tomb. Only a few years later (800) Karl was called on to pronounce judgment on serious charges against the Pope; and his court declared the Pope above all human judgment. On Christmas Day, 800, Leo crowned Karl in St. Peter's, and did homage to him as Emperor of the West, thus renouncing all connection with Constantinople, and setting up what became afterwards known as the Holy Roman Empire.

Charlemagne and the Papacy.

The Holy Roman Empire.

STATUE OF ST. BONIFACE.

From this point we shall not follow the details of ecclesiastical relations with the civil power, which developed into forms utterly alien to the spirit of Christ's teaching. We can only note those points in which further developments were given to the constitution of the Church or the forms and appurtenances of religious observance or creeds.

Karl successively forced Christianity on the Saxons, the Frisians, the Bavarians, the Avars of Pannonia, and the Bohemians; and missionaries followed in the wake of the conquerors. Alcuin, an Englishman, directed these latter efforts. Karl did much to spread education and reform religious administration according to the Roman system. He built among others the cathedral of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), where he died in 841.

Alcuin.

Meanwhile, in the East, Mohammedanism had been making rapid progress, and winning from Christian dominion and profession large territories.

The Eastern Church.

The patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, and the bishoprics dependent on them, became merely nominal. In the eighth century the great controversy on images rose into prominence, and the Emperor Leo III. followed his edict of 723 for the forcible baptism of Jews and Montanists by one forbidding the growing worship of images or pictures by Christians (724), which the followers of Mahomet charged against them as idolatry. The so-called images were mostly mosaics or pictures on a flat surface, sometimes appearing in relief by the arrangement of silver or other metals by which they were set off; and image-worship in the East by no means signifies worship of modelled or carved figures. The decree of Leo led to a rebellion, which was suppressed, and all images were then ordered to be taken down or coated over with plaster.

The controversy about images.

John of Damascus, author of the "Correct Exposition of the Orthodox Faith," came forward as an able defender of images. He urged that the revelation of God in the flesh in the person of Christ had made images lawful, in order to represent to those of later times what His disciples and hearers had seen. Images, he said, were for the unlearned what books were to the learned. He did not adore the matter of the images, but the Author of matter, who for his sake became material that by matter He might work out man's salvation. Images of saints were lawful as memorials. He refused to acknowledge the Emperor's right to interfere in the matter; the ordering of the Church belonged to its pastors. Popes Gregory II. and III. similarly attacked Leo, who in return transferred Greece and Illyria to the patriarchate of Constantinople (733). A council held at Constantinople in 754, but unattended by any patriarch or any Western representatives, utterly condemned the use of images and pictures for religious purposes, but declared it lawful to invoke the Virgin and the Saints. The then Emperor Constantine V. substituted paintings of secular subjects for sacred images and pictures, and cruelly treated all who disobeyed his edicts. On his death in 775 the chief influence in the East came to Irene, wife of Leo IV., his successor. She was a great supporter of images; and during the minority of her son, Constantine VI., 780–797, she proclaimed liberty of conscience. A general council (the seventh œcumenical and second of Nicæa) was summoned, and Pope Adrian I. not only recognised the newly appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, Tarasius, but sent legates to the council (787). This council declared that images and pictures of Christ and the Virgin, as well as of angels and saints, should be set up for kissing and reverence, although not for true worship, which belonged to God alone. They were, however, to be honoured like the Cross, the Gospels, etc., with incense and lights, because the honour paid to the image passed on to the original. There was still a strong iconoclast element among the clergy and laity, and especially in the army, which had served under the iconoclast emperors.

John of Damascus.

Seventh Œcumenical Council.

ST. BONIFACE SETTING OUT FOR ROME TO RECEIVE HIS MISSION TO GERMANY FROM POPE GREGORY II.

The Churches north of the Alps felt the decision in favour of images as a great blow to their efforts at uprooting the worship of the old Teutonic idols; and Alcuin, as it is believed, wrote the famous "Caroline books" in Karl's name, refuting the arguments of the council and exposing the fallacy of its position. He took the strong intellectual position that "those persons must have faulty memories who need to be reminded by an image, and cannot raise their minds above the material except by the aid of a created and material object." These lessons, he said, cannot be taught by the images themselves, for the merits of the saints are not external and cannot be seen; and the unlearned are the very class who will be drawn to pay real divine worship to the images. Great objection is taken to the adoption of opinions without apostolic warrant, which were condemned by the Fathers and early councils. The moderate conclusion reached is, that these images should be permitted and not destroyed, but that their worship ought not to be enforced. The Council of Frankfort (794), presided over by Karl, aided by Alcuin, at which German, English, and Lombard, as well as Frankish bishops were present, with two legates from Rome, condemned what is termed "the late synod of the Greeks," and refused all adoration and service of images. Thus the path was paved for the Roman Church to throw in its lot completely with the new Western empire, and sever itself definitely from the East.

The Caroline books against images.

Council of Frankfort.

The iconoclast controversy was once more revived by Leo V., the Armenian, Emperor of the East (813–820), who in 814 ordered a general removal of images, and seated an opponent of images in the patriarchate of Constantinople. Theodore, head of the Studite monastery at Constantinople, strongly opposed the Emperor, was scourged, imprisoned in a dungeon, and threatened with death. Appealed to by him, Pope Paschal I. strongly supported the image-worshippers, and ordained priests for the Eastern Churches which refused the iconoclast priests. Leo V., in return, persecuted the image-worshippers most rigorously, and in consequence lost his life by a conspiracy which seated Michael II. on the throne, who recalled the image-worshippers, and replaced Theodore, though forbidding discussions and allowing each party to follow their own views. Finally Michael asked the aid of Louis, son of Karl the Great, in discouraging image-worshippers at Rome (824). Yet after several fluctuations, the worship of images was restored in Constantinople in 842 by the empress Theodora, mother of the infant Michael III.; and the first Sunday in Lent, the anniversary of the restoration, is celebrated at the present day in the Greek Church as the Feast of Orthodoxy.

Leo the Armenian.

Theodore the Studite.

The Empress Theodora.

There was yet another controversy in the East about images, which led to a dispute as to two rival patriarchs of Constantinople, Photius and Ignatius, who were required by Pope Nicolas I. (858–867) to come to Rome for a decision between them, the Pope claiming that the Roman Church was "the head of all, on which all depend." The

Photius and Ignatius.

conversion of the Bulgarians was complicated by the doubt about image-worship, the king receiving different advice from East and West. Finally the Latin clergy were driven out of Bulgaria, and a Greek archbishop was sent by the iconoclast patriarch Ignatius, and Bulgaria became firmly attached to the Greek Church. Meanwhile Photius held a council which anathematised Pope Nicolas; in his letter of invitation he accused the men of the West of corrupting the gospel with pernicious novelties, teaching a different system of fasting, forbidding the clergy to marry, and denying the right of presbyters to confirm. The greatest objection, however, was the "adulteration" of the creed with spurious additions, affirming that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, which he called blasphemy against God the Father. The violence of Photius is further shown by his calling the Romans apostates and servants of Antichrist. But later Photius was himself deposed and anathematised. The eighth general council, according to the Romans, held at Constantinople in 869, at which the Pope was represented by two bishops, and at which also the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria were represented, again condemned the iconoclasts, and finally established image-worship in the East. This council agreed that pictures and images were useful for the instruction of the people, and ought to be worshipped with the same honour as the books of the Gospel. The strange whirligig of Eastern affairs, however, in 878 restored Photius once more to the patriarchate; and while he requested the co-operation of Rome in another council, he strongly asserted his independence in that council

CHARLEMAGNE.

Eighth Council (Roman).

Eighth Council (Greek).

(called the eighth by the Greek Church, 879) which rejected the acts of the council of 869 against Photius. A little later, communion was again restored between the Greek and Roman Churches.

No other event of supreme interest marks the history of the Eastern Church for some centuries; it had to make strenuous efforts to maintain itself against the advancing power of Mahometanism. In the eleventh century the Emperor Basil II. proposed to Pope John XVIII. that the conflicting claims of Rome and Constantinople should be met by allowing to each patriarch the title universal or œcumenical bishop; but the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael, denounced the heresies of the Roman Church, and especially the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and in 1053 closed the Latin churches and monasteries at Constantinople, while Pope Leo IX. was a prisoner with the Norman conquerors of Naples and Sicily. In 1054 he sent legates to Constantinople to seek a settlement, but Michael would not even discuss with them, and they left Constantinople after laying a solemn excommunication of him on the altar of St. Sophia. No later efforts of reconciliation were successful, and from this point no intercommunion has existed between the Roman and the Eastern Church.

Last disputes between East and West.

In the West the controversy about images continued both in writing and in the discussions of councils, and there was considerable opposition to images within the Frankish Church till the end of the ninth century.

Before proceeding to mention the chief doctrinal controversies of the medieval Church, we must briefly notice the Western discussion about the Sonship of Christ, which was distinct in its type from the Eastern disputes. During the reign of Karl the Great, Felix, bishop of Urgel in Catalonia, taught that Christ was the Son of God by *adoption* only, not by partaking of the Divine substance. After much controversy, Alcuin wrote a treatise against Felix, and discussed with him for six days in 791, Felix declared himself convinced, but was kept under supervision till his death in 818, when he left behind him a paper reasserting the principal points of his teaching; but he gained few adherents.

Adoptionism.

We cannot follow all the varying attitudes of the Western empire and the papacy in the ninth and tenth centuries, in which now one, now the other, emerged as temporarily supreme, nor the disastrous fall of successive Popes into gross immorality and arbitrary conduct. The Frankish Church meanwhile kept considerably aloof from Rome, and even condemned or excommunicated a Pope when culpable. Pope Leo IV. in 852 built a wall around the suburb of Rome beyond the Tiber, enclosing the basilican church of St. Peter (on the site of the present St. Peter's) and the site on which the Vatican Palace now is; and from him it derived its name of the Leonine city. During this century a forged collection purporting to be Papal Decretals gained currency under the name of Isidore, bishop of Seville, in the first part of the seventh century, and was adopted by the Frankish and the Roman Church generally. It purported to contain nearly 100 decretal letters of bishops of Rome, some dating as far back as

The Isidorian Decretals.

the apostolic times, and giving accounts of church councils which never took place; and the forgery was favoured by quotations from genuine materials. These forged letters exalt the power of the clergy, and raise bishops almost above any human judgment; also the Pope's power is carried beyond anything previously written. They were quoted and used in councils and by Church writers for centuries; and even when demonstrated to be forgeries, still continued to have influence. For what the clergy desired and believed, they readily accepted a plausible authority, without critical examination.

The belief in the material presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist was taught in 831 by Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corbie.

THE CATHEDRAL OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

He held that after the consecration of the elements nothing was really present but the flesh and blood of Christ, the same in which He was crucified and rose from the dead. Many Frankish Churchmen denounced the doctrine, the most eminent being Ratramn, who said that the body and blood of Christ were only figuratively presented to the faithful soul in the Eucharist, the change being not material but spiritual. John Scotus, the great Irish theologian of the ninth century, taught that the Eucharist was only a commemorative ordinance, and thus anticipated many Protestants. But this was denounced as heretical, and the doctrine of Paschasius was generally accepted.

The Real Presence.

Paschasius.

Ratramn.

John Scotus.

Another great controversy, which has not yet died out, was that on predestination. The famous Gottschalk, a pupil of Alcuin (786–856), son of a Saxon count, appears to have been the first to teach that not only were the good predestined to happiness but also the wicked to damnation. This was going beyond St. Augustine, who, while terming those finally lost "reprobates," did not say they were predestined to destruction, but that they were left to the just judgment on their sins. Gottschalk, though accused of it, denied that he represented God as the ordainer of evil, for His double predestination was "good" in either case; God's just judgments must be good, and to those just judgments the wicked were predestinated, and their persistence in sin was foreknown. He held that Christ died only for the elect. Gottschalk had to go through the usual persecution suffered by those who bring forward any novelty in doctrine, being condemned by councils, rigorously treated by the inflexible Hincmar (Archbishop of Rheims from 845 to 884), and cruelly flogged in the presence of King Charles the Bald; but he maintained his opinions.

Predestination. Gottschalk.

John Scotus, at the request of Hincmar, wrote his great treatise "on Divine Predestination," a work so subtle and free in its inquiries that it caused him to be accused of various heresies. He said it was improper to speak of Divine predestination or foreknowledge, because to God all time is present; but if the term be used, predestination must be eternal, and only to good. But the number of those who will be saved or lost is known by God, and therefore may be called predestined. At the same time Scotus asserts that the human will is free to choose good or evil. After the publication Hincmar held a council at Quiercy (853), which asserted that man fell by the abuse of his free will; that God by His foreknowledge predestinated some to life whom He chose by His grace; but those whom He by His righteous judgment left in their lost estate, He did not predestinate to perish, but predestinated punishment to their sin. The free will, lost by the Fall, was recovered through Christ; God would have all men saved, and Christ suffered for all; and the ruin of those who perished is their own fault. After much further controversy, Hincmar wrote an elaborate work on the whole matter, addressed to Charles the Bald ("Epistola ad Regem"). Gottschalk was kept in prison twenty years by Hincmar's influence, who refused him the last sacrament unless he would agree to his own statements of doctrine. The old theologian steadfastly maintained his views, and died without sacrament; and burial in unconsecrated ground was given to this maintainer of independent thought.

Scotus on predestination.

Hincmar: Council of Quiercy.

A brief note must suffice to indicate the successive introduction of Christianity into the northern and eastern countries of Europe. In 826 Anskar, a monk of Corbie, was sent to evangelise Denmark and Scandinavia, and became one of the most famous and successful of missionaries. By his influence Denmark and Sweden formally tolerated and recognised Christianity. Anskar built hospitals, founded monasteries, redeemed captives, and did much to diminish the slave trade. When miracles were ascribed to him, he said, "If I were worthy in the sight

Christianity in North and East Europe.

of my Lord, I would ask Him to grant me one miracle—that He would make me a good man." He died in 865, and his work was well carried on by his friend Rimbert. A reaction took place under Gorm the Old, king of Denmark, who however was compelled by Henry the Fowler to put down human sacrifices. Cnut (Canute) as king of Denmark established Christianity on a sure basis, and definitely placed the

Anskar.

THE BAPTISM OF ST. STEPHEN OF HUNGARY.

Danish Church under the Roman. Heathen worship was not put down in Sweden till towards the end of the eleventh century. In the twelfth and thirteenth the Finns were converted; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some progress was made among the Lapps. Norway, partly evangelised by Anskar's efforts, long retained much heathenism. Haco the Good (934–961) followed Christian rites and brought English clergy to

Norway, but was afterwards forced by his people to take part in the old heathen worship. Olaf Tryggvason at the end of the century came forward as the Christian champion, and enforced the acceptance of baptism all through Norway (see p. 443). His great-nephew Olaf Haroldson (1015–1030), promoted Christianity by similar drastic measures. Under his son, St. Magnus, the new religion was fully established.

Olaf.

The Apostles of Moravia in the ninth century were Cyril and Methodius, sent from Constantinople in 803. They knew the Slavonic language, and translated the liturgy into it, and adopted it in public worship. Bohemia became Christian in the ninth and tenth centuries, and the Slavonic liturgy was introduced there, but was violently opposed by the Roman clergy, who ultimately maintained the Latin form. Christianity advanced into Poland through Bohemia, and thus became connected with the Roman Church, while the Russians were evangelised from Constantinople in the latter part of the tenth century. We have already referred (p. 452) to the action of Vladimir in destroying the national god Perun at Kief, and compelling his people to be baptised Christians. From this time the Greek form of the Church was rapidly spread, and the Bible became known in Cyril's Slavonic version.

Cyril and Methodius in Moravia.

Vladimir in Russia.

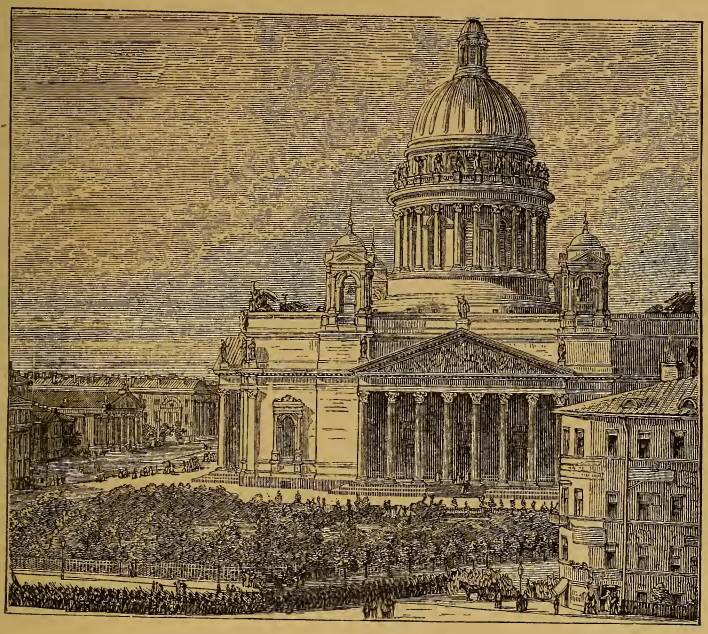
The Magyars and Slavonians of Hungary, while they first received Christianity through the Greek Church, eventually were connected with Rome through Waik, baptised Stephen, who was king of Hungary in 1000. He organised and endowed Christianity throughout his kingdom, built hospitals and monasteries, and for these and many other services was canonised as the patron saint of Hungary.

St. Stephen of Hungary.

The Wends and Lithuanians of the Southern and Eastern Baltic, cut off by language and race from their Christian neighbours, long resisted the efforts of missionaries, and even the compulsion of the sword. In the sacred island of Rügen (p. 453) idolatrous worship continued after it had been expelled from the mainland. The Lithuanians, Finns, Pomeranians, Esthonians, etc., offered a stubborn resistance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were largely massacred, rather than converted, by soldiers of the cross. The Pomeranians were almost exterminated by the Teutonic Knights. In Lithuania heathenism was re-established in the thirteenth century. Despite the strenuous efforts of both Greek and Roman clergy, it was not till the end of the fourteenth century that they were successful. The Roman Church prevailed on the union of Lithuania to Poland by a dynastic marriage.

The Wends, Lithuanians, and Pomeranians converted.

During its first thousand years the Church of Christ was nominally united, though already practically split up into numerous divisions. A strong body of doctrine and an elaborate system of practice had been created, at the cost of much division of opinion, of many bloody wars, of much excommunication and heart-burning. The struggle to create a Universal Church had very largely felt the influence of national tastes and tendencies. The tempting idea of securing unity by force and under one spiritual head had seized many minds. Opinion was developed into dogma and thrust on the unwilling by force.



ST. ISAAC'S CATHEDRAL, ST. PETERSBURG.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Eastern Church—Russian and Greek.

The Orthodox Church in Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, etc.—Its History in Russia—Vladimir II.'s dying Injunctions—Moscow: The Kremlin—The Patriarchs—The Troitza Monastery—Russians and Poles—The Patriarch Nicon—Peter the Great—The Holy Synod—Oath of the Bishops—Ambrose—Plato—Philaret—Missions—Doctrines—Sacraments—Membership—The Hierarchy—Liturgy and Services—Monks—Parish Priests—Style of Churches—Icons, or Images—The Altar Fasts—Yearly Communion—Extreme Unction—Burial—The Czar's Position—Dissenters—The Old Believers—Other Sects—The Sabbatniki—The Molokani—The Duchoborzi—Mount Athos.

THE "Orthodox" Eastern or Greek and Russian Church, although claiming to represent the stock from which all Christendom has originated, is to-day the smallest of the great divisions of Christianity; and unlike the Roman Church, it is subdivided by national boundaries. The Greek Church in a limited sense includes the Greek populations of Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and elsewhere, with Constantinople for its ecclesiastical centre and Mount Athos for its holy mountain. The patriarch of Constantinople is elected by a synod of bishops, but the selection must receive the approval of the Sultan. The Church of the kingdom of Greece is now acknowledged as independent of Constantinople, and is organised with a synod of five bishops, as in Russia. The Servian Church, with some intervals of subjec-

The Orthodox Church.

In Greece,

tion to the see of Carlowitz in Austria, and to the patriarch of Constantinople, has been independent since 1830, with a patriarch at Belgrade. The Bulgarian Church, long semi-independent of Constantinople under an exarch, is now completely so; but the Bulgarian exarch lives at Constantinople, and claims jurisdiction over Bulgarians outside Bulgaria. The Roumanian Church, though it was founded from Rome, was long governed from Constantinople; but one of the first proceedings of the Roumanian Government in 1861 was to declare the independence of the National Church, which is now under a primate living at Bucharest. There are also very many members of the Greek Church in the Austrian Empire; the great body of the Eastern Church is, however, that within the Russian dominions.

Bulgaria, Roumania, etc.

We have already referred to the conversion of Vladimir (buried at Kief and afterwards canonised), followed by the adoption of the Greek faith as the national faith of Russia, as it expanded from a small State to its present enormous extension. The spread of Christianity was easier in Russia than in any other country of Europe, a fact with which the early translation of the Scriptures and liturgies into Slavonic by Cyril and Methodius doubtless had much to do. The close relation of the Russian Church to Constantinople has been shown by the fact that for five centuries the metropolitans of Russia were either Byzantines or closely related to Constantinople. Jaroslaff early in the eleventh century introduced into Russia the canon law and Christian education from Constantinople.

Its history in Russia.

Vladimir the Second (who began to reign in 1113) was a notable combination of fierceness with devotion, who left to his sons the following among other dying injunctions:—

Vladimir II.'s dying injunctions.

"O my children, praise God and love men. For it is not fasting, nor solitude, nor monastic life, that will procure you eternal life, but only doing good. Forget not the poor, nourish them; remember that riches come from God, and are given you only for a short time. Be fathers to orphans. Be judges in the cause of widows, and do not let the powerful oppress the weak. Put to death neither innocent nor guilty, for nothing is so sacred as the life and the soul of a Christian. Never take the name of God in vain; and never break the oath you have made in kissing the crucifix. . . Be not envious at the triumph of the wicked and the success of treachery. Fear the lot of the impious. Do not desert the sick; do not let the sight of dead corpses terrify you, for we must all die. Receive with joy the blessing of the clergy; do not keep yourself aloof from them; do them good, that they may pray to God for you. Drive out of your heart all suggestions of pride, and remember that we are all perishable—to-day full of hope, to-morrow in the coffin. Abhor lying, drunkenness, and debauchery. Love your wives, but do not suffer them to have any power over you. . . Never take off your arms while you are within reach of the enemy. And to avoid being surprised, always be early on horseback. When you are on horseback say your prayers, or at least the shortest and best of all: 'Lord, have mercy upon us.'"

For centuries the metropolitan of Russia lived at Kief; but in 1320 his seat was transferred to Moscow. Here on the Kremlin hill was gradually built that vast aggregation of palaces and churches which is the centre of Russian reverence. The patriarchal cathedral in its centre is the crowning-place of all the Czars, and contains the most sacred

Moscow: The Kremlin.

pictures in Russia. Already, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the metropolitan was elected without guidance from Constantinople. One notable metropolitan, Philip, suffered martyrdom from Ivan the Terrible, that strange mixture of cruelty and temporary fanaticism in religion, for protesting against Ivan's many cruelties. In 1582 the patriarch Jeremiah created Job, the metropolitan of Moscow, a patriarch; and it was asserted that thus the place of Rome in the patriarchate, vacated by its schismatic conduct, was filled.

The Patriarchs.

The extensive foundation of monasteries in Russia during the period of the Tartar invasions proved a great factor in preserving the liberties and religious life of the people. The most famous monastery in Russia, that of the Troitza (Holy Trinity), about sixty miles from Moscow, was founded in 1338, and became in addition to a monastery, a cathedral and group of churches, and a university protected within walls like those of a fortress; it has been enriched by successive Czars and multitudes of pilgrims, and it is now the greatest place of pilgrimage in Russia. It was first made sacred by the pious hermit Sergius, who in later life stimulated the Grand Prince Demetrius to his victory on the Don in 1380. And this tradition of patriotism was well kept up by later generations of prelates and clergy.

The Troitza Monastery.

The same spirit was evoked against the encroachments of the Poles, who, being of the Roman Church, contributed largely to make the Russians dislike the Western Communion. The Poles were declared to be more debased and wicked than idol-worshippers, for their cruel conduct to members of the orthodox (Russian) Church. They were even said to have subjected them to Jews, who would not let them build churches, and deprived them of their priests. Church and State were identified in the contest between the two nations. When Moscow was in the hands of the Poles, and Roman masses were celebrated in the Kremlin, when patriarch and archbishop were done to death or carried captive, the monastery of Troitza held out, and its defenders were encouraged by Dionysius, the abbot. When it conquered, Russia was practically saved, and the future of the orthodox Church secured. From the priest Philaret, afterwards patriarch of Moscow, sprang the present imperial line. Philaret and his son Michael Romanoff, the first Czar of the line, practically ruled the nation jointly. Seven years after Alexis came to the throne, in 1652 Nicon was made patriarch, and proved himself the greatest reformer of the Russian Church.

Russians and Poles.

Nicon has been called a Russian Chrysostom, Luther, and Wolsey; but he was of a rougher type than these, grim-faced, of red hue, with bloodshot eyes, and seven feet high. Of peasant stock, he showed virtues not specially due to his origin, but to a rare spirit of discernment and courage. He endeavoured to root out abuses, and especially intemperance, which had obtained a great hold on the clergy. He founded hospitals and almshouses, visited prisons, and relieved the famine-stricken. At his bidding the seclusion of women was made less stringent, and the empress

The Patriarch Nicon.

was, for the first time, allowed to go to church publicly by day. He recognised the baptisms of the Roman Church, had Greek taught in the schools, spread the study of vocal music for church services, and set about obtaining the best Slavonic translation possible of the Bible. But among his most striking reforms was the introduction of preaching. His homilies and sermons at first astounded and tried the patience of the unaccustomed worshippers; and indeed his style seems to have been by no means perfect, in excuse for which his having no model to learn from may be pleaded. But his methods of discipline were too rigorous, and not framed in the spirit of the Founder of Christianity. His agents scourged, imprisoned, and otherwise cruelly treated priests and monks found drunk; and he showed no mercy to those who violated his decrees or his views of Church discipline. His enforcement of the Church ritual was rigid, and he banished foreigners relentlessly who refused baptism in the Church, or respect to the sacred pictures. But with all his austerity, he had instincts for magnificence, as shown by his monasteries, his patriarchal palace, and the state he kept up. At last, even his most faithful friend, the Czar, was alienated, chiefly, it must be owned, by the intervention of Nicon's enemies. Nicon resigned his office, apparently expecting to be invited back; but the see was declared vacant (1658). It was not, however, till 1667 that he consented to the election of a new patriarch. But his enemies were not satisfied without his formal condemnation. They assembled a council of the Eastern patriarchs—the first that had ever met in Russia—together with the most distinguished bishops. He was degraded from his rank to that of a simple monk, and banished to the monastery of Therapontoff to spend the rest of his life in penance. In 1681 the new Czar, Theodore, consented to a scheme for his recall; but Nicon died on the journey to his own church of the New Jerusalem (a copy of the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem), in which he was finally buried.[1]

Czar Peter the Great accomplished a more remarkable change in the Russian Church, namely the abolition of the Patriarchate. Adrian (1690–1702) was the last patriarch; on his death a guardian was appointed. The archbishops in Russia and the Eastern patriarchs agreed to recommend the abolition of the office; and in 1720 it was definitely abolished, and in its stead a synod of prelates was instituted, as a governing body, appointed by the Czar. This body acts as the highest court of appeal in Church matters, examines and censures theological books, superintends all churches and convents, and conducts trials for ecclesiastical offences, etc. The Czar is represented in the synod by a lay procurator general, and on receiving the Czar's confirmation the decisions of the synod have the force of law.[2]

Peter the Great.

The Holy Synod.

Peter had to encounter much opposition from the Raskolinks, or Russian Dissenters, who had bitterly opposed the reforms of Nicon. Peter's introduction of pictures by Western artists, his improvements in Church singing

[1] See Dean Stanley's vivid account of Nicon in his "Eastern Church."
[2] See "The Russian Church and Clergy," *North British Review*, vol. liii.

CHURCH OF THE ASSUMPTION, MOSCOW.
Part of interior, showing Icons on pillars.
801

and in the calendar, and his attempts to forbid wearing beards, met with their most strenuous opposition on religious grounds. But Peter in the main carried his people with him, and the rebellions which arose were put down. He was able to introduce some remarkable provisions into the oath taken by the Russian bishops at consecrations, pledging them to put down pious frauds and culpable indolence. It is a striking commentary on the state of the Church as he found it, that such provisions should have been needed :—

Oath of the Bishops.

"I promise and vow that I will not suffer the monks to run from convent to convent. I will not, for the sake of gain, build, or suffer to be built, superfluous churches, or ordain superfluous clergy. I promise yearly, or at least once in three years, to require on my visitations that there may be erected no tombs of spurious saints. Impostors who go about possessed, with bare feet and in their shirts, I will give up to the civil authorities, that they may drive out the evil spirits from them with the knout. I will diligently endeavour to search out and put down all impostures, whether lay or clerical, practised under show of devotion. I will provide that honour be paid to God only, not to the holy pictures, and that no false miracles be ascribed to them."

PECTORAL ORNAMENT OF RUSSIAN BISHOP.

Peter was aided in his reforms by Theophanes, Metrophanes, and Demetrius of Rostoff, the author of "Lives of the Russian Saints." Another saint in the next generation was Ambrose, archbishop of Moscow, who made a new translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew. His death (1771) was violent and tragic, owing to his having ordered the removal of a sacred picture to which the people had crowded in such numbers as to endanger the public health, during a severe pestilence. In the empress Catharine's time Plato, the metropolitan of Moscow, with whom two such unlike men as Reginald Heber and Diderot were glad to converse, was famous throughout Europe. Philaret, who became metropolitan of Moscow in 1826, revived the spirit of asceticism, and of religious warfare and propagandism. The conquest of Poland afforded opportunities, which were taken advantage of, for reclaiming to the orthodox religion the Uniats, who had acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, though they had changed in little else from the principles of the Eastern Church. Missionary enterprise was aroused, and in recent years missions to Siberia, Kamschatka, and Japan have been successfully organised. Even in Western Europe and in the United States, Russian priests have gathered the members of the Eastern Church into congregations; and in 1879 a bishop was appointed to San Francisco, to supervise the congregations of the Pacific coast of North America.

Ambrose.

Plato.

Philaret.

Missions.

The Greek Church, as regards its main doctrines, is very much in the position of the early Church, and accepts the decrees of the first seven councils as we have already described them. Its great difference from the Western Church relates to the procession of the Holy Spirit, which, in accordance with the Nicene and Constantinople decisions, is from God the Father alone. On the question of Redemption, it holds that Christ has redeemed mankind, who had fallen by one original act of Adam; but God's grace is requisite to enable man to accept regeneration. It repudiates and censures the idea of priestly "indulgences." It also rejects the Romish doctrine of purgatory, believing in the existence of two separate places for the souls of the dead, where they await the resurrection and the final judgment. But prayers for the dead are admitted in hope that they may benefit them, through the mercy of God. The Greek Church also allows prayer to the Virgin Mary and to saints and martyrs, for their intercession, although it is by no means held that they have already attained heaven. **Doctrines.**

The Sacraments recognised by the Greek Church are seven, the same as those of the Latin Church. Four of these—Baptism, the Eucharist, ordination by laying on of hands, and penance—they regard as directly instituted by Christ. The other three are marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction, which are derived from the New Testament and the primitive Church. Baptism is by immersion of the body three times in succession; infants are baptised on the eighth day. It is believed that baptism entirely destroys original sin. Confirmation takes place at once after baptism, with anointing by holy ointment. In the Eucharist both (leavened) bread and wine are partaken of by all communicants, excepting infants, who receive only the wine. It is believed that the elements are changed into the body and blood of Christ, which are really received by the faithful. The consecrated bread does not, however, receive the same special veneration as in the Romish Church; when it is carried to the sick, the priests do not prostrate themselves before it, nor do they carry it in procession. The sacrament of penance is preceded by confession of individual sins to the priest, and absolution is given, on condition of the discharge of penances imposed, in the form "May the Lord absolve thee!" **Sacraments.**

The Church is regarded as composed of those who profess and believe the articles of faith. Outside the visible Church it is declared that there is no salvation. The Church being under the continual inspiration of the Holy Spirit, cannot err in matters of faith. Bishops, priests, and deacons form the ministry. Four patriarchs—of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria—equal in rank, constitute the upper circle of bishops. The patriarchs may agree to issue directions for the whole Church, but their decisions are not held universally binding unless ratified by a general council of bishops. Bishops alone confer the sacrament of Orders. They must be unmarried, while priests or deacons must be married, and may not marry a second time. **Membership.** **The hierarchy.**

The term liturgy is specially given to the services of the mass, which,

as we have already mentioned, are in two forms, the shorter, named after St. John Chrysostom, and the longer after St. Basil. These are, it is true, in Greek or Slavonic according to the country, but in such antiquated dialects that they are but little understood by the people. The daily services vary enormously, consisting mainly of prayers adapted to each day, in all filling many large volumes, and so intricate that few

Liturgy and Services.

A RUSSIAN PRIEST BLESSING BUTTER AND EGGS AT EASTER.

priests are perfect in them. They are read in a low and indistinct voice, so as to be almost entirely inaudible to the congregation; and this goes with an absence of devotional behaviour in the congregation, and not infrequently in the clergy. What we should term sermons are little known, the principal substitute for them being the recital of the life of some saint, often full of fabulous details and miraculous stories.

All the bishops are monks, and the entire ecclesiastical administration is in Russia in the hands of the monks, or "black clergy." Although in the last century a large portion of the property of the monasteries was confiscated by the State, the monasteries which survive are well-to-do, receiving, besides State grants, large sums in the form of voluntary offerings. The monks are mainly conservative; their rules are still those of St. Basil, enjoining religious ceremonies, prayer, and contemplation, very unlike the active labour, either in industry, art, letters, or philanthropy, often incumbent on Western monks. The upper classes of the laity call the monks in most frequently to perform marriages, funerals, etc., and pay them proportionately higher fees than the "white clergy" can exact. There are still many hermits in Russia, greatly revered.

Monks.

The parish priest (called papa, or pope,) is usually the son of a parish priest; and being kept in a strictly subordinate position by the monks, he is antagonistic to the latter and little considerate of anything but the number of social or necessary religious ceremonies he can perform for fees. Of intellectual or spiritual knowledge he has usually very little. All wear long beards, with long hair parted down the middle, long over-garment with loose sleeves, and a longer under-garment reaching to the feet. They are collectively known as "white clergy."

Parish priests.

Almost every Russo-Greek church is built in a form of the Byzantine style,[1] with a cupola or dome, surmounted by a cross, over the east end, and a belfry at the west. There is a large antechapel or entrance-hall; a main building in which the worshippers stand (there being no seats); and an altar enclosure, raised two or three steps above the rest of the building, with a wall or screen near the front completely covered with icons or pictures of the saints within silver or chased metal plates, representing the clothing of the saints, through which the painting of the face, hands, and feet is visible.[2] The four main pillars of the church are also completely covered with icons. (See our illustration p. 801.) In front of each icon is a candelabrum of great size, capable of containing thirty or forty candles. In the centre of this screen is a large double door, which is open during service, and behind which the priest stands during the liturgy. The whole space behind this is called the altar,

Style of churches.

Icons, or Images.

[1] We can only briefly mention the magnificent Kremlin in Moscow, in which are united all the elements of the ancient religious life of Russia. "Side by side stand the three cathedrals of the marriages, coronations, and funerals of the Czars. Hard by are the two convents, half palatial, half episcopal. Overhanging all is the double, triple palace of czar and patriarch. Within that palace is a labyrinth of fourteen chapels, multiplied by sovereign after sovereign, till the Imperial residence has been more like the dwelling-place of a pope than of a prince."—Stanley's *Eastern Church.*

[2] Respecting the adoration of images, Dean Milman wrote: "The ruder the art, the more intense the superstition. . . . There is more direct idolatry paid to the rough and ill-shapen image, or the flat unrelieved and staring picture—the former actually clothed in gaudy and tinsel ornaments, the latter with the crown of gold leaf on the head, and real or artificial flowers in the hand—than to the noblest ideal statue, or the Holy Family with all the magic of light and shade. They are not the fine paintings which work miracles, but the coarse and smoke-darkened boards, on which the dim outline of form is hardly to be traced. Thus it may be said that it was the superstition which required the images, rather than the images which formed the superstition."

containing a square table called the throne, which corresponds with the altar of the Roman Church; on this are placed the gospels, a gilt cross for the congregation to kiss, the box containing the elements of the Eucharist, and a silk handkerchief containing a very special piece of silk or linen about fifteen inches square, having stamped on it a representation of the burial of Christ. This emblem is called an *antimins*, and is essential to the existence of the church, being consecrated by the archbishop of the

The altar.

CHURCH OF ST. BASIL, MOSCOW.

diocese, and conveying his blessing to the building. A minute portion of some holy relic, anointed with consecrated oil, is fixed on that side of the *antimins* which is turned towards the east. The altar coverings are of special value and symbolical importance; one complete linen covering, made in the form of a cross, symbolises the linen clothes of the Saviour in His tomb; another very rich one signifies the glory of God. Within the altar there is another table, on the north side, called the altar of sacrifice, on which are

placed the holy vessels, together with a spear, in memory of that which pierced the Saviour's side, which is used for cutting small triangular portions of bread for the sacrament, the spoon for administering the sacrament, etc. The priests even put on their canonicals in the altar, and perform most of the service standing and moving about in it, little heard by the congregation. Infants are baptised and anointed, when the ceremony is not performed in the parents' house, in front of the central doors of the altar. The sacrament is administered at the steps. Confessions are heard, not in an enclosed box, but in corners of the building, face to face. Priests are ordained in the altar; marriage and burial services take place in the body of the church. The priestly garments include the alb, a kind of frock with loose sleeves, laced cuffs, belt, stole, chasuble, and a special square piece of brocade worn by older priests, hanging from one shoulder (the *epigonation*).

The fasts of the Greek Church are numerous, and far more rigorously kept than in Western Europe. During the whole of Lent every article of food that can be traced to any animal, except fish, is proscribed; and many abstain even from fish. Even milk and butter are not used. **Fasts.** In the fourth week of Lent special preparation is made for the communion by those who only communicate once or twice a year, and long services, confessions, and special fastings are indulged in. All government officials are obliged to attend confession and communion at least once a year, and the marriage ceremony cannot be legally performed if either party has failed to attend communion during the preceding year. **Yearly communion.** There are many crimes and sins which are punished by exclusion from communion from one year to twenty years, such as marrying a second time (one year's exclusion), marrying a third time (four years), overlaying an infant (seven years), fortune-telling (six years), manslaughter (ten years), wilful murder (twenty years), etc. Before the administration of the sacrament, the communicants have to repeat after the priest a special form of creed, which indicates clearly the essential belief of the Greek Church:—

"I believe, Lord, and confess that Thou indeed art Christ, the Son of the living God, who camest into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief. I also believe that this is indeed Thy most pure body, and this Thy holy blood. I therefore pray Thee to have mercy on me, and to forgive me all my sins, voluntary and involuntary, by word, by deed, by knowledge or ignorance; and grant me worthily and blamelessly to partake of Thy most pure Sacrament, for the remission of sins and for life everlasting. Receive me this day, O Son of God, as a partaker of Thy last supper. For not as a secret enemy, I approach, not with the kiss of Judas, but like the thief I confess Thee, 'Lord, remember me in Thy kingdom.' And may the communion of Thy holy sacrament be not to my judgment and condemnation, but to the healing of my soul and body. Amen."

The priest then takes a morsel of the consecrated bread in the spoon, with a little wine, and puts it in the communicant's mouth, with the words, "The servant of God (So-and-so) communicates in the name of the Father," etc.; while the choir sings, "Receive ye the body of Christ; taste ye the fount of everlasting life." The deacon holds a handkerchief under the chin of the

communicant to catch any stray drop, and wipes his mouth afterwards. The communicant kisses the edge of the cup, and then goes to a side table and takes a little warm wine and water as a rinsing, giving an offering according to his means; he then goes to private devotion till all have communicated. The second general communion is during the Assumption Fast, which extends from August 1st to 13th. There are two other fasts: one, the Petroffsky, from Trinity Monday to St. Peter's Day, 29th of June; the other, the Christmas or Philip Fast, from 15th November (St. Philip's Day) to Christmas Day. Wednesdays and Fridays almost throughout the year are also fast days.

PALM SUNDAY IN ST. PETERSBURG.

Extreme unction.

The sacrament of extreme unction is administered to adults, followed by confession and communion. It should be performed by seven priests, but one priest may perform it where there are not seven to be found. It may be performed in church, when a person suffers from an incurable disease which does not prevent his leaving the house. The service is very long; the oil (mixed with wine, in remembrance of the Good Samaritan) is specially blessed, and the sick person is anointed, with the sign of the cross, on forehead, nostrils, cheeks, lips, breast, and hands, while a prayer for his recovery is read. This ceremony is gone through seven times, each time by a fresh priest if seven are present, or by turns if

there are two or more; the epistles and gospels read differ for each occasion. Mercifully, after so long a service, the confession and communion services which follow are greatly shortened. Later there may be said a unique service termed "A form of prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ and to the most pure Mother of our Lord, at the separation of the soul and body of every orthodox believer." It largely consists of short psalms or their first verses, and other texts of Scripture, with a commendatory prayer in which, however, the Virgin Mary is not mentioned. When the patient is very near death, a saint's picture is placed behind his pillow[1] and a lighted taper at the head of the bed. Violent sobbing and weeping, by both men and women, follow death.

Many interesting details accompany preparation for burial. A crucifix and tall candlesticks are fetched from the church, and priest and deacon perform a requiem twice a day, and a reader with an assistant reads prayers incessantly over the corpse till the day of burial. Visits of condolence are very numerous; alms are distributed to beggars by the well-to-do. The shallow coffin, broad at the head, narrows to the other end, and stands on four little feet. A final requiem is performed in the house on the morning of the funeral, and the body is often put into the coffin then, by the nearest relatives, not by the undertaker or servants. Every friend and member of the family attends the funeral. The relatives kiss and take leave of the deceased at home; the coffin lid is not yet put on, for it is carried in the funeral procession next behind the cross. The priests, singers, etc., precede the coffin, all males bare-headed in the severest frosts. The coffin is taken to church, and mass is said, followed by a very long service, at the end of which the priest places in the deceased's hand a printed prayer, a sort of absolution, in Slavonic, after having read it aloud. Then again mourners, friends, priests, etc., in turn kiss the deceased for the last time. The coffin is carried to the grave, and only then is the lid fixed on the coffin, generally by two pegs. The priest, taking a handful of earth, throws it on the coffin, with the words, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, and the wide world, and they that dwell therein." After a very short chant, and a blessing, all is concluded by each member of the family throwing a handful of earth on the coffin.

Burial.

Persons of means have evensong, matins and mass performed every day for forty days after a death, and there are special requiems on the ninth, twentieth, and fortieth days at the grave. On the last occasion the funeral

[1] Dean Stanley thus describes the influence of sacred pictures in Russia: "Everywhere, in public and in private, the sacred picture is the consecrating element. In the corner of every room, at the corner of every street, over gateways, in offices, in steamers, in stations, in taverns, is the picture hung, with the lamp burning before it. In domestic life it plays the part of the family Bible, of the wedding gift, of the birthday present, of the ancestral portrait: In the national life it is the watchword, the flag which has supported the courage of generals and roused the patriotism of troops. . . . Enter within any church such as those at Moscow, which best represent the national feeling. There the veneration has reached a pitch which gives an aspect to the whole building unlike any European church. From top to bottom, from side to side, walls and roof and screen and columns are a mass of gilded pictures; not one of any artistic value, but all cast in the same ancient mould."

proceedings are almost entirely repeated. Requiems are again performed on the name-day and anniversary of the death; but requiems are not performed at all for little children before the age for confession. As a fee to priests, deacons, etc., accompanies each of the celebrations, which are only a type of many more, it will be seen how interested they must be in keeping up the formal ceremonies of the Church, and how full their lives are of professional routine.

In Russia the Czar is the real head of the Church, and his personality is most sacred. At his coronation, preceded by fasting and seclusion, he first recites the confession of the faith of the Church, then offers up the prayer of intercession for the empire, places the crown on his own head, and then enters the sanctuary and himself takes from the altar the sacred elements, and communicates with bishops and clergy. This takes place in the patriarchal cathedral, the church of the Assumption or Repose of the Virgin, crowded with the most sacred pictures in Russia, the burial-place of the primates (see p. 801).

The Czar's position.

Yet in Russia there are millions of dissenters from the Orthodox Church.[1] These Raskolinks, or Separatists, to some extent date from earlier times, but were most largely reinforced in the time of Nicon, by antagonism to all his innovations. The most numerous body of them, the Staroviertz, or Old Believers, regard themselves as the really orthodox, who follow the Bible and acknowledge only the early councils. They re-baptise their converts from the State Church, which they regard as the Babylon of the Revelation; and it is essential that they should repudiate the heresies of Nicon, especially his form of benediction with three fingers instead of two. They restore the word "holy" in the Nicene Creed, before the description of the "Lord and Giver of life," and maintain the unauthentic expression, "one baptism *by fire* for the remission of sins." They reverence the patriarchal cathedral at Moscow, which contains the icon of no saint later than Nicon, and once a year many of them come to gaze on it at Easter. Many of them still receive ordained priests from the State Church, while otherwise excluding all innovations. The greater number of the conservative dissenters live along the Volga and the Don. The total number of the Staroviertz may be several millions, and they far outnumber all the other sects, who may be counted by hundreds.

Dissenters.

The Old Believers.

Some sects of dissenters have no ordained priests, and their members only conduct services so far as they can be carried without an altar and a priest. They still possess a few drops of ancient consecrated oil and eucharistic elements. It is disputed whether they should be regarded as the extreme wing of the Old Believers; but they themselves reject the latter, as well as the Orthodox Church, as Antichrist. A number of the sects are extremely ascetic. One is known as the Skopzi, or Eunuchs, who believe that Christ took the form of the Czar Peter III., was a member of their sect, and has never died, but will one day return and will reign over them. They disbelieve in the resurrection of the body, meet secretly on

Other sects.

[1] See "The Sects of the Russian Church," *North British Review*, vol. liii.

Saturday nights, and keep Easter as their only festival, by eating bread consecrated by having been buried in the grave of one of their apostles. They believe that God has revealed Himself in Christ, who was not Himself God, and that He also reveals Himself continually as the Holy Ghost in themselves, who are the true Christians. One peculiar sect, the Dumb, become speechless on conversion, but retain their other habits, though they refuse the sacraments. There are other sects named Flagellants and Self-Burners.

The spiritual or spiritualistic sects are also numerous. Many conform outwardly to the orthodox worship, but really care nothing for its forms and ceremonies. The Sabbatniki, who keep Saturday instead of Sunday, regard the Mosaic law as the sole Divine revelation, consider Christ as only a divinely inspired prophet, and look for a Messiah to come. The Duchoborzi and Molokani sprang from a common stock, but are now at variance. The name Duchoborzi means warriors for the light or Spirit; that of the Molokani signifies milk-consumers, from their taking milk on fast days. "The Molokani," says Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, in his "Russia," "take as their model the early Apostolic Church, as depicted in the New Testament, and uncompromisingly reject all later authorities. They have no hierarchy, and no paid clergy, but choose from among themselves a presbyter and two assistants, men well known among the brethren for their exemplary life and their knowledge of the Scriptures, whose duty it is to watch over the religious and moral welfare of the flock. On Sundays they hold meetings in private houses, and spend two or three hours in psalm-singing, prayer, reading the Scriptures, and friendly conversation on religious subjects." Severe moral supervision is exercised over the members, who, however, mutually assist one another in a most praiseworthy manner. They baptise their children, but only as a symbolical cleansing, have no confirmation, and although they celebrate the communion in memory of Christ, do not require participation in it. Penance, marriage, and extreme unction are not counted sacraments. The Duchoborzi have tenets much more speculative and mystic than the Molokani, which we have not space to detail. They recognise neither priesthood nor sacraments, keep neither Sundays nor festivals, but meet on fixed days for very simple prayer and worship. They have a strong tendency towards socialism, and are reputed to be very moral, and admirable in their family relations.

The Sabbatniki.

The Molokani.

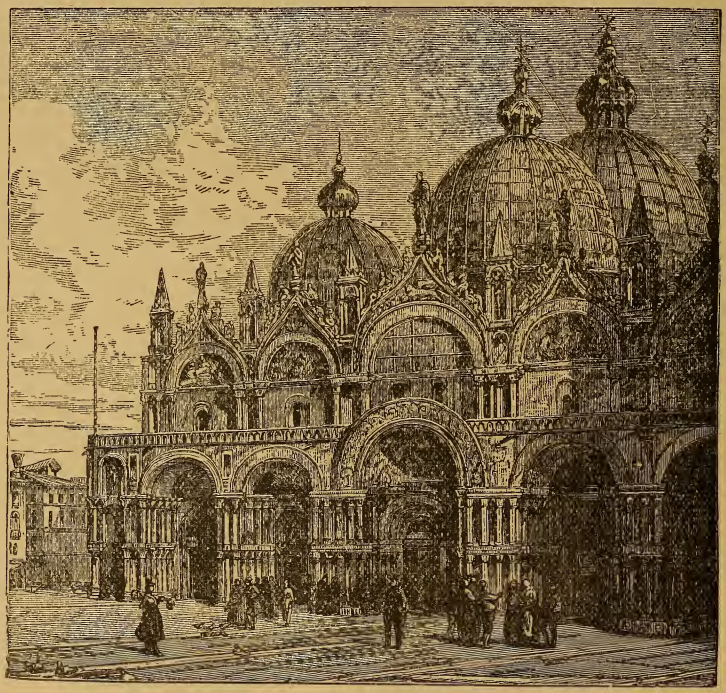
The Duchoborzi.

There are other sects in which nervous excitement is the main phenomenon of religion; but as these add very little to our ideas about religion beyond showing how in advanced communities we may meet with the characteristics of lower religious grades, we do not detail their practices. Some other sects, such as the Mennonites, who are widely distributed in other countries besides Russia, are truly Protestants, and we therefore do not mention them here.

We have already referred to the monasteries and black clergy of Russia. Those of Greece follow the same rule, that of St. Basil, the monks performing all the chief occupations between them. The most

Mount Athos.

celebrated monasteries of the Eastern Church are, however, those of Mount Athos, or the Holy Mountain, some of which were founded in the time of Constantine. Each nation professing the orthodox faith is represented by one or more monasteries of its own, twenty in all, and to it come pilgrims from all "orthodox" Eastern Churches. The mountain is almost self-governed, by twenty deputies, one from each convent, and four presidents, changed every year. Only a small number of the monks are in holy orders, the rest being lay monks. Ten of the monasteries are *cœnobite*, all members living in common. Nearly half the days in the year are fast days, on which only one meal is taken, of bread, vegetables, and water. The abbot, chosen for life, governs the cœnobites; but the other monasteries are administered by two or three wardens elected annually, and each member adds to the common fare what he can afford to buy. There are also many places of ascetic retirement on the mountain, every nook being either occupied by a hermitage or a small chapel. The services in the convent churches last six or seven hours a day, while on great festivals and fasts they occupy twelve hours or more. The entire number of monks on Mount Athos is about 3000.



ST. MARK'S, VENICE.
(*Mainly Byzantine in style.*)

POPE GREGORY VII. (HILDEBRAND).

CHAPTER IX.

The Roman Church in the Middle Ages.

Hildebrand—Leo IX.—The College of Cardinals—Hildebrand made Pope Gregory VII.—The Dictate—Henry IV. at Canossa—Concordat of Worms—First Lateran Council—Lanfranc and Anselm—Second and Third Lateran Councils—Pope Innocent III.—Fourth Lateran Council—Transubstantiation and Confession—Saint Louis—Second Council of Lyons—Pope Boniface VIII.—The Bull "Unam Sanctam"—The Babylonian Captivity at Avignon—Heresy of John XXII.—The "beatific vision"—Rival Popes—John Gerson—Council of Pisa—Dawn of the Reformation—The dispensing power—Papal legates—Power of the keys—Penance—Indulgences—Supererogation—Relics as charms—Pilgrimages—Miracles—Mariolatry—The "real presence"—Elevation and adoration of the Host—Noble Christian works—Scholastic Theology—Abelard—Thomas Aquinas—Duns Scotus—Roger Bacon—William Durand—William of Occam—Degeneracy of Monasticism—Cluniac congregation—Carthusians and Cistercians—Hospitallers—Brethren of St. John—The Templars—Carmelites—Mathurins—Order of Mercy—St. Dominic—The Dominicans—St. Francis of Assisi—St. Clara—The Franciscans or Minorites—The Sacred Stigmata—Bonaventura—Corruptions—The Spirituals—Millennial Prophecy—The Fraticelli—Conventuals and Observants—The Minims—Béguines and Beghards.

FROM the tenth century onward there were many important events in Church history, but they were largely of a political nature, concerned with the control the Church sought to exercise over princes and States. The

first great name is that of Hildebrand (afterwards Pope Gregory VII.), born in Italy early in the eleventh century, becoming a monk of Clugny, in France, and thence developing the policy of the subserviency of the State to the Church. He was at first the chief minister of Pope Leo IX., who held a council of French bishops in 1049, at Rheims, which acknowledged him as apostolic pontiff and primate of the whole Church, and accepted the false Isidorian decretals as Church law. Leo carried his assertion of Church power and rights very far; but Hildebrand, as the active spirit under several succeeding Popes, in 1061 greatly reduced the Emperor's influence in the choice of a Pope by the establishment of the elective body at Rome, afterwards so well known as the *College of Cardinals*. The cardinals, or chief bishops and clergy, had been so named, even in Gregory the Great's time; and in Rome the title was applied to the priests of the parish churches. They were the cardinal priests, to whom were added the cardinal bishops (seven) of the Pope's own province, who assisted at St. Peter's. The cardinal bishops were appointed to consult together about an election, and then consult the cardinal priests; and the Emperor's right of confirming the election was recognised in a very qualified manner, as a grant given him personally by the Apostolic See.

Hildebrand. Pope Leo IX. The College of Cardinals.

Hildebrand became Pope in 1073, and at once asserted boldly the Church's independence of all outside control, her sovereignty over all worldly powers, as well as the rule of the Papacy over the whole Church. In the "Dictate" which represents his attitude, it is affirmed that "the Roman pontiff alone is universal bishop. To him alone it belongs to depose or to reconcile bishops; and he may depose them in their absence, and without the concurrence of a synod. He alone is entitled to frame new laws for the Church—to divide or unite bishoprics, or translate bishops. He alone may use the insignia of empire; all princes are bound to kiss his feet; he has the right to depose Emperors, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance. His power supersedes the diocesan authority of bishops. He may revise all judgments, and from his sentence there is no appeal. All appeals to him must be respected, and to him the greater causes of every Church must be referred. No Council may be styled General without his command. The Roman Church never has erred, and as Scripture testifies, never will err. The Pope is above all judgment, and by the merits of St. Peter, is undoubtedly rendered holy."

Hildebrand made Pope Gregory VII. The Dictate.

Gregory exerted himself vigorously to put down simony and enforce celibacy among the clergy. He was successful in putting down the Emperor's right to confer investiture on bishops; and he had the triumph of seeing the Emperor Henry IV. at Canossa, waiting three days, barefooted, in an open court, in winter (Jan. 1077), to tender his submission to him. Gregory died (1085) after excommunicating the Emperor and the anti-pope Clement III., whom he had set up. The next Popes made the Crusades turn to their advantage in enforcing their high claims; and the clergy generally gained renewed hold on nobles and people by the vows

Henry IV. at Canossa.

and penances laid on them. *The Concordat of Worms* (1122), between Pope Calixtus II. and the Emperor Henry V., was a compromise which gave the real victory to the Papacy, while allowing prelates to receive their temporalities from the Emperor. The pact was confirmed by the first Lateran Council (ninth œcumenical of the Romans), 1123.

Concordat of Worms.

First Lateran Council.

In England Lanfranc supported William I. in his resistance to Roman encroachment; but Anselm, an Italian like Lanfranc, who succeeded him as Abbot of Bec, in Normandy, and afterwards as Archbishop of Canterbury (1093), maintained and secured the full Papal claims, although he had to leave to Henry I. his power of nominating bishops and

Lanfranc and Anselm.

HENRY IV. IN THE COURTYARD AT CANOSSA.

his feudal rights over the clergy. In power of thought Anselm was almost a second Augustine, and has been termed the founder of natural theology. He held that belief must precede knowledge, and that the truth concerning God is the foundation and end of all knowledge. His "Proslogion," with the motto, "Faith seeking Understanding," sought to demonstrate the existence of God from the following thesis: "God is that than which none greater can be conceived; and he who well understands this will understand that the Divine Being exists in such a manner that His non-existence cannot even be conceived." His "Cur Deus Homo?" is a treatise of fundamental importance on the question of the Incarnation. His "Meditations"

and "Letters" show sympathy, fervour, and humble faith. He died in 1109. He is by some termed the founder of Scholastic Theology, by others the founder of modern Systematic Theology.

We must only briefly note some of the further stages in the progress and decline of the Papal supremacy. The Second Lateran Council (1139), among other acts, condemned Arnold of Brescia, who preached in favour of a spiritual Church, maintained only by spiritual means, and hence advocated the confiscation of the wealth of the Church. Pope Alexander III. (1159–1181), in rivalry with successive anti-popes, showed great art and patience in carrying out the views which Hildebrand had enforced more violently. In alliance with him, Thomas Becket subdued Henry II., of England, to the Roman claims. The third Lateran Council (1179) settled that the election of Popes was to be entirely in the hands of the cardinals, to whom were added certain officials among the Roman clergy. Two-thirds of the votes were required for an election. This council was the first which sanctioned crusades against heretics, the Albigenses, and others. (See next chapter.)

Second Lateran Council.

Third Lateran Council.

Pope Innocent III., elected in 1198, carried the Papal power to its highest elevation. He was extraordinarily skilful in adapting or quoting Scripture to support any of his pretensions. In his books "On the Sacred Mystery of the Altar" he took the highest ground as to the superiority of St. Peter and his successors at Rome over all the Apostles and bishops. Privately he was bountiful, magnanimous, hot-tempered, but easily appeased, a lover of poetry and music; publicly, though he affected extravagant humility, he upheld the sternest and proudest claims ever put forward in the Papacy. Over the rulers as well as Churches of Germany, England, France, Spain, and other countries he successfully asserted unlimited supremacy. Even the Armenian Church entered into communication with Rome, and its patriarch accepted a bull from Innocent, and agreed to take part in Papal councils. The fifth crusade (1199) led to the capture of Constantinople, and setting up of a Latin Empire there, which, however, only increased the hostility between the Greek and Roman Churches. He encouraged the military orders, which added to the dominions of Christianity, the crusade against heretics, and the foundation of the mendicant orders. He not only endorsed the putting down of heresy by persecution and even death, but was so illiberal as to forbid the use of vernacular translations of the Scriptures by the laity, and to order them to be burnt. It had been found that the people, when they read the plain teaching of the Bible, readily pointed it against the pretensions, the luxury, and the corruption of the clergy, and hence such reading was found dangerous.

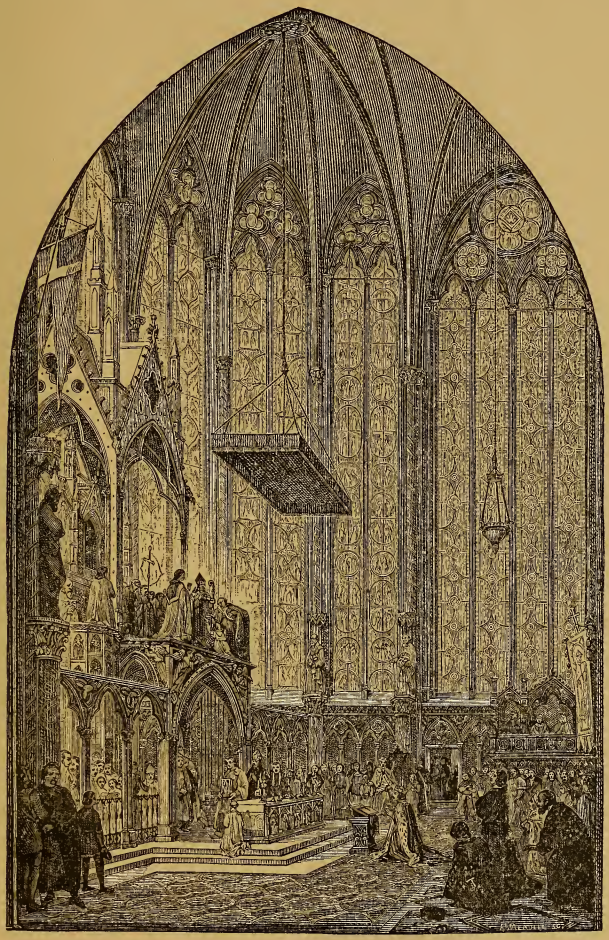
Pope Innocent III.

In 1215 Innocent held the fourth Lateran Council, which included in its 2283 members the (nominal) Patriarch of Jerusalem and claimants of the (Latin) patriarchate of Constantinople. This council, besides supporting the highest Papal claims, formally declared the doctrine of Transubstantiation, affirming that the body and blood of Christ are truly contained in the sacrament under the

Fourth Lateran Council.

Transubstantiation and Confession.

outward appearance of bread and wine, their very substance being changed by the power of God through the instrumentality of a priest duly ordained. The Council also fully sanctioned auricular confession, and made it obligatory on every Catholic to confess to his own parish priest at least once a year. Innocent died in 1216.



ST. LOUIS DEPOSITING IN THE SAINTE CHAPELLE AT PARIS THE RELICS BROUGHT FROM THE EAST.

Gregory IX. (1227–1241) and Boniface VIII. (1294–1303) were great popes who, with varying success, upheld the ideal of Innocent; but Louis IX. of France (1226–1270), who, though a layman, was canonised, and has received from Voltaire the testimony, "It is not given to man to carry virtue

to a higher point," successfully asserted the liberties of the Gallic Church,

Saint Louis.

and that "the king of France holdeth of no one save God and himself." His famous "Pragmatic[1] Sanction" (1269) forbad exactions by the pope, unless sanctioned by the king and the Gallic Church, and asserted the rights of Churches to elect their own bishops, and of patrons to exercise their patronage, without papal interference. He drove out the Jews and forbade usury, but did not confiscate their property. Though he believed heresy should be put down by the sword, he had no part in the cruelties practised in Languedoc. Gregory X., pope from 1271 to 1276,

Second Council of Lyons.

endeavoured to unite the Eastern and Western Churches at the Second Council of Lyons (1274), which was attended by ambassadors from Michael Paleologus, the Greek Emperor then seated at Constantinople. They agreed on his behalf to the Roman doctrines and ceremonies, accepted the primacy of the pope, and chanted the Nicene Creed with the "Filioque" article; but all this was fruitless in producing a formal or real union. The Council also established a fixed rule for the papal election by the assembly of cardinals, who were to be shut up in one room (*conclave*, a room under lock and key), each with one attendant, and confined until the election was made.

Benedict Gaetani, who as pope took the title Boniface VIII., was a learned but arrogant and passionate prelate, who by a succession of "Bulls"

Pope Boniface VIII.

reasserted the highest claims of the papacy. His famous Bull, entitled, from its first words, "Unam Sanctam," asserted the unity

The Bull "Unam Sanctam."

of the Church under one head, the Vicar of Christ, wielding the "two swords" which Christ declared to be "enough," namely the spiritual and the temporal; and that the temporal power is to be subject to the spiritual. The Bull concluded with the declaration that "it is absolutely necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff!" This extreme straining of the papal power was the precursor of its declension, and of the long "Babylonian captivity" which

The "Babylonian Captivity" at Avignon.

followed (1304–1378), during which the popes were seated, not at Rome, but at Avignon, and the papal court was practically in subjection to France. One of the popes of this time, John XXII. (1316–1334), incurred a charge of heresy on a new ground in our subject,

Heresy of John XXII.

the doctrine of the intermediate state between death and the resurrection. He held with several early Fathers, that the souls of the righteous do not see God or attain perfect bliss till after the resurrection of the body; and he was reported to have said that the Virgin Mary could only behold the humanity, not the divinity, of her Son, until the end of this dispensation. The Paris theological faculty gave a decision on this point which stated that the souls of the faithful dead (on their release from purgatory, if they needed purgation) are caught up to the "beatific vision"

The "Beatific Vision."

of the Trinity, and perfectly enjoy the Blessed Deity. While this was being discussed, the pope died, at the age of 90 (1334). The

[1] The term "pragmatic" signified an edict issued after consultation (*pragma*) with the king's counsellors.

return of the pope to Rome in 1377, at the entreaty of St. Catherine of Siena, was followed by the great papal schism (1378–1417), during which rival popes at Rome and Avignon divided the allegiance of the faithful. Gross evils increased in the papacy and hierarchy, and already the Reformation was dawning in the persons of Wyclif, Jerome of Prague, and John Huss. The famous John Gerson in 1404–9 contributed to settle the schism by suggesting that when there were rival popes, the Church, by the cardinals or even by faithful laymen, might resume the power to call a general Council to settle the difficulty; and he greatly lowered the papal claims. The council, which met at Pisa in 1409, deposed both popes, and thus struck vitally at the papal authority by asserting that a general Council was superior to the papacy. But while the two deposed popes continued to act, the new pope, Alexander V., lavished offices on the Franciscans, and gave the mendicant orders the right to hear confessions and administer the sacraments independently of bishops and parish priests. The accession of John XXIII. in 1410, followed by the Council of Constance in 1414, at which John Huss was condemned, brings in the period of the Reformation.

Rival Popes.

John Gerson.

Council of Pisa.

Dawn of the Reformation.

We have sufficiently indicated the growth of the papal and priestly claims, together with the wealth of the Church. Perhaps the most injurious action of the papacy in reference to the welfare of mankind, was in its assumption of the "dispensing power," as it was termed, by which the pope not only granted indemnity for past offences, but even for future ones. The marriage laws and the sacredness of oaths were thus placed at the mercy of a man who too often showed himself venal. And when the papal legates in various countries usurped the papal functions, and acted as autocrats wherever they went, it is not wonderful that the people revolted. In the letters of St. Bernard we find such pictures as these: "Your legate has passed from nation to nation, everywhere leaving foul and horrible traces among us. . . . He is reported everywhere to have committed disgraceful deeds, to have carried off the spoils of the Church, to have advanced pretty little boys to ecclesiastical honours. . . . Many have bought themselves off, that he might not come to them; those whom he could not visit, he taxed and squeezed by his messengers." The Roman court became full of rich prelates and priests, whose worldliness and evil practices were worse than the worst things recorded of the Pharisees. The superstition of the people, especially the rich, led them to give or bequeath their property to the Church, either in remorse for their misdeeds, or to secure benefits in the world to come. The crusades, about which we cannot speak in detail, ministered to this increase of wealth; for the Church often bought lands at a low price from crusaders in want of money. Tithes on land were paid for Church purposes from the eighth century onwards, and were also largely paid on the earnings of trades and professions. Pluralities became frequent, and the holders lived in state at courts; and there were many clergy occupied as the chaplains of great men, who rejected the discipline

The dispensing power.

Papal legates.

of bishops, and contributed to bring the Church into ill repute. The people came to despise the regular clergy for the most part, and to accept only the ministrations of the monks, and later of the mendicant orders. The Scriptures were little studied, though copies were highly valued, and the people knew more of the lives of the saints than of the Bible. One of the chief sources of popular religious knowledge was the performance of Miracle-plays or Mysteries.

Sacramentalism of the mechanical sort became a substitute for heart-felt religion. The prescription of auricular confession, at least once a year, threw enormous power into the priests' hands. Previously to the thirteenth century, the form of absolution had been in the form of a prayer, which marked that the power of forgiveness belonged to God alone; but the change from "May God grant thee absolution and remission," to "I absolve thee," made all the difference in the influence of the priest on the mind of the person confessing; and this was further increased by the doctrine that remission was given, in spite of any evil in the priest. The power of imposing penances as satisfaction for sin, in addition to the merits of Christ, and the Church's absolution, gave rise to vast abuses. Penalties, beneficial, burdensome, or trivial, were imposed at the will of the priest, and correspondingly relieved the mind of the sinner. Pilgrimages, gifts, the founding of churches and monasteries, fasts, flagellation, and various forms of self-mortification, were among the penalties thus imposed. But perhaps the worst form which the priestly power took was the granting of indulgences, at first for specific offences, but afterwards for all sins, in consideration of special services or gifts to the Church. Gregory VII. in 1080 promised plenary indulgence for all sins to those who supported Henry IV.'s rival, Rudolf; and Urban II., in 1095, granted the same to all who should join the First Crusade. The idea that priests could remit penalties, not only in this world, but in the world to come, grew apace, and brought back or condoned a state of things which began to rival the worst state of heathen Rome. And beyond even the granting of indulgences, there grew up a theory that the Church could grant to deserving penitents some of the merits accumulated by the sufferings and good deeds of the faithful, and of Christ Himself. The scholastic divines, of whom we shall presently speak, elaborated this into the "Treasury of Supererogation," on which the Church could draw, in virtue of the power of the keys, not only for the benefit of the living, but also of the dead in purgatory; though they laid most stress on the merits of Christ Himself as availing in this respect. As to purgatory (or the state of those who die imperfect Christians), the sufferings of the departed therein were held to be mitigable by the faith and the prayers of their living friends and of the Church; and the prayers of the latter were largely secured by payments and works of charity or of value to the Church. Indulgences were granted for limited periods and on very slight proof of penitence by many monks and mendicant friars, and the Dominicans introduced the use of the rosary, a string of beads for count-

Power of the Keys.

Penance.

Indulgences.

Supererogation.

ing the number of prayers, the recitation of a fixed number sufficing to procure an indulgence. The open sale of indulgences, followed by the increase of impostors who assumed the garb of mendicant friars, and offered the pardon of all sins for the merest trifle, while by their clever talking they deceived the ignorant, at length proved to be one of the most powerful influences which started the Reformation. The sale of relics, often supposed

AMIENS CATHEDRAL (1220).

to be brought back from the Holy Land, attained large proportions, and supplied the masses with charms supposed to ward off or cure diseases and protect from other evils. Pilgrimages, not merely to Palestine, but to Rome, or to famous shrines, such as that of St. James at Compostella in Spain, were a common mode of atoning for crimes, or obtaining plenary indulgences; but not infrequently these vows,

Relics as charms.

Pilgrimages.

made in danger or illness, were commuted, for money payments, in favour of less onerous ones. At the shrines of the saints, many miracles were reported and believed to be performed on the sick who waited and prayed.

Miracles. It would be fruitless to detail the long list of marvellous phenomena reported to have been displayed by sacred pictures and statues, miraculous appearances, and phenomena of bleeding wounds, stigmata, etc., produced on believers. Mental impressions, hysterical imaginings, credulity, and deceit, all combined to render the belief in such phenomena almost universal. Thus it was natural that the worship before such pictures and statues as were reputed miraculous, should in many cases become indistinguishable from worship of the pictures and statues themselves; and that the saints represented by them, or the patron saints of churches and places, should be regarded almost as divine.

Every exaltation of the saints was reflected in a further exaltation of the honour paid to the Virgin Mary. The use of the term "Mother of God"

Mariolatry. (see pp. 769, 781) powerfully promoted the tendency to pray to her as a female mediator, and festivals in her honour were multiplied. The "Annunciation" festival, popularly "Lady Day," was established probably in the fifth century; then followed the Nativity of the Virgin (Sept. 8). Instead of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Mary's "Purification" was celebrated, and still later her imagined "Presentation," or dedication to the Temple service, was kept as a festival. It was conjectured in the fourth and fifth centuries that she had never died; and in 813, at the Council of Mainz, the "Assumption" of the Virgin was instituted as a festival. One order after another of monks took her for their patron saint. Preachers vied with one another in extolling her merits, and exciting the people to worship her. She was described as "the Queen of Heaven," and the language of the Song of Solomon was freely applied to her. The scheme of creation and redemption by Christ was brought about "through her, and in her, and of her, and with her," so that "as without Him nothing was made, so without her nothing should be made." The Assumption is described as "that sublime day on which the royal Virgin was carried to the throne of God the Father, and enthroned on the very seat of the Trinity." Her mediation was represented as all-powerful, and even authoritative. "Thou approachest to that golden altar of man's reconciliation, not only asking, but commanding." So preached Peter Damiani, the great friend of Pope Gregory VII. And St. Bernard says that "God has willed that we should have all things through Mary. . . . Have recourse to Mary. He will hear her as a son his mother, and the Father will hear the Son;" and a new technical term was invented to signify the adoration that might be paid to her. The monasteries and the churches generally adopted special forms of service in her honour, and to pray for her intercession and help, known as the "Office of St. Mary." Saturday was a special day for masses in her honour; and in 1095 Urban II., at the Council of Clermont appointed her "Hours" to be said daily, and her "Office" on Saturdays. The Salutation of the angel to her, "Ave Maria," was repeated

continually, and was gradually expanded in later centuries to its present form. The Dominicans brought in the use of the rosary, for counting by means of beads the number of "aves" recited with prayers for the Virgin's intercession in the hour of death. The rosary of 150 beads was divided into sets of ten; each bead passed signified an "ave" recited, and after every ten "aves" the Lord's Prayer ("Pater Noster") was said: the whole concluded with the Creed ("Credo"). The thirteenth century produced the "Marian Psalter," lesser and greater, in which the Psalms and Scriptures generally were adapted to express the perfection of the Virgin. Thus, "The Lord said to our Lady, Sit, Mother, on My right hand . . . thou shalt reign with Me for ever." As early as the sixth century she had been regarded as free from actual sin, though not from "original sin." About the end of the thirteenth century it was proposed to establish a festival of her "Conception" as being holy and sinless; but St. Bernard strongly censured this, though he says that "beyond all doubt the Mother of the Lord was holy before she was born." The University of Paris declared the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin a probable opinion in 1387; but it was reserved for the present century to see this elevated into an article of faith, when in 1854 Pope Pius IX. declared dogmatically that the Virgin had been conceived immaculately, and was absolutely exempt from both original and actual sin, and that to contradict this is heresy.

We have already noted the enunciation of the doctrine of the "real presence" and of "transubstantiation" in the Eucharist, and cannot here note all the stages and forms which the discussion assumed, especially in connection with Berengarius of Tours, in the eleventh century, and his followers. When the doctrine had been finally settled by Thomas Aquinas in its materialistic form, greater sanctity attached to the elements of the Eucharist. Infant communion became less frequent, and was at last discontinued. Special precautions were taken against spilling or profaning in any way the wine changed into the very blood of Christ; and in the twelfth century the withholding of the cup entirely from the laity began, justified by such a principle as that of Anselm, "that the whole Christ is taken in either kind," and gradually this became the rule. In the eleventh century the elevation of the consecrated bread as the "Host," after consecration, was introduced; and after the Lateran decree, in 1215, this act was the signal for "adoration" of the present Christ, and all persons were bidden to kneel before it, whether in church or when it was carried to sick persons through the streets. Finally a special festival in honour of the Consecrated Host (Corpus Christi) was instituted, in 1264. The reverence and mystery attaching to the Sacrament caused the laity to communicate less frequently, and it became sufficient to communicate once a year; while masses said by the priests, for money payments, were supposed to be efficacious, whether the persons paying were present or not.

The "Real Presence."

Elevation and adoration of the "Host."

Yet we must do justice to the piety that lived in these ages, to the noble works that many Christians then achieved in the founding of hos-

pitals, in service to the poor, in the foundation of colleges and schools, and in the erection of magnificent monastic and ecclesiastical buildings. To these ages we owe our finest churches, in the successive styles of Gothic architecture—Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular—which it is the despair of modern architects to rival. Art took refuge in the monasteries, and produced statuary and carving in profusion, not deeming it profane to decorate churches with subjects of a secular nature. Stained glass, illuminated manuscripts, embroidered vestments and altar cloths, testify to the growing appreciation of art, zeal in artistic work, and consecration of it to divine service. No one should imagine that because some of the forms it took are not such as we appreciate, and many Churchmen of the middle ages were corrupt, that therefore piety was extinct or less real than in early or later days. Good men achieved marvels then as now, in spite of their imperfections and the corruption by which they were surrounded.

Noble Christian works.

The steps by which the Scholastic Theology was developed and connected with Arabian and Aristotelian learning would demand a lengthy recital: we can but note that medieval theologians based their systems very largely upon Aristotelian logic. The controversies of the Nominalists and Realists, of the Thomists (disciples of Thomas Aquinas) and Scotists (followers of Duns Scotus), if of minor interest now, were both necessary stages in the evolution of the present, and of great importance in their time. Somehow a deficiency was felt in the old presentations of doctrine, and it was sought to re-dress theology in a scientific logical form, granting the authority of Scripture and of the general councils.

Scholastic Theology.

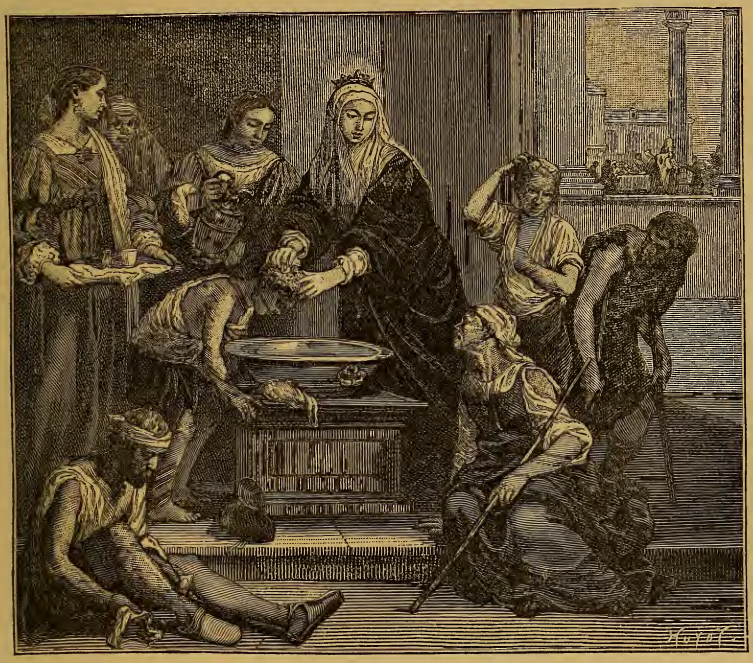
Peter Abelard (1079–1142), whose renown did much to promote the growth of the University of Paris, was the first great rationalist theologian, teaching "that nothing could be believed unless it was first understood, and that it was ridiculous for any one to preach to others that which neither he himself, nor those whom he taught, comprehended." His "Introduction to Theology" caused him to be denounced as a tritheist, and he had to stand alone against varied types of holy men, such as Roscellin, Norbert, and Bernard of Clairvaux. All through his theological teaching he called in question received opinions, without desiring to be unorthodox. He made a collection of 158 controverted questions, with the varied opinions of theologians contrasted and set opposite one another under the headings *Sic et non*. As a destructive critic his tendencies were rightly censured by the Church from its own point of view; but his teaching had considerable germinal influence, though overlaid by the more powerful orthodoxy of Thomas Aquinas.

Abelard.

The Schoolmen, properly so called, were the unflinching advocates of orthodox faith, and at the same time devoted to its reconcilement with or explanation by reasoning. Briefly noting the priors of the abbey of St. Victor, outside Paris, in the twelfth century, with their mottoes, "We can only know God by loving Him," and "You have just as much power as you have grace"; John of Salisbury; Peter Lombard (died 1164), author of

Four Books of "Sentences," containing the teachings of the Latin Fathers, arranged so as to support the dogmas of the Church, which became a text-book of theology for three centuries; Alexander Hales (died 1245), surnamed "the Irrefragable Doctor," author of a complete Summary of Theology; and Albertus Magnus (1193–1280), "the Universal Doctor," who wrote 21 folio volumes which survive, besides many that are lost, and taught a kind of eclectic philosophy; we come to Thomas Aquinas (1226–1274), the prince of scholastics, whose teaching has by

Thomas Aquinas.



ST. ELIZABATH OF HUNGARY WASHING THE LEPERS.

Pope Leo XIII. been declared to represent most perfectly the mind of the Church, and is still mastered by all who pretend to theological learning in the Roman communion. He was a son of a count of Aquino in Apulia, Italy, and at the age of sixteen, having already shown extraordinary ability, entered the Dominican order. After pupilage under Albert the Great, he was, in his twenty-third year, appointed second professor in the Dominican school at Cologne, and in 1257 was inducted into a theological chair at Paris; afterwards, at the pope's command, lecturing through several universities of Italy, advising the pope on difficult questions, and writing continually, at last settling at Naples, dying early of his asceticism and immense

intellectual activity. His "Summa Theologica" is an encyclopædia of divinity, discussing the arguments for the existence of God, the Divine nature and attributes, the Trinity, the end and nature of man, virtues and vices, the Incarnation of Christ, the Sacraments, etc. Its plan is to present for discussion some question or proposition, to state as strongly as possible the arguments urged for a wrong solution, and then to give the orthodox decision and the authorities or reasons for it, from the Bible, the Fathers, Aristotle, etc. Every imaginable discussion is gone through concerning all the terms, such as essence, spirit, personality, substance, etc ; and the whole is an astonishing feat of logic. In fact, it sums up all the knowledge and thought about the universe which had then been attained. He also wrote voluminous commentaries on Aristotle, on large portions of the Bible, treatises against all kinds of errors and heresies, and against the Greek Church, tracts in favour of the monastic life, etc. He was known as "the Angelic Doctor," and was canonised by John XXII. in 1323.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS.

Yet there were many who dissented from Aquinas on numerous points, and the Franciscans in particular followed Duns Scotus, the "Subtle Doctor," a British member of their order (1274–1308), many of whose works were written in answer to Aquinas. He taught at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne, where he died. He followed Plato in many points, was accused of being a semi-Pelagian, and was a supporter of the growing dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. He has been termed "the acutest and most penetrating spirit of the middle ages." Milman calls him "an Aristotelian beyond Aristotle, a Platonist beyond Plato; at the same time the most orthodox of theologians."

Duns Scotus.

How insufficient the systems of the Schoolmen were to settle everything upon heaven and earth had already been discovered by the great Franciscan, Roger Bacon (1214–1294), who besides his wonderful researches in physical science was no mean theologian, and in 1292 wrote a compendium of theology, in which he exposed the prevalent lack of study of the Scriptures, and the too great use of philosophy in discussing theology, and the neglect of practical studies, such as languages, mathematics, and physical sciences, most calculated to aid theological studies. He discouraged the high methods of scholastic theology, while he pointed out that many things most conducive to salvation were easy to be understood, and that a simple friar who had not heard a hundred lectures on

Roger Bacon.

theology, and had not cared for them if he had, yet preached incomparably better than the greatest masters of theology.

A man of a different type was a Dominican, William Durand, a professor at Paris and Avignon early in the fourteenth century, who boldly settled any question, and not infrequently tended to heresy. Thus he showed that it was an early opinion that the sacraments have no inherent power of giving grace; but that the recipient receives grace from God, unless he interposes an obstacle. William of Occam, or Ockham, in Surrey, a Franciscan and a pupil of Duns Scotus, took the novel side for an ecclesiastic, of supporting the rights of kings against the pope, to whom he denied any authority in secular affairs, after the example of Christ. In discussing the central doctrines of the Church, he guarded his orthodoxy carefully, as in the case of transubstantiation, in which he pronounced for one theory as "most reasonable, had not the Church determined the contrary." In these discussions, however much the Schoolmen stuck by the Church's doctrine, the fact of the discussion was gradually accustoming men's minds to regard questions as open which later were to be the subject of striking new developments. A dawn of more exact study is to be seen in the labours of Nicolaus de Lyra, to whose commentaries on the sacred text Luther was much indebted, and of Raymond Lully, who travelled widely, acquiring various languages, and in 1311 securing the establishment of chairs of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic in the universities of Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Salamanca.

William Durand.

William of Occam.

ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA (p. 819).

In the ninth and tenth centuries monasteries had grown numerous and rich, and sometimes corrupt. With the evil came the reaction, and younger and more saintly men founded new monasteries or sought to reform old ones. The monks kept themselves distinct from the secular clergy, calling themselves specially "religious," as if religion could be most really pursued in retirement from "the world." Each monastery usually elected its own head or abbot, and professed allegiance specially to the pope, as far as possible rejecting episcopal control. Indeed, in most cases the popes expressly exempted them from it, and granted the abbots the right to wear the episcopal ring and other insignia, exemption from tithes, and from interdicts and from sentences of excommunication except by themselves.

Degeneracy of monasticism.

Early in the tenth century a reformed society was founded at Clugny

in Burgundy, which was destined to have a wide influence. Its strict rule and good administration made it so famous that most of the French monasteries adopted its rule and placed themselves in connection with it, forming the Cluniac congregation, which in the middle of the twelfth century numbered 2,000 cloisters. The abbey grew wealthy and powerful; its vast basilica, built between 1089 and 1131, was the largest in Christendom till the construction of St. Peter's at Rome. The foundation was finally suppressed in 1790. Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) was a monk of Clugny, and received from the Cluniac order most important support.

Cluniac congregation.

Among numerous minor reforming congregations, such as those of Hirschau in the Black Forest (1069), and Grammont (1074), the Carthusian and Cistercian orders became pre-eminent. The *Carthusians* took their name from the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse (1084), founded by Bruno of Cologne. This order, while very ascetic, devoted itself to literature and art, and is said "never to have needed a reformation." The *Cistercians* were founded at Citeaux (Cistercium), near Dijon, by Robert of Champagne (1098), and were distinguished by their white garb, simpler services, and more ascetic life, from the Cluniacs. In 1115 the famous Bernard founded the affiliated monastery of Clairvaux, and by 1151 there were 500 monasteries in association, and the order became the most popular of all, until the rise of the Mendicants. But with the growth of their wealth the Cistercians gradually sank into insignificance, and many of their monasteries did not last till the Reformation.

Carthusians and Cistercians.

Several orders were founded for the relief of disease and suffering. In 1095 the Hospitallers of St. Anthony were founded in consequence of an epidemic of St. Anthony's fire (erysipelas); in 1178 the Brethren of the Hospital were founded at Montpellier by Guido; and these were followed in the beginning of the twelfth century by the Hospital Brethren of St. John, started in connection with the service of sick and destitute pilgrims at Jerusalem. The brethren were vowed to poverty, obedience, and chastity, and begged for the poor. They became rich, and in 1118 undertook the defence of the Holy Sepulchre, their knights becoming the rivals of the Knights Templars. They took Rhodes in 1319, gained a large part of the property of the Templars when these were suppressed in 1312, held Rhodes till 1522, when they retired to Crete, and afterwards to Sicily. In 1533 they were transferred to Malta, and in recent years they have rendered important aid to the sick and wounded in war. The Templars themselves, though from the first (1118) engaged in military service for the protection of pilgrims to the Holy Land, took a vow of monastic discipline on the model of St. Augustine. Later a more strict rule was imposed (1127), and the slaying of the unbeliever was laid down as their foremost duty. St. Bernard drew up a code, subjecting everything to the Grand Master of the order. Their purity was to be guarded by avoiding the kisses even of mother and sisters; they were to receive no letters or presents, and have no locked trunks, etc. Innocent VII. relieved them from submission to bishops, and Gregory X. exempted them from all

Hospitallers.

Brethren of St. John.

The Templars.

contributions to the Holy War, and from tithes also. But by 1180 they had greatly degenerated, and in the next century they were noted for their bad morals, character, and habits; and at last they formed an *imperium in imperio* too troublesome to be endured, and the order was formally suppressed by the council of Vienne (1312). Other military orders with more or less monastic organisation were the Teutonic Knights, who conquered the Pomeranians; the orders of Calatrava, Alcantara, the knights of Evora, etc., protected Christians from the Moors, whose lands they constantly laid waste; the order of St. James was founded 1161 to protect pilgrims to Compostella

ST. DOMINIC.

The Carmelite order grew out of a small society of hermits, founded by Berthold, a Crusader, in 1156, on Mount Carmel, which they quitted on the expulsion of the Latins from the Holy Land (1238). Each hermit at first lived in a cell by himself; fasting was imposed from September till Easter; the possession of property was forbidden; and manual labour and silence were recommended. On settling in Europe they adopted community of life, and mitigated their rules; and Innocent IV. in 1247 confirmed the order by the title of "The Friars of Our Lady of Mount Carmel." The Carmelites.

They adopted a brown habit, with a white cloak and shoulder covering (scapular), and hence were known as White Friars, a name preserved by the site of their London monastery. During the papal schism they were divided; in the fifteenth century relaxations of discipline were allowed, those who adopted the latter being known as the Shod or Conventual Friars, while the stricter members were called Barefooted Friars, or Observantines. Their numerous English monasteries were dissolved at the Reformation. In Spain, Carmelite monasteries were founded in the fifteenth century; St. Teresa, a nun of Avila, reformed her convent in the face of much opposition, and successfully carried her reforms into the friars' houses.

The Trinitarians, or Mathurins, in 1198 systematically undertook the ransom of Christian captives in Barbary, at least one third of their revenue being set apart for this work. They at one time had 250 houses; and in the seventeenth century it was computed that they had rescued more than 30,000 captives. The military order of Our Lady of Mercy was formed at Barcelona in 1218, with the same general objects, and later it devoted itself to mission work in America.

Mathurins.

Order of Mercy.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

The fourth Lateran Council (1215), as we have seen, forbade the further multiplication of monastic orders; but at that very time two orders, not so completely separate from the world as the other societies, were arising, which soon obtained recognition and gained enormous influence in the later middle ages: these were the Dominicans and the Franciscans.

St. Dominic.

The Dominicans, founded by Domingo Guzman of Old Castile (St. Dominic) aimed at popular preaching and instruction, and the combat of heresy; while the Franciscans, founded by St. Francis of Assisi, sought to revive spiritual life among the people by their preaching; and both aimed at making evident by their poverty and self-sacrifice the ideals which the cloistered monks too often failed to attain. Dominic, born in 1170, studied theology at the university of Palencia (afterwards transferred to Salamanca), sold his clothes and books to feed the poor during a famine, and flogged himself nightly with an iron chain, but was unflinching against heretics. In 1205, with Diego, bishop of Osma, he combated the Albigensian and other heresies in Languedoc. In 1215 he obtained Pope Innocent III.'s consent to the foundation of his order, despite the Lateran Council, by

adopting the Augustinian rule, with vows of perpetual silence, except by permission of the superior, abstinence from meat, almost incessant fasts, woollen garments, strict poverty, etc. At first they wore a black cassock, but soon adopted the black mantle over a white habit and scapular (Black Friars). In 1216 the order was confirmed by Honorius III., under the title of "Preaching Friars," the right of preaching and hearing confessions everywhere being at the same time granted. The order spread everywhere. It soon relaxed its vows of poverty, accepting land and monasteries. Dominicans became confessors to great men and counsellors of princes. They administered the Inquisition, and thus wielded a terrible power; and their antagonism to the Franciscans, both in policy and in theological argument, often furnished material for history. The famous Dominicans, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, as we have seen, ultimately fixed the tone and text of the Roman Catholic system, in one point only falling short of the Franciscans in rejecting the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, which the Franciscans strongly supported. In the fourteenth century the mystic John Tauler was a Dominican; at the end of the fifteenth the bright light of Savonarola illuminated the order; but it furnished the strongest antagonists to the Reformation.

The Dominicans.

ST. TERESA.

The Franciscan order was founded by Francis, son of Peter Bernardini, born at Assisi in Umbria, Italy, in 1182. After a pleasure-loving youth, he voluntarily took a vow of poverty and mendicancy, attending to lepers and discharging other menial offices. Renouncing property of every kind but the coarsest vestment, he gathered a band of twelve disciples in 1212, and boldly set forth to convert the world. Innocent III. (1215) and Honorius III. (1223) gave the brethren authority to preach everywhere. A church at Assisi, and later a grand conventual church of St. Francis at Assisi, became the centre of the order. The dramatic and sentimental preaching of the founder were most effective; and one of his converts, Clara Sciffi, became the foundress of the rigid sisterhood of Poor

St. Francis of Assisi.

Clares. St. Francis preached without success to the Mohammedans in Egypt, while other brethren went to Germany, Italy, and Spain.

St. Clara. The humility of the order was signified by their title "Fratres Minores," whence they were often called *Minorites*. The order, like the Dominican, owed obedience directly to the Pope; but it was governed by a "General Minister," appointed by a general chapter every third year. Although the strictest poverty was enjoined by St. Francis, he was so far sociable that he conformed to ordinary customs when in society, and he discouraged extreme asceticism, as promoting spiritual pride, and because the body needed sustenance and care in order to be capable of full devotion. Cheerful himself, he maintained that cheerfulness was a duty, and a great defence against the devil. In many of his acts and expressions he showed a singular Christian spirit and great judgment, so that it was not difficult for his disciples after his death to elevate him almost to a level with Christ, especially in consequence of the marks which appeared in 1224 on his hands, feet, and side, resembling Christ's wounds, and known as the "Sacred Stigmata of St. Francis." It is said that he tried to conceal them, but that many miracles were wrought by their power. He died in 1226, having witnessed the addition to the two orders of monks and nuns, of a third, consisting of lay members known as Tertiaries, who everywhere fulfilled the functions of the lay adherents in Buddhism, supporting the friars and living a religious life in the world. Dean Milman terms St. Francis "the most blameless and gentle of all saints," "emphatically the saint of the people." "The lowest of the low," he says, "might find consolation in the self-abasement of St. Francis even beneath the meanest." His poetry is worthy of note; it is "one long passionate ejaculation of love to the Redeemer in rude metre." But his ordinary speech is more poetical than his poetry. "In his peculiar language he addresses all animate, even inanimate creatures, as his brothers. . . . In one of his Italian hymns he speaks of his brother the sun, his sister the moon, etc. . . . When he died, he said with exquisite simplicity, 'Welcome, Sister Death.' . . . His life might seem a religious trance."

The Franciscans, or Minorites.

The Sacred Stigmata.

Men following in the footsteps of such a master were well adapted to win the people. Their numbers increased, and they became rich and powerful by the gifts, buildings, and endowments forced upon them. From acting under bishops, they acted independently, despised the secular clergy, administered sacraments, and heard confessions. The "General" of the order who succeeded St. Francis, Elias of Cortona, mitigated many rules, and, being ambitious, favoured the growth of large monasteries. Again and again attempts were made to reform the order. John of Parma, the seventh General Minister (1247), was hailed as a second St. Francis; John of Fidanza, eighth General (1256–1274), famous under the name of Bonaventura, the "Seraphic" Doctor, was as learned as he was blameless, and steadfastly sought to amend the corruptions of self-indulgence, importunate begging, assumption of undue clerical functions,

Bonaventura.

and extravagant buildings, in addition to moral scandals, which were making the friars a byword. The indulgences promised to all who visited the church of the Portiuncula at Assisi on August 1st, and the sure salvation to all who died in the garb of the order, even though only assumed just before death, were but specimens of the evils which arose. Fierce rivalry arose between Dominicans and Franciscans, and also between the "Spirituals" and the less spiritual among the latter. Following the prophecies and millennial outlook of Joachim, a Cistercian abbot (1145–1202), who foretold that the millennium would begin in 1260, the "Spirituals" put forward about 1254 an "Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel," developing these ideas, which was condemned by the University of Paris and by Pope Alexander IV. It was written by a Franciscan named Gerard; and after his condemnation and imprisonment the Spiritualists called themselves Fraticelli (Little Brothers), instead of Fratres, separated themselves markedly from the rest, and found a new leader in Peter John of Olivi, author of a famous Apocalyptic work, "*Postilla in Apocalypsin.*" Pope Celestine V. in 1294 formed the Fraticelli into a new order, the Celestine-Eremites, together with his own hermits; but the next pope dissolved the order, and banished them in 1302 to a Greek island. Renouncing the papal authority, they elected a pope of their own, and spread themselves in Greece, Sicily, and other countries, everywhere working against the papacy. In the time of Pope John XXII. a new point was given to the denunciations of papal luxury and apostasy by the Spirituals; the pope retaliated with vigour, and, aided by the general of the order, held an Inquisition, which burned, degraded, and imprisoned many. In this case the Franciscans aided the evil work of the Dominican Inquisition, of which it was said by one of its victims in 1319 that if St. Peter and St. Paul were to return to earth, the Inquisition would lay hands on them as damnable heretics. So far did intolerance proceed, that a *Beghard* (see p. 834) was tried for asserting the poverty of Christ and His disciples, and Berenger of Talon, who maintained the contrary, was arrested; the Dominicans eagerly condemned the Franciscans who took his side, and the University of Paris elaborately condemned the Franciscan teaching. The schism among the Franciscans widened, and by the end of the fourteenth century the Franciscan *Conventuals* were distinct from the *Observants*, who still kept the founder's rule. In the fourteenth century the Franciscans established missions in Bulgaria and Georgia, in the fifteenth in the Canary Islands and on the Congo, in the fifteenth and sixteenth in South America and Mexico. Francis, of Paola in Calabria, late in the fifteenth century, founded "the Hermits of St. Francis of Assisi," better known as the "Minims," from their title of "Fratres Minimi." They were noted for their adoption of a perpetual Lenten rule; viz., to abstain always from animal food. The Augustinian Eremites (or Austin Friars), formed into a society in 1256 under the rule of St. Augustine, numbered 30,000 at the time of the Reformation. Another mendicant order was that of the

Corruptions of the Order.

The Spirituals.

Millennial prophecy.

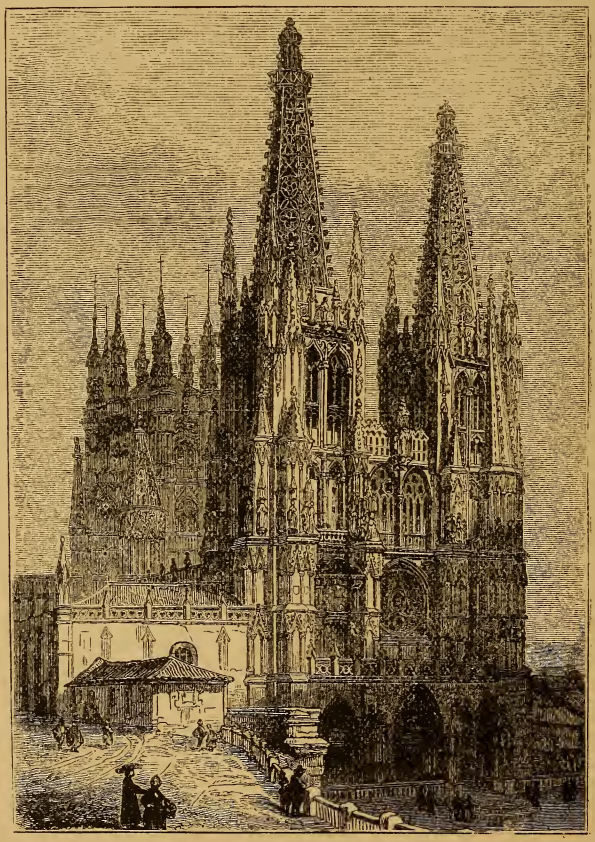
The Fraticelli.

Conventuals and Observants.

The Minims.

Servites (the slaves of the Virgin Mary), founded in 1233. The Béguines were societies founded in Flanders about 1180, to attend to the sick and poor while working at their ordinary employments; and they have lasted till the present day. The members are widows and single women, living, not in convents, but in a group of small houses surrounded by a wall, and known as a "Béguinage." The Beghards were associations of men founded with a similar object: but their character degenerated, and the name became synonymous with mendicancy and heresy, and they were placed under the authority of the Franciscans by Pope Innocent X. In such varied forms the monastic spirit tried to keep alive true Christianity, but proved extremely liable to corruption and corrupt use. The reign of monasticism, as once understood and submitted to, passed away with the Reformation.

Béguines and Beghards.



CATHEDRAL OF BURGOS, SPAIN (13TH TO 15TH CENTURIES).

MARTIN LUTHER.

CHAPTER X.

Religious Persecutions and the Reformation.

Intolerance and persecution—Manichæan sects—Paulicians—Petrobrusians—Cathari—Albigenses—Their tenets—Waldo—The Waldenses—The Inquisition—Torquemada—Ximenes—The mystics—Nicolas of Basle—Tauler—Thomas à Kempis—Brethren of the Common Life—Wyclif—The Lollards—John Huss—The Council of Constance—Huss and Jerome burnt—Religious War—The United (Moravian) Brethren—Council of Basle—The Greek Church—The Renaissance—Savonarola—Luther—His ninety-five theses—Papal Bull against him—Diet of Worms—Luther translates Bible—Zwingli—His sixty-five theses—The Reformation in Zurich—Anabaptists—Conference of Marburg—Diet of Spires—Protest of Lutheran princes—The Augsburg Confession—The Theses of Berne—Zwingli's distinctive doctrines—Confessions of Basle.

DIFFERENCES of opinion and of interpretation were never lacking, from the earliest ages of the Church, as we have seen. They changed their ground from age to age; often they reverted to former opinions, sometimes in a new dress. But the human mind, naturally believing that of two seeming contradictions, both cannot be true, tends to set up one set of opinions or form of doctrine as certainly true, and to denounce any other as evil, and consequently to be suppressed; never imagining that there may be other truths which would reconcile seeming contradictions, or that the whole truth may be something greater than, and inclusive of, all the partial truths already known. The idea of tolerating diversity of opinion on matters incapable of direct proof, or of

Intolerance and persecution.

tolerating free thought, has been exceedingly slow of growth and acceptance. Forgetting that Christ presented His gospel to different persons in very diverse aspects, and did not demand of each follower the understanding and acceptance of all that He taught, theologians gradually evolved from their reading of Scripture a creed, or series of creeds and explanations of those creeds, which, together with the sacraments and sacramental doctrine and their system of Church government, they held to be entirely true and divine, and forced indiscriminately upon all who came under their power, as absolutely necessary to salvation, and rejection of which deserved punishment in this world and hereafter. It was inevitable in these circumstances that "heresies" should arise again and again. Human nature could not be forcibly deprived of its inherent tendency to "vary in every direction," to produce new forms of thought and speculation, to be tested, to be stamped out, or to survive by dint of the value they had, or perchance by the insidiousness and attractiveness of the evil they contained.

Manichæism, though apparently crushed in earlier centuries, survived in later heresies, such as that of the Paulicians, who originated in Armenia in the seventh century. They selected St. Paul's teaching as their special guide, rejecting St. Peter as Christ's betrayer, retaining at the same time some Manichæan principles. They were persecuted by successive emperors, but lasted long in various quarters. Some of them settled in Thrace in the middle of the eighth century; and in the tenth they were reinforced by another settlement, and occupied considerable tracts in Thrace and Macedonia. They appear to have had some influence, through the intercourse arising during the Crusades, upon sects which spread in France, Northern Italy, and in Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were often marked by fanaticism. Peter of Bruis, founder of the Petrobrusians in Dauphiny, in the beginning of the twelfth century, taught that only believers (not infants) should be baptised, and rejected the use of churches and crosses, the efficacy of the Eucharist, prayers and oblations for the dead, and the singing of hymns. He was burnt to death by the people of St. Gilles in Provence, after twenty years' successful preaching. He was succeeded by Henry of Lausanne, whose adherents were named Henricians. St. Bernard undertook a very successful mission against them in 1147, and the leader was given up in chains to the bishop of Toulouse. The so-called Manichæans were chiefly known as Cathari (or Puritans) in Germany, and as Publicani in France, until they were generally termed Albigenses (from Albi). Even in the twelfth century the popular feeling was strongly excited against them, and many were burnt, though not with the sanction of such men as St. Bernard.

Manichæan sects.

Paulicians.

Petrobrusians.

Cathari.

It was in Languedoc and around Toulouse that the heretical sects spread most vigorously, holding a council of their own in 1167 of bishops and representatives under a so-called Pope Niquinta, who taught that all Churches should be independent of each other. They became so formidable that the third Lateran Council, in 1179, called on all

Albigenses.

the faithful to protect Christian people against them by arms. We cannot go into the details of the crusades which followed (1198–1229), and which crushed the power of Raymond, Count of Toulouse. We will briefly glance at some of the principles of the Albigensian sects.

They held certain Manichæan tenets, such as the antagonism between spirit and matter, the creation of the material world by the evil principle, together with a disbelief in the righteousness of the Old Testament dispensation. Christ they regarded as the highest angel, and His bodily appearance and actions were explained as spiritual only. The whole world was to be saved by an escape from bodily imprisonment into spirit life. They considered marriage as at best a necessary evil, rejected the entire sacramental system, and destroyed churches and their apparatus. They had a priesthood and bishops of their own, with a sacrament called "Consolation," by which the Paraclete or Comforter was bestowed, by any one who had received it: by this the heavenly soul, lost at the Fall, was restored to the believer. Those who had received this were the Elect or Perfect, and had to live a completely ascetic life, unmarried, and to labour only to propagate the truth, renouncing all property. Their other sacraments were the blessing of bread at meals (thus making all meals eucharistic), penance, and ordination. There are very diverse reports about the actual lives of the Albigenses, their rigidly pure lives, according to some, securing them great influence, and inducing many nobles to entrust their children to them for education; while their enemies charge them with many crimes, loose living, and want of charity. No doubt, as in most other sects, there were black sheep among them, with many of the better sort. What is certain is, that they were indiscriminately persecuted and cruelly treated, and that in many cases they retaliated on their persecutors.

Albigensian tenets.

Often confused with the Albigensian sects, the Waldenses are quite distinct, being in no way infected with Manichæism, and owing their name to Waldo, a wealthy merchant of Lyons in the latter part of the twelfth century, who employed two priests to translate many books of the Bible and selections from the Fathers into the Romance vernacular. Selling all his property and giving it to the poor, he aimed at a life of Christian perfection, and began preaching throughout the towns and villages; and his followers did the same, under the name of Humiliati, or poor men of Lyons. Waldo was excommunicated, not for heresy, but for unauthorised preaching, and anathematised by Pope Lucius III. and the Council of Verona. By their simple, earnest, scriptural preaching Waldo and his followers made many converts in Southern France, Northern Italy, and Spain. In many ways they showed themselves true evangelists and helpers of the people, and taught a primitive Christianity, gradually rejecting prayers for the dead, priestly powers, penances, purgatory, and the ecclesiastical miracles. Their high character is attested even by their enemies—their moderation, sobriety, and hard work in their employments, their truth-speaking and avoidance of oaths. During the Dominican Inquisition which oppressed the Albigenses, the Waldenses also

Waldo.

The Waldenses.

suffered severely; and they gradually took refuge in Alpine valleys in Piedmont, giving to the district the name of Vaudois, where they long remained safe from attack. In 1487 Pope Innocent VIII. ordered their extermination; and the consequent attacks made upon them greatly reduced their strength. In 1530 deputies from the Vaudois in Dauphiny and Provence met the German and Swiss Reformers, and the result was the adoption of some of the distinctive tenets of the latter, and a complete break with the Roman Church. In 1655 they were barbarously treated by an army authorised by the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which roused Protestant indignation against the persecutors. In 1685 a new era of persecution followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A remnant of them now form a separate Protestant Church[1] in Italy, largely supported by contributions from Protestant countries.

The Inquisition.

It had always been a function of the bishops to inquire into the prevalence of erroneous teaching and to stamp it out, largely by the aid of "the secular power" of obedient princes. In 1163 the Council of Tours first used the title of Inquisitor in reference to inquiries into orthodoxy; and in 1184 the Council of Verona directed the bishops to put down the Cathari and the Poor Men of Lyons (Waldenses), cursing all heretics and those who sheltered them. The Inquisition, properly so called, was, however, started by Pope Gregory IX., who in 1232 constituted the Dominicans inquisitors into heresy in Toulouse, with appeal only to the Pope. "The suspicion of heresy was sufficient cause for imprisonment; accomplices and criminals were deemed competent witnesses; the accused was never informed of his accusers, nor confronted with them; confession was often extorted by torture." Of course it would have been impossible to carry out the cruel system of punishments devised, but for the aid of the secular power; but this was usually granted readily, either through fear or willingly. Often the populace rose against the Inquisition; and in some places, as at Toulouse, it was suppressed. We have not space to recount the deeds of the Inquisition in France and Italy in the thirteenth century, and in Germany in the fourteenth. From 1232 onward it was active in Spain, often with every kind of tyranny and cruelty. In 1480 it was more elaborately organised; and before the end of 1481 298 persons had been burnt in Seville alone. In 1483 the Dominican Thomas of Torquemada was appointed Inquisitor-general for Castile and Leon; and by his rigid and cruel system the Jews, Moors, and Moriscoes were tortured, killed, or banished from Spain. On the death of Torquemada, in 1498, Cardinal Ximenes succeeded him as Inquisitor-general. He utterly opposed the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, as a profanation, and also refused publicity to the proceedings of the Inquisition, or any alleviation of their harshness. Yet he is famous in scholarship for his publication of the Complutensian Polyglott Bible. The Inquisition was established in Portugal and in all the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. After the beginning of the seventeenth century its

Torquemada.

Ximenes.

[1] See Gilly, *Excursion to the Valleys of Piedmont*, and *Researches on the Waldenses*.

activity diminished; in the eighteenth century torture was abandoned. Down to 1809 it is said that 31,912 persons had been burnt alive in Spain. Napoleon put it down wherever he gained power; but it lingered later, and a Jew was burnt and a Quaker schoolmaster hanged in Spain in 1826. The Inquisition was active in Italy up to the time of the consolidation of the kingdom in 1859–60; and the central agency of the Inquisition is still in existence at Rome, and many Romanists hope for its re-establishment in full activity. It was never established in England.

Before referring to the more active uprisings which preceded the Reformation, we must notice certain religious writers and teachers whose influence certainly prepared the way for it. Henry Eckart, a Saxon, Dominican vicar-general in Bohemia in 1307, was strikingly mystic and even pantheistic in his teaching. Nicolas of Basle (1308–1393) the chief leader of the "Friends of God," having completely renounced the world and his own will, and attained inward intercourse with God, devoted himself to leading others into the same state. He never received ordination, but did not deny any doctrine of the Church. He was thus the first great Quietist, believing in a resignation to the Divine will only parallel to the Mohammedan's. Their direct "inspiration" from God rendered the mystics independent of the Church, which consequently was hostile to them. Several of the leaders were burnt, Nicolas in 1393, at Vienne. John Tauler[1] (1290–1361) was a follower of Eckart on the speculative side, and of Nicolas on the mystic, and one of the most influential preachers of his time. He asserted that "he who confesses the true faith of Christ, and sins only against the person of the Pope, is no heretic." Suso, Ruysbroek, Gerson, Gerard Groot, and Thomas à Kempis, in different ways carried on the inward religious life and speculation, producing works remarkable for their spirituality, and also taking part in noble philanthropic movements. In exalting personal communion with God through faith, they developed a form of religious life which has had enormous influence. Gerard Groot, in particular, by founding the self-supporting society of "Brethren of the Common Life," at Deventer, for spiritual profit and evangelisation, set the mendicant friars an example which they greatly resented. Groot was loyal to the Church, enjoining the daily hearing of mass, but studied chiefly the Gospel and the writings of the Fathers. His follower, Florentius Radewin, completed the organisation, which was approved by some popes. It was ultimately absorbed by the Reformation.

The Mystics.

Nicolas of Basle.

Tauler.

Thomas à Kempis.

Brethren of the Common Life.

John Wyclif (1324–1384) is honourably distinguished as the most original and influential Reformer of the Church in the fourteenth century. He was an Oxford scholastic theologian of the highest ability, and largely in accord with Roger Bacon: a strong supporter of England against Rome, and of the temporal against spiritual power. His great works on Divine and Civil Dominion maintained that God had given no supreme authority to any vicar on earth, whether priest or king, but to each his own

Wyclif.

[1] See *Life and Sermons of John Tauler*. Translated by C. Winkworth, 1857.

province; while all God's people must obey Him rather than man. Thus he supplied arguments against all excessive papal and spiritual claims. He founded an order of poor preachers, without mendicancy, who went through the diocese of Lincoln and elsewhere preaching the gospel. Their followers became known and persecuted as Lollards, and connected with people similarly termed in the Low Countries and Western Germany. About 1380 Wyclif commenced and largely carried out an English translation of the Bible from the Vulgate. In 1381 he enunciated the doctrine of consubstantiation, as against the transubstantiation of the Church, in a form similar to that of Berengar of Tours, asserting that the bread and wine remain in the sacrament after its consecration. His teaching was condemned by the University of Oxford, and by a council in London. Wyclif continued to work and write with great vigour, and died in 1384 when under citation to appear before Urban IV. at Rome, to whom he replied that he ought not to follow the pope, except so far as he himself followed Christ. The Council of Constance (1414–8) impotently sentenced him to death; and in 1428 Pope Martin V. had his bones burnt and the ashes thrown into the river Swift. The Lollards were fiercely persecuted, and many were burnt, but some remained to join in the later Reformation.

JOHN WYCLIF.

The Lollards.

In distant Bohemia a movement for purifying the Church and studying the Scriptures at first hand was making headway. The University of Prague, founded in 1348, aided this. Mathias of Janow was one of the most notable forerunners of Huss. While loyal to the Church, he paid more regard to the study of the manuscripts of the Bible than to the teaching of the Fathers. John Huss (1369–1415), who had read the writings of Wyclif for many years, became Rector of the University of Prague in 1403. His eloquent friend, Jerome of Prague (1379–1416), a greater theologian, did much to make Wyclif's works known in Bohemia. Huss maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation; but asserted the supreme authority of Scripture, the spiritual nature of the Church, whose head was Christ, and the supremacy of the believer's conscience. He exposed pretended miracles and corruptions in the Church. The Papal party tried to prevent Huss from preaching, charging him with heresy, and burnt Wyclif's books. Huss appealed to John XXIII., then (1410) made pope after a long career of tyranny and misconduct. John

John Huss.

1412) offered large indulgences to all who aided a crusade against Ladislaus, King of Naples. Huss preached against it, but had to leave Prague to save it from the papal interdict of all religious functions (1413). He then wrote his great work *De Ecclesia*, defining the Church as the whole body of believers, past, present, and future, predestined to life, with Christ as its Head, and the pope as His Vicar, if he follows the example of St. Peter. His powerful tracts in the Bohemian language formed complete expositions of Christianity, as consisting in faith and belief in the truth, obedience to the Divine law, and prayer to God. Many false charges of heresy and other offences were made against Huss, and he was summoned, with a guarantee of safe return from the Emperor Sigismund, to the Council of Constance in 1414 (the sixteenth œcumenical, according to the Roman reckoning). At this, demands for a reformation of the papacy was made by such men as Peter d'Ailly, Archbishop of Cambray, and John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, who yet were most rancorous in their opposition to Huss. He denied the false charges made against him, and refused to abjure what he had never held or taught. The Emperor's safe conduct was not respected; he was told that his power could not save a heretic from the punishment due to his errors, and that his pledge could not bind the council, which was greater than the Emperor; and that the Doctors of the Church had taught that no faith should be kept with heretics. The trial was a farce; no witnesses were heard on behalf of Huss; his condemnation was a foregone conclusion. He was burnt on July 6, 1415, and in the next year the same fate awaited Jerome of Prague, although from fear and physical weakness he recanted and renounced Wyclif's doctrines and acknowledged the justice of Huss's condemnation. Yet afterwards he recanted his recantation, though declaring that he held all the articles of the Christian faith. A fierce religious war followed in Bohemia. In 1420 a compact with the Hussites granted freedom of preaching, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, and reform of the Church; but this was accepted only by the more moderate or calixtine party (from *calix*, the cup). They received further concessions from the Council of Basle (1433); but the more radical Hussites (Taborites) held out, formed the Bohemian Brethren (1450–1627), and ultimately were absorbed in the Moravian Brethren (Unitas Fratrum, United Brethren), revived by Count

The Council of Constance.

JOHN HUSS.

Huss and Jerome burnt.

Religious war.

Zinzendorf early in the eighteenth century. They professed obedience to the Scriptures and the law of love, regarded the Eucharist as simply commemorative, and rejected the Real Presence. Towns were founded in Moravia and elsewhere in Germany for exclusive occupation of the brethren; and missions were established through Europe and in North America, which attained great fame and success. By them the later movement of John Wesley in England was largely influenced. They retain government by bishops, who are not diocesan but universal in their scope; they ordain presbyters and deacons. Their worship is simple, liturgical, and primitive, and they use a rich hymnology, largely composed by their own leaders.

The United Moravian Brethren.

The deposition of Pope John XXIII. for heresy followed the burning of Huss. His successor, Martin V. (1417–1431), did little in the way of reform, and revived the highest claims of his predecessors. The Council of Basle, in 1432, renewed the declaration of Constance that a general council was above the pope, elected its own president, passed many decrees for reforming the Church and the papacy, and deposed Pope Eugenius IV. in 1439. A counter-council at Ferrara (1438) excommunicated those who attended at Basle and annulled its acts; it was afterwards removed to Florence, and is now recognised by the Roman Church as the seventeenth œcumenical. At this council a last fruitless effort was made to reunite the Greek and the Roman Churches, by the (Greek) Emperor, John Paleologus II.; but the accommodation which was devised, and which granted the supremacy of the pope, was repudiated by the people, and finally by himself; and a little later the Greek Empire fell before the victorious Turks, by whose favour alone the Greek Church continued to exist in Moslem territory. Eugenius IV. retained power as pope in spite of the Council of Basle, and before his death, in 1447, had arranged terms with the Emperor Frederick III. and the German electors; and the Council of Basle ended in 1449 in failure.

MELANCHTHON.

Council of Basle.

The Greek Church.

The Renaissance of Art and Letters was now influencing Italy and the Universities; and several popes so far yielded to its influence as to become classical rather than Christian, while some were conspicuous for their vices and crimes. Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini) issued from the Congress of Mantua the Bull *Execrabilis*, declaring that an appeal from the Pope to a general Council was punishable by excommunication, in direct opposition to the side he had formerly taken. The greater part of the Vatican and the Sistine Chapel are among the works due to the popes

The Renaissance.

of the latter part of the fifteenth century. The criminality of the papal government at this time was thrown into relief by the appearance of the striking figure of Savonarola (1452–1498), a Dominican, who, without bringing forward any heretical doctrine, powerfully preached against the corruptions of the age, and denounced God's vengeance on the Church. In Florence he effected a striking Puritan reform, as also in his own monastery. In 1497 a great "sacrifice of vanities" was made under his influence; but the infamous Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia) excommunicated him, and on May 30, 1498, he was hanged and burnt.

Savonarola.

While the popes in the early part of the sixteenth century were quarrelling with the French king, and while Leo X. (1513–1521) was revelling in the culture and art of the Renaissance, Martin Luther (1483–1546), the man who was to upset much of the work of the papacy, the son of a Saxon miner, was a devout Augustinian friar, working out for himself the problem of personal religion, and studying St. Augustine's writings more than any of the Fathers. A visit to Rome in 1510 showed him something of the prevailing corruptions. He had studied Tauler and the German mystics deeply; but an external event, the extremely mercenary sale of indulgences, for the benefit of the building of St. Peter's at Rome, by John Tetzel, a Dominican, in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, where Luther was teaching theology, led to the opening of his active warfare for religious reform. On October 31, 1517, he nailed on the door of the Castle church at Wittenberg ninety-five theses denying the power of the Pope to remove the guilt of the smallest transgression, and asserting that the obtaining of grace was a matter of immediate relation between God and the soul. The theses went through Germany instantly. Luther wrote several tracts and sermons on the subject, still maintaining that the pope could not know of the false doctrines that were being taught. In November, 1518, Pope Leo X. condemned the attacks on indulgences, and claimed full power of releasing sinners from punishment. Luther appealed to a general Council, denying the supremacy of the Pope, and asserting that the power of the keys resided, not in him, but in the Church collectively, and also that the Council of Constance had condemned as heretical things entirely Christian. His fame as a teacher drew crowds of students, among them Melanchthon. In his book on the Babylonish Captivity of the Church (1520) he demanded the total abolition of indulgences and the giving of the cup to the laity, and expressed his doctrine of "consubstantiation," viz., that the bread and wine of the sacrament remain bread and wine, though, after the consecration they truly contain the flesh and blood of Christ in union with them. In September 1520, a papal Bull was published in Germany condemning forty-one heretical propositions from Luther's writings, ordering his works to be burnt, and himself to retract his errors within sixty days. Luther, in response, publicly burnt the papal Bull, together with the decretals and the whole Roman canon law, on December 10, 1520. He was speedily excommunicated and summoned to a Diet at Worms before the Emperor

Luther.

His ninety-five theses.

Papal Bull against him.

and Electors of Germany. Here he defended himself boldly, claimed freedom of conscience, denied the right of the clergy to control men's religious convictions, and withdrew from none of his positions. He was outlawed on May 25, 1521. He retired to the castle of Wartburg, where he translated the New Testament into German, a translation which made German a literary language and powerfully aided the Reformation. During his absence his rival Carlstadt had celebrated the Communion with the omission of all the distinctive Roman features, giving it to all in both kinds; and he was proposing other violent changes. Luther, on returning to Wittenberg, in 1522, pursued a more moderate course, but gave up monastic and ascetic life in 1524, and married in 1525.

Diet of Worms.

Luther translates Bible.

Meanwhile another great reformer had arisen in Switzerland, Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) pastor of Glarus from 1506–1516, a learned man who had become disgusted with the corruptions of the Church and especially with the indulgences granted to pilgrims. In 1519 he became preacher in Zurich cathedral, taking as his first subject the life of Christ as he interpreted it, apart from human authority. In 1521 he began to be called a heretic, and preached on 1 Tim. iv. 1–5, to the effect that it was no sin to eat flesh on a fast day, but a great sin to sell human flesh for slaughtering (alluding to the hiring of Swiss mercenary soldiers then prevalent). In 1522 he published tracts on reform which caused the local authorities to arrange a public disputation in Zurich with the vicar of the bishop of Constance (January 29, 1523). Zwingli presented sixty-five theses, asserting that Christ is the only way to salvation, independent of the papacy, mass, absolution, indulgences, intercession of the saints, etc.; that Scripture is the only authoritative guide, and the Roman system a dangerous delusion; that the congregation, not the priesthood, properly constitutes and rules the Church, subject to the State; but if the State authorities go beyond Christ's teaching, they must be deposed. His demonstration was so powerful that he was completely victorious, and the council of Zurich reformed public worship in accordance with the Reformer's teaching. Convents were closed; the cathedral chapter was converted into a theological students' college. Zwingli and other priests married, images were given up as unlawful, the mass was declared to be not a sacrifice, the relics and the organ disappeared from the cathedral, various festivals, processions, and other ceremonies were discontinued, and at Easter 1525 the Communion was celebrated as the Lord's Supper, with the table spread with a white cloth, and the cup was given to the laity.

Zwingli.

His sixty-five theses.

The Reformation in Zurich.

Meanwhile the Anabaptists had appeared in Saxony and in several other parts of Germany, declaring especially against infant baptism, on the ground of the incapacity of infants to exercise faith, and enforcing adult baptism. In Zurich they appeared in 1523, demanding the formation of a holy congregation, from which all should be excluded who were not rebaptised and truly holy. About the same time

Anabaptists.

THE NINETY-FIVE THESES AT WITTENBERG.
(Luther descending the steps after affixing them.)

Zwingli began to write against the doctrine of Luther on consubstantiation; and their views were found to diverge so much that in September 1529 a conference was held at Marburg between Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Osiander, and other Reformers, to endeavour to come to an agreement; but after three days this was found to be impossible, Zwingli protesting his desire for union, but Luther proving unyielding. Zwingli's doctrines had gained largely in Switzerland, at the same time exciting the bitter hostility of the Romanist cantons, when he was killed on October 11, 1531, while acting as chaplain to the army of Zurich, defeated on that day at Cappel.

Conference of Marburg.

Before the death of Zwingli, however, the decisive establishment of the Lutheran Church in Germany had taken place. The Diet held at Spires in 1526 had resolved in favour of tolerance in religious matters; but the adhesion of the Bavarian dukes had by 1529 restored the majority to the Roman side; and the Diet of Spires in that year forbade the preaching of Zwingli's doctrine about the Eucharist, and that of the Anabaptists, and ordered that the reformers should teach nothing in their sermons contrary to the received doctrine of the Church. The Lutheran princes, headed by John, Elector of Saxony, then handed in their celebrated Protest, from which the term Protestant is derived. They declared themselves ready to obey the Emperor and the Diet in all reasonable matters; but they appealed from all past, present, or future vexatious measures to the Emperor, and to a free and universal council. They maintained the supreme authority of the Bible, which was to be explained by itself, and not by tradition. The conference of Marburg, already spoken of, followed, and if it did not produce entire union, its fourteen articles of united belief were of the greatest service in manifesting essential unity as against Rome. But henceforth the history of Protestantism became markedly national.

Diet of Spires.

Protest of Lutheran princes.

The principal document of Lutheranism, the Augsburg Confession, was drawn up by Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), the learned and gentle companion of Luther, and his helper in the translation of the Bible into German. The Emperor Charles V., at the Diet of Augsburg, commanded the Lutheran princes to draw up a statement of their faith; and Melanchthon wrote it, basing it on Luther's teaching, but with studious moderation. This Confession may be taken as establishing the Lutheran Church. It affirms the ancient doctrines of the Church as laid down in the œcumenical creeds, and repudiates Unitarianism, Arianism, and all the heresies denounced by the early councils. It maintains the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, and condemns Pelagianism; teaching that men are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favour; and their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, "who by His death hath satisfied for our sins." The Church is defined as the congregation of saints or assembly of all believers, in which the gospel is purely preached and the sacraments administered according to the gospel; and it is sufficient for the true unity of the Church to agree concerning the doctrine

The Augsburg Confession.

of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments; nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies should be everywhere alike. Baptism as necessary to salvation, and that of infants, is held, as well as communion in both kinds. Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation is declared, but the Communion only avails when joined with faith in the recipient. Saints are not to be invoked or prayed to, for Christ is the sole Mediator. Good works are not discountenanced, but are necessary, though not the means of salvation. Various Romish errors are repudiated, such as Communion in one kind, celibacy of the clergy, masses celebrated for money, and the mass as a sacrifice, the enumeration of sins at confession, special mortifications and peculiarities of abstinence, rigidity and special merits of monastic vows, and jurisdiction of bishops beyond what is plainly taught by the gospel. Luther's remaining years were devoted to the settlement of the German Churches, too often in an exclusive and masterful spirit; but we cannot here detail his labours. He died on Feb. 18, 1546.

We must now briefly sum up the position taken by Zwingli so far as distinctive, and as definitely characterising the earliest Swiss Reformed Churches; leaving Calvin's work and the Reformation in England, for later chapters. Next to Zwingli's sixty-five articles (p. 844) stand his ten Theses of Berne, 1528, which rejected tradition, accepted the Scriptures as the only authority and Christ as the sole redemption and satisfaction for the sins of the world, rejected the corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist as incapable of proof from Scripture, the mass as a sacrifice, and all mediation except that of Christ, together with purgatory, masses and prayers for the dead, image worship, and celibacy of the clergy. He more fully elaborated his doctrine in a confession sent to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. In July, 1531, he wrote a further exposition to Francis I. of France, begging him to give the gospel freedom in his kingdom and to judge the Reformed faith by its fruits when established. In these confessions he taught the unconditional election or predestination of those who are to be saved, faith being the means by which it is appropriated. Those who hear the Gospel and reject it are fore-ordained to eternal punishment. God by His providence controls and disposes all events; the fall of man with its consequences happened under His foreknowledge and fore-ordination. It is this doctrine especially which was more fully developed by Calvin.

The Theses of Berne.

Zwingli's distinctive doctrines.

As to the Lord's Supper, Zwingli holds that it is the visible sign of an invisible grace, there being a clear distinction between the sign and the thing signified. Communion with Christ is not confined to the sacrament, nor do all who partake of it really commune with Christ. The priestly act is of no avail, the faith of the recipient being the only means of its efficacy. The sacraments aid and strengthen faith, and are public testimonies of it. The Lord's Supper is a commemoration, not a repetition of Christ's sacrifice; the bread and wine represent, but are not really, the body and blood of Christ, who is present only to the eye of faith; His human body, which is in heaven, cannot be everywhere at the same time; and the eating and

drinking of the sacrament is a spiritual partaking only. He shows that the figurative interpretation of Christ's words of institution is like a great number of His other expressions, which cannot be literally true. Zwingli further went beyond Romans and Lutherans in his doctrine of the salvation of children dying unbaptised, by the merits of Christ. He also believed in the salvation of many adult heathen.

The First Confession of Basle (1534) was first drawn up by John Œcolampadius, the principal reformer of Basle, before his death in 1531, and put into its present shape by his successor, Oswald Myconius. It asserts briefly the main Zwinglian doctrines, terming Christ the food of the soul to everlasting life, and repudiates the views of the Anabaptists. The Second Confession of Basle (1536) is also termed the First Helvetic Confession, from its having been drawn up by a conference of the leading Swiss divines, and intended to be laid before the general council of the Church. It chiefly differs from the Zwinglian Confessions in laying more stress on the significance of the sacramental signs and the real spiritual presence of Christ. The Reformed doctrines had by this time received their remarkable Calvinistic development in the publication by Calvin, in 1534, of his *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, generally known as Calvin's Institutes. The Council of Trent, however, by its decisions entirely precluded any hope of accommodation with the Reformers.

Confessions of Basle.

POPE SIXTUS THE FIFTH (1585–90).

CHAPTER XI.

The Council of Trent and Modern Romanism.

The Council of Trent—The Creeds and the Bible—Original sin and Baptism—Justification—Penance—The seven sacraments—The "Real Presence"—Transubstantiation and the adoration of the Host—Confession—Long intermission of the Council—The Mass—Orders—Marriage and divorce—Purgatory—Prayers to saints—Relics and images—Tridentine profession and Roman Catechism—Bellarmine—Bossuet—Möhler—Perrone—Ignatius Loyola—Faber and Xavier—The Jesuit Order—Jansen's "Augustinus"—Arnauld—Pascal—Quesnel—Jansenists—Causes of Jesuit successes—Moral defects—Recent history—"The Immaculate Conception"—Vatican Council, 1870—Papal infallibility—Number of Roman Catholics—The Roman Congregations—Roman service books—The Old Catholics—Theses of Union Conference—Swiss Old Catholics.

THE Council of Trent, the most important modern Council of the Roman Catholic Church, was distinguished by the protracted length and interruption of its sittings, and by the extent and variety of its pronouncements. It was first summoned for 1537, by Pope Paul III., but various causes led to its postponement; and it at last met at Trent (*Tridentum*), in the Italian Tyrol (under Austrian rule), on Dec. 13, 1545. Its avowed objects were the extirpation of heresy, the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, the reformation of morals, and the restoration of

The Council of Trent.

peace and unity. To it were invited the princes and divines who supported the Reform movement; but they declined to attend, as they were not even to discuss controverted questions. They said that the Council would be neither free, nor Christian, nor œcumenical, nor ruled by the word of God, and that it would only confirm the authority of the Pope.

After several preliminaries, in February, 1546, the Nicene Creed was adopted, and Luther's exclusive adhesion to the Scriptures was rejected, it being added, that saving truth of equal authority with the Scriptures was also contained in the traditions of the Church, handed down from Christ or the Apostles through the Fathers. It was also decided that all the canonical books, including the Apocrypha, were authentic and to be received. The Latin Vulgate version, regarded by the Reformers as full of errors, was declared authentic. In opposition to the right of private judgment, it was ordered that no one should presume to interpret the Scriptures in senses contrary to that of holy mother Church, whose function it was to judge of their true sense and interpretation.

The Creeds and the Bible.

In June, 1546, the doctrine of "original sin," transmitted to all mankind through Adam, was affirmed, and also its remedy and removal by the merit of Jesus Christ, applied both to adults and to infants by baptism, rightly administered in the form of the Church. Infants, even newly born, need baptism for the remission of sins, that they may be cleansed from the taint of original sin; after baptism original sin is taken away, and they are made innocent, immaculate, pure, and harmless. The question as to the immaculate conception of the Virgin, who is mentioned as "the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, the Mother of God," was left open, though the Franciscans strongly desired that she should be declared free from the taint of original sin.

Original sin and Baptism.

In January, 1547, decrees were passed relating to justification by the redemption of Christ—first, through the prevenient grace of God, disposing men to consent to and co-operate with the grace of God, they being able to reject grace, while not able, without the grace of God, to turn to righteousness. Justification is declared to be, not merely remission of sins, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inward man; the efficient cause being the mercy of God, the meritorious cause the suffering of Christ upon the cross, whereby He made satisfaction for us to God the Father, the instrumental cause the sacrament of baptism, and the formal cause the justice of God, the communication of the merits of Christ's passion justifying men and infusing into them faith, hope, and charity. Men are justified by faith, because it is the beginning and root of all justification, and freely, because nothing done before justification merits it; but this justification cannot be possessed, for a certainty, by those who simply settle within themselves that they are justified (as the heretics and schismatics do). Faith, co-operating with good works, increases justification, but no one is exempt from keeping all the commandments; but it is heretical to say that the just man sins in all his good works, venially at least. No man can be absolutely certain that he is predestinate to salvation, or that he shall

Justification.

finally persevere. Those who have fallen after justification may be restored through the sacrament of penance, including sacramental confession of sins, and sacerdotal absolution, and satisfaction by fasts, alms, prayers, and other pious exercises, for the temporal punishment due for the sins. Thirty-three canons were appended to these declarations, censuring and anathematising the doctrines of justification by works, the Pelagian teaching on the power of man's free will, the beliefs that man's free will is lost, that God works any evil, that a man can be justified without the merits of Christ, that when once justified he cannot fall from grace, or that if he sins he was never really justified, that there is no mortal sin but infidelity, that he who sins after baptism cannot regain grace, or that he can regain it by faith alone, without the sacrament of penance, that after justification there is no receiving punishment, to be discharged either in this world or in purgatory, that a man cannot by good works merit and gain increase of grace and glory, and the converse of other doctrines enunciated above.

Penance.

In March, 1547, thirty canons on the sacraments were adopted, anathematising those who maintain that the seven sacraments were not all instituted by Christ, or that any is superfluous; that one sacrament is of more value than another; that the sacraments do not confer grace through the act performed (*opus operatum*); that baptism, orders, and confirmation do not imprint an indelible character; that all Christians may preach and administer the sacraments; that the sin of the minister makes the sacrament invalid, or that the minister may change or omit sacramental rites at pleasure. On the question of baptism, among the fourteen canons, one asserts the validity of baptism by heretics in the name of the Trinity, and when intending to do what the Church does. It is asserted that baptism is essential to salvation, that the baptised may lose grace, that they are required to observe the whole law of Christ and of the Church, and that it need not be repeated after lapse into heresy and repentance. Confirmation has a special virtue, and is to be administered by bishops only.

The seven sacraments.

In the middle of March, 1547, the Council was ordered to meet at Bologna, as contagious disease had broken out at Trent; but in consequence of a quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor it was suspended for four years, during which Pope Paul III. died (1549) and Julius III. succeeded him. The Council was reopened in 1551, and in October a most important decree concerning the Eucharist was adopted. It was declared that after the consecration of the bread and wine, "our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the appearance of these sensible objects," and that His presence thus can be conceived by faith, in a mode of existence which can scarcely be expressed by words. It is the spiritual food of souls, and a pledge of glory to come. Each kind contains both the body and blood of Christ, in the smallest particle, as well as His divinity; and in another article it is stated that the whole substance of the bread is converted into the body of Christ, and the whole substance of the wine into

The "Real Presence."

Transubstantiation and adoration of the Host.

the blood of Christ. Wherefore the adoration of *latria* (worship) which is due to God, is due to the sacrament; and it should be specially adored on a yearly festival (Corpus Christi), and borne reverently through streets and public places, and also reserved in the sanctuary and carried to the sick. Preparation for its reception is to be by sacramental confession and penance in the case of any one conscious of mortal sin. A series of canons condemns all who hold opposite opinions.

In November 1551 decrees on penance and extreme unction were passed. It was declared that Christ instituted penance, principally when He pronounced the words, "Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them, etc," for the reconciling of those who fall after baptism; and that the priest in the sacrament of penance exercises the office of a judge. The form of the sacrament is in the words of the priest, "Ego te absolvo," I absolve thee, while the penitential acts are contrition, confession, and satisfaction; and penance does not confer grace without any good motive on the part of those who receive it. Confession should be made once a year at least, preferably in Lent Unworthy priests can still minister this sacrament by virtue of their ordination. Certain atrocious crimes ought to be reserved for popes and bishops to deal with; though there may be no reservation when the sinner is at the point of death. Without derogation from the efficacy of Christ's merit, the voluntary penances, or those imposed by the priest, as well as the patient bearing of temporal scourges inflicted by God, do make a satisfaction for our sins. Extreme unction is said to have been instituted by Christ, but only promulgated by the apostle James (James v. 14, 15). The oil blessed by a bishop is its agency; and its effect is to cleanse away the remains of sin and comfort the soul of the sick. The canons on these subjects anathematise those who repudiate confession to a priest alone secretly, or the judicial or the absolving function of the priest, or the efficacy of penance, or who reject extreme unction as a sacrament.

Confession.

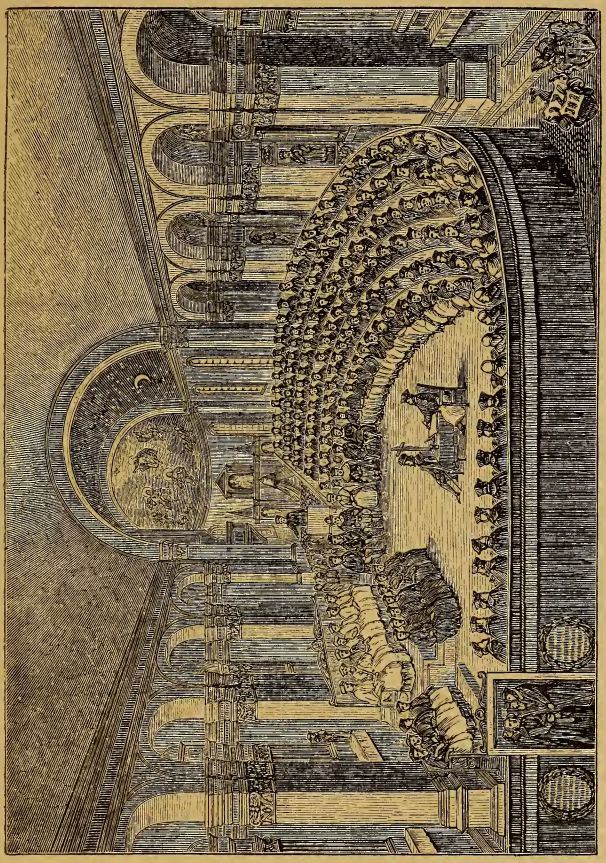
A long discussion about questions of episcopal jurisdiction and about holy orders followed; but the Council was prorogued early in 1552, in consequence of disputes between the Emperor's ambassadors and the papal legates. The suspension lasted nearly ten years, and in the meantime Pope Pius IV. had succeeded to Julius III. in 1555. When the Council again reassembled, in 1562, ambassadors from the French king proposed that the decisions of the Council should not be reserved for the Pope's approval, but that the Pope should be compelled to submit to the decision of the Council; that the Council should begin with reforming the Church in its head and in its members; that archbishops and bishops should be compelled to reside in their sees, that bishops should only ordain priests to definite charges, etc. Little attention was paid to these demands.

Long intermission of the Council.

In July, 1562, it was resolved that laymen, as well as priests when not celebrating, are not bound to receive the sacrament in both kinds, and communion in either is sufficient; nor are little children bound to receive the sacrament. In September, 1562, it was declared that the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice, continuous with that of Christ on

The Mass.

the cross, and may not only be offered for the sins of the faithful who are living, but also for the faithful who are dead but not yet fully purified. Masses are to be said in honour of the saints, not as sacrifices to them, but to implore their patronage, "that they may intercede for us in heaven." The rites and ceremonies, lights and incense, vestments, etc., used in the



THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

mass are derived from apostolical tradition, and both honour the majesty of the sacrifice and excite the minds of the faithful to the contemplation of the sublimities hidden in the sacrifice. The mass is not usually to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, but it is frequently to be explained in sermons. The contraries of these doctrines were anathematised in nine canons.

Seven orders, besides bishops, were recognised by the Council in 1563:

viz, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers. Orders are indelible, and the priesthood cannot be possessed by all Christians. No consent of the civil power is requisite for orders, or their conferment, or for the authority of the bishops. Marriage was affirmed as a sacrament; but the Church asserted its power to dispense with certain limits of the Levitical law, and to create others. Divorce is forbidden, even for adultery. The marriage of priests is illegal, and celibacy is extolled as better than marriage.

Orders.

Marriage and divorce.

In December, 1563, the doctrine of purgatory was affirmed, and that the souls there detained are helped by the prayers of the faithful, by masses on their behalf, and by alms. It was declared that the saints in heaven offer up prayer to God for men, through Christ. The bodies of martyrs, and their relics, ought to be venerated, honoured, and visited. Images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints are to be retained and honoured, though no worship is to be paid to them; but the honour shown to them, when they are kissed, or otherwise honoured, is referred to their prototype. A strong desire was expressed to put down abuses connected with images, and all superstition, lasciviousness, or revellings in connection with them. No unusual image, no new miracles, no new relics were to be honoured, unless after full consideration of bishops, and reference of doubtful cases to the pope. Indulgences are still authorised, with moderation and correction of all abuses. The final act of the Council was to pronounce a curse upon all heretics. The decrees were signed by 255 bishops and others, and confirmed by a Bull of Pius IV. on the 20th January, 1564, reserving the exclusive right of explanation to the pope.

Purgatory.

Prayers to saints.

Relics and images.

The Council undoubtedly felt and yielded considerably to the prevalent demand for reforms, and passed many decrees, such as those forbidding the non-residence of bishops, and a number of irregularities in the conduct and education of bishops and priests, which have been very beneficial.

Its decrees were acknowledged in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, the Roman Catholic German States, and Poland; the royal prerogatives being usually reserved. They were never formally accepted in France, and they were never introduced in England or Scotland.

A brief summary of the Tridentine decrees was prepared by order of Pius IV. in 1564, as a profession of faith to be taken by all Catholic dignitaries and teachers, including an acknowledgment that "The Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church is the mother and mistress of all Churches." The decrees of Trent were further arranged in a popular form as the Roman Catechism, issued in 1566, subsequently charged with heresy by prominent Jesuits, who framed catechisms of their own.

Tridentine profession and Roman Catechism.

We may here briefly refer to a few of the great theologians of the Romish Church since the Council of Trent. Cardinal Bellarmine (1542-1621) became a Jesuit in 1560, and librarian of the Vatican in 1605. His great work "On the Controversies of the Christian Faith" (1587-90) is a storehouse of Protestant doctrines, which he gives in full from the original

Bellarmine.

authorities, and of Roman refutation. It was at first proscribed by Pope Sixtus V., from a fear that by giving the teaching of the Reformers in their own words, the infection might spread in the Roman Church. Bellarmine allowed only an indirect control by the pope over temporal matters. In the seventeenth century, the eloquent French prelate Bossuet (1627–1704) wrote two great theological books—(1) An "Exposition of the Catholic Church Doctrine on Matters of Controversy," in which he presents the dogmas in their most plausible form, and conciliates Protestants as much as possible; and (2) "A History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches." He did not support papal infallibility, nor supreme Roman control of foreign States. He was genuinely desirous of reunion with Protestants, and proposed to Leibnitz a suspension of the Tridentine anathemas, and the summoning of a general council in which Protest-

Bossuet.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

ants should have votes. Adam Möhler, the greatest German Catholic divine (1796–1838), wrote a book entitled "Symbolics," which both defended Romanism and attacked Protestantism, giving an ideal and spiritual portraiture of the former, and making great use of Luther's private and unguarded utterances. He deplored the corruptions of the Church, acknowledged the sinfulness of many popes and priests, and ignored the question of papal infallibility. John Perrone (born in 1794 in Piedmont, and for many years professor of theology in the Jesuit college at Rome) wrote a large work on dogmatic theology, which is very widely used in the Roman Church, and which includes the later developments of Romanism. The Romish doctrines and discipline are described in an intelligible and moderate way in the "Catholic Dictionary" of W. E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, 1884.

Möhler.

Perrone.

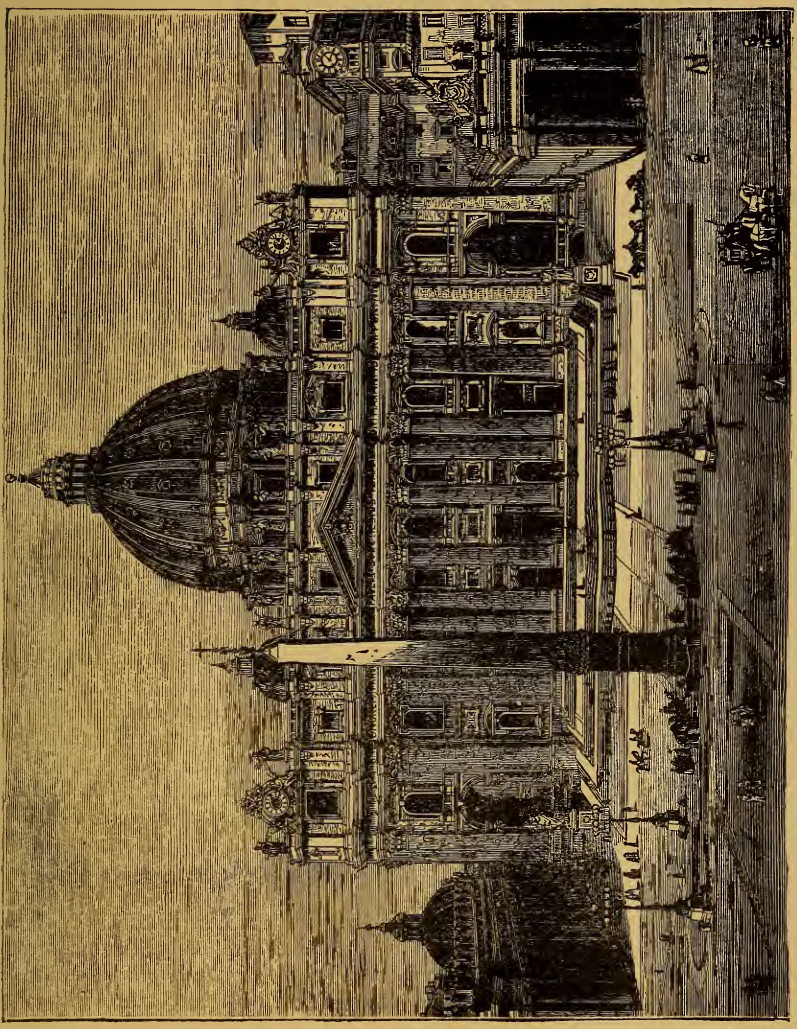
To properly understand the pronouncements of the popes against the Jansenists, we must first review the remarkable organisation and work of the Jesuits, founded by Don Inigo or Ignatius de Loyola, a Spanish nobleman, born in 1491. He took religious vows as a Benedictine in 1521, and made the first draft of his famous "Spiritual Exercises." He conceived the idea of founding an order which should support the papacy against the German heretics, and spread the gospel among the heathen. He was twice imprisoned in Spain on suspicion of heresy; but from 1528 to 1534 he studied at Paris, and in the latter year he founded his society, with Peter Faber, a priest, and Francis Xavier, afterwards the celebrated missionary to India, in 1537 taking the title of "The Company of Jesus," whence they were afterwards termed "Jesuits" by Calvin. In 1540, after much opposition, the new Order was confirmed by papal bull. The employments assigned were to be preaching, spiritual exercises, works of charity, teaching the catechism, and hearing confessions; but the work to be done by any member was to be chosen by the general, and a long probation was prescribed before full admission. Francis Xavier and Rodriguez were sent to the King of Portugal to act as missionaries in his possessions. In 1541 Loyola was chosen superior or general, and immediately sent out his adherents on various special missions—two to Ireland to encourage the people in their resistance to Henry VIII., one to the Diet at Worms. A college was founded in 1542, to supply preachers for the Indian mission founded by Xavier. The Jesuits had much success both in Spain and Germany, where they proved themselves able opponents of the Protestants. Privileges and gifts flowed in upon them; but Loyola wisely stipulated that his members should not be compelled to take outside dignities and offices or become monastic confessors. They were also placed completely at the general's disposal, and the final vows were made unchangeable. Loyola would not have his members wear a special habit, designing that they should mix freely with the world. Candidates had to renounce their own will, their family, and all that they held most dear. In 1546 free day schools were established in connection with all the Jesuit colleges. During the sittings of the

Ignatius Loyola.

Faber and Xavier.

The Jesuit Order.

Council of Trent, three members of the Order were strong advocates for the papal power, viz., Laynez, Faber, and Salmeron, and had considerable influence in framing its decrees. When Loyola died, in 1556, the society



ST. PETER'S, ROME.

included over 2,000 members in twelve provinces, and more than a hundred colleges and houses. Laynez, the next general, added to the great powers of his office. Pope Pius V. granted still more extended privileges, and made

them irrevocable at any future time. In the latter part of the sixteenth century the Jesuits had great success in counteracting the Reform movement, though they were expelled from England, France, and Antwerp.

In 1640 was published the celebrated *Augustinus* of Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), Bishop of Ypres, who had taught against the Jesuits' influence at Louvain. A large part of this book is devoted to an exposition of the Pelagian errors and of the Augustinian doctrine of Divine grace, in a sense approaching the teaching of Calvin; but its epilogue by implication compared the errors of the Jesuits to those of the early semi-Pelagians, and drew down their violent antagonism. The Inquisition prohibited it, followed by a Papal bull to the same effect in 1643. Arnauld, a famous French theologian, wrote two *Apologies* for Jansen, and many Catholic theologians supported the *Augustinus*. Finally the Jesuits succeeded in getting a papal condemnation of several teachings of Jansen as heretical, which proceeding called forth the celebrated *Provincial Letters* of Blaise Pascal, which dealt severe blows at the Jesuits. Arnauld, however, was expelled from the Sorbonne, and the Jesuits for years carried on a bitter persecution of the Jansenists, especially in France, in the latter part of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. Quesnel's "Moral Reflections on the New Testament" being a popular work, was especially obnoxious to the Jesuits as containing Jansenist views. In Holland a considerable section, with the deprived Archbishop of Utrecht, stuck to the Jansenist teaching, and succeeded in maintaining a separatist Church, with a succession of bishops, which still exists at Utrecht, Deventer, and Haarlem, though its members do not exceed six thousand. They claim still to be members of the Catholic Church under the pope, though denying his infallibility.

Jansen's Augustinus.

Arnauld.

Pascal.

Quesnel.

Jansenists.

What were the main elements of the success of the Jesuits, and the causes of the opposition they aroused?[1] In the first place, the vow of indiscriminating obedience to orders from headquarters, and the extent to which that obedience has been rendered. Secondly, their continual intercourse with society, mobility, and adaptability to local circumstances. This has gone to the extent that multitudes have met with and been influenced by Jesuits without the slightest suspicion of their identity. Thirdly, the subjugation of will, understanding, and even moral judgment, to the superior and to what is considered to be the good of the Order or the Church. Fourthly, a complete system of checks, not to say spies, and a spirit of resistance to the papacy when not in accord with the Order. Many popes have condemned their actions fruitlessly; for instance, although nine popes condemned their adoption of Chinese heathen methods and rites in their Chinese missions, they maintained their course successfully. Their missions, their colleges, spread almost throughout the world; and their influence successfully hindered the spread of Protestantism in many countries and provinces. The personal and private character of the

Causes of Jesuit successes.

[1] See *Quarterly Review* for October, 1874, and January, 1875.

Jesuits has in general been remarkably pure and free from ill-repute. Yet both the doctrines and the acts attributed to the Jesuits have caused them to be widely suspected and disliked. The motto of the order, "Ad majorem Dei gloriam," "To the greater glory of God," was interpreted in a sense which more or less overpowered moral distinctions; and three principles—(1) that of probabilism, or that probable opinions may

Moral defects.

MILAN CATHEDRAL.

be lawfully followed, even if they conflict with the agent's opinion; (2) that of mental reservation; and (3) that the end justifies the means—have been with more or less justice identified with the spirit of Jesuitry. In a fully authorised and widely diffused "Compendium of Moral Theology," by Father Gury, we have such Jesuitical principles as these: "Temptation, when greatly protracted, need not be positively withstood continuously";

"The Pope can dispense from God's precepts for a just cause in cases where Divine law comes into action through human will, as in vows or oaths." As to the necessity of belief in the Trinity and Incarnation before absolution, one can be "validly absolved if only he be living in invincible ignorance." This might be used to cover the case of so-called converts in China, accepted without any belief in the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. "For grave reasons" it is declared lawful at times to use latent reservations and equivocal terms; and this is illustrated by cases which practically justify many kinds of deceit. Clandestine conversions with postponed professions are permitted. The maxim that the end justifies the means has been again and again expressed by Jewish theologians. All kinds of objects and proceedings have been justified by these maxims.

Their recent history.

The failures and mistakes of the Jesuits in the early part of the eighteenth century led to the dissolution of the Order by Pope Clement XIV. in 1773; but some members continued their society in Prussia and Russia, and in 1801 Pope Pius VII. recognised the Order in Russia; in 1804 it was restored in Naples and Sicily, and in 1814 it was completely re-established by the same pope. But the Jesuits' reception was not unanimously favourable. From Russia they were finally expelled in 1820. They were expelled from Portugal in 1834; from Spain in 1835. They did not succeed in getting legally acknowledged in France, though tolerated and by turns favoured and expelled. They regained very great influence in Belgium, and considerable strength in Prussia and Germany. In 1872 the Jesuits were banished from Germany, and in 1880 from France. We cannot wonder that States have very generally seen in the laxity of moral principle so often exhibited by the Order a very real danger.

"The Immaculate Conception."

We need only briefly note the terms in which Pope Pius IX., on December 8th, 1854, formally proclaimed the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. It was "that the most blessed Virgin Mary, in the first moment of her conception, by special grace and privilege of Almighty God, in virtue of the merits of Christ, was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin." This is to be believed by all the faithful on pain of excommunication. A new mass and a new office for the festival of her conception were promulgated in 1863.

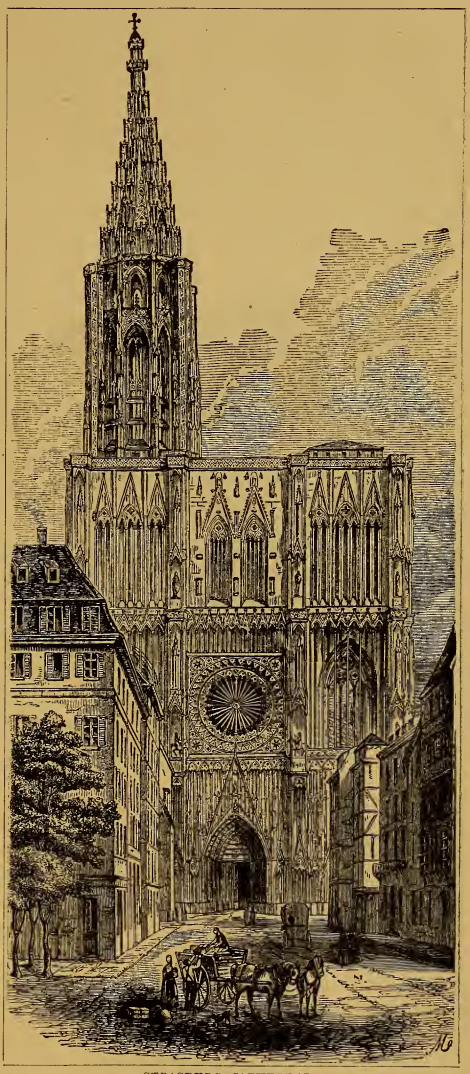
Vatican Council, 1870.

The Vatican Council of 1870, to which the Eastern patriarchs and Protestant leaders were invited, in terms which none of them could accept, was attended by 764 cardinals, archbishops, prelates, abbots, and generals of monastic orders, 541 belonging to Europe (276 to Italy), 83 to Asia, 14 to Africa, 113 to America, and 13 to Oceania. On April 24th, 1870, the Council adopted a revised "Dogmatic Constitution of the Catholic Faith," in which the position of the Council of Trent was substantially affirmed in more modern language. It forbids all interpretation of the Bible that does not agree with the Vulgate version, the Roman traditions, and the imaginary "unanimous consent of the Fathers."

All modern results of science which appear to conflict with this, all rationalism, materialism, and pantheism, were condemned, thus endorsing the previous condemnation they had received in the Papal Syllabus of Errors, 1864. Modern rationalism and infidelity are said to be the evil results of Protestantism.

On July 18th, 1870, the most important decree of the Council was passed, declaring the apostolic primacy of St. Peter, the continuance of his primacy in the pope, his episcopal supremacy over all bishops, and his supreme judicial authority, from which there is no appeal. Finally it was declared that "the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, that is, when, in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals, is possessed of infallibility; and that therefore such definitions are irreformable (irreversible) of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church."

Papal infallibility.



STRASBURG CATHEDRAL.

It would be unprofitable to attempt to describe Roman ceremonies or the religious life of a Roman Catholic. The ceremonies can be seen in almost any town, the religious life can be judged to a certain extent by that of persons known to most readers. As a general rule, it may be said that religion suffers in the Roman Church by the use of prayers in a dead language as regards the mass of the people, although translations are used by many;

repetitions and mechanical services count for too much; and the devotion of the unlearned to the Virgin Mary and to the saints verges on practical polytheism, or at any rate on belief in a multiplicity of spirits more or less powerful. The idea of the repeated sacrifice of the mass, the peculiarities of priestly absolution, the Papal Syllabus and infallibility, the granting of indulgences, and the discord between Romanism and the great movements of the age are among the points in which it is most open to criticism, and, according to Protestants, to reprobation.

It has been estimated that there are 155 millions of Roman Catholics in Europe, eight millions in Asia, two-and-a-half millions in Africa, 52 millions in America, and half a million in Australia and Oceania; in all 218 millions. But in this estimate 35 millions are assigned to France, a large estimate, considering the antagonism to the Church on the part of so many Frenchmen. Over 21 millions are put down to Spain and Portugal, 20 millions to Austria Hungary, 16 millions to Germany, and 26 millions to Italy.

Number of Roman Catholics.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, PHILANTHROPIST (1576–1660).

The main administrative functions of the papacy are discharged by groups or committees of cardinals, forming congregations, with prelates and other distinguished ecclesiastics and officials appointed by the pope. That of the Consistory supervises affairs of church buildings, bishops, etc.; that of the Holy Office of the Inquisition endeavours to extirpate heresies, to put down blasphemies, and many other crimes, and in theory claims universal jurisdiction; that of Bishops and Regulars looks after the government of monasteries and their differences with bishops; that of the Index examines newly-published books reported to be contrary to faith or morals, and publishes at intervals a list of prohibited books; that of the Propaganda, more correctly *De Propaganda Fide*, manages foreign missions, and supervises a college at Rome for training missionaries. The total number of Roman bishoprics is nearly 1,100.

The Roman Congregations.

The Missal is the most important Roman service book. Including traditional matter derived from the early Church and early popes, especially Gregory I., it was thoroughly revised after the Council of Trent, and issued in 1570; it has since been revised more than once. It includes (1) the Mass services for Sundays, and (2) the Masses for saints'

Roman service books.

days and festivals. The Breviary, issued in a revised form in 1568 and brought into its present shape in 1631, contains prayers, psalms, hymns, Scripture lessons and comments by the Fathers, for every day of the year, together with narratives about the saints and martyrs, thus forming a complete manual of devotion. There are appropriate services for each "Hour" proper for service, there being matins, lauds (3 a.m.), Prime (6 a.m.), tierce (9 a.m.), sext (noon), nones (3 p.m.), vespers (6 p.m.), and compline (midnight). Of great importance also are the *Roman Ritual*, or book of priests' rites, and corresponding books for bishops and for papal ceremonies.

The "Old Catholic" movement began in a revulsion from the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Being called upon by the Archbishop of Munich to submit to this dogma, Dr. Ignatius von Döllinger, one of the most learned men of this century, rector of the University of Munich in 1871–72, declined, on the ground that the Vatican decrees were inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel and the clear teaching of Christ and the Apostles, and contradict the genuine traditions of the Church. He was excommunicated on April 17th, 1871, and the same sentence was passed on his colleagues Friedrich and others. They were followed in their dissent by one hundred congregations in the German Empire, centring in Munich and Bonn. In 1873 they formed a separate Church with legal status, and Professor Joseph Reinkens was elected bishop by clergy and people, and was consecrated by the Jansenist bishop Heykamp of Deventer. At a congress at Constance, a synodal and parochial system was adopted, in which the laity are represented equally with the clergy. At first taking their stand on the Tridentine standards, they have somewhat progressed towards Protestantism. Bishop Reinkens, in his address to the Old Catholic Council at Constance, inculcated the reading of the Bible as the means of the most intimate communion with God. In a letter addressed to a Protestant assembly they strongly asserted their desire to establish a union of all Christians by means of a really œcumenical council.

The Old Catholics.

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, PREACHER (1567–1622).

A Conference was held at Bonn in 1874 between leading Old Catholics, orthodox Russians and Greeks, English and American Episcopalians, and various Lutherans and Protestants, which agreed to fourteen theses advocating the reading of the Bible and the Liturgy in the

Theses of Union Conference.

vernacular, asserting that salvation is not gained by merit, but by faith working by love, and that the doctrine of works of supererogation is untenable, that the number of seven sacraments was first fixed in the twelfth century, allowing the authoritative value of the tradition of the undivided Church, and the unbroken episcopal succession of the Anglican Church, rejecting the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and that of the sacrifice of the Mass, acknowledging the Eucharist only as the permanent representation and presentation on earth of Christ's sacrifice, allowing confession and absolution and prayers for the dead, but limiting the granting of indulgences to penalties imposed by the Church. A fourth conference in 1875 adopted a form of agreement on the Filioque clause, granting much to the Greek Church, and agreeing that "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son." Pope Pius IX. meanwhile had excommunicated all these "sons of perdition," and their so-called bishop, and termed Bishop Reinkens' address "impious and most impudent."

A distinct Swiss Synod of Old Catholics has been formed, and Edward Herzog was elected first bishop, and consecrated by Bishop Reinkens in 1876. The Old Catholics of Switzerland are more radical and anti-papal than those of Germany.

Swiss Old Catholics.

We cannot but note that the Roman Church has been greatly influenced by Protestantism, in spite of itself. This can only be properly estimated by comparing the Church as it was in the time of Wyclif and Huss with its present state. The abuses and evils then existing have to a large extent disappeared, many doctrines are more simply taught, the poor are far better looked after, and great skill is displayed in adapting the Church to the local circumstances of each country. To a large extent the Roman Catholic clergy are in the van of social and philanthropic movements. But the doctrines of papal infallibility and of Mariolatry must place a permanent barrier between the Roman Church and those who are in touch with Protestantism or with modern science.

CALVIN.

CHAPTER XII.

The Lutheran, Reformed, and Presbyterian Churches.

Lutheran Church—Melanchthon's Apology—Luther's Catechisms—Articles of Smalcald—The Philippists—Form of Concord—Lutheran Church organisation—Calvin—His "Institutes"—Teaching on Predestination and the Lord's Supper—Calvin's Church government—Calvin and Servetus—Second Helvetic Confession—The Helvetic Consensus—The Swiss Reformed Churches—The Heidelberg Catechism—John Knox—The Scotch Reformation—Scotch Confession—The National Covenant—The Westminster Assembly—The Westminster Confession—The Westminster Catechisms—Patronage—The Cameronians—Reformed Presbyterians—United Presbyterian Church—Free Church of Scotland—Presbyterian Worship—Government—Dutch Reformed Church—The Belgic Confession—Arminius—Synod of Dort—Reformation in France—Gallican Confession—Edict of Nantes—Revocation of Edict—Modern French Protestantism—The Reformed Churches of Hungary.

THE Lutheran Church, more properly the Protestant Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, due to the labours of Luther, his comrades and followers, is predominant in Prussia, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and many German principalities, in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, in Finland, Livonia, and some other Russian provinces; while the Lutherans are numerous in the United States, in Hungary and France. They are estimated at more than forty millions. **Lutheran Church.**

The Augsburg Confession of 1530 is the basis of the Lutheran Church (p. 846). In 1530–31 Melanchthon wrote a much longer and very learned "Apology" in answer to the Roman Catholic "Refutation," accepted in 1530 by the Emperor and the Diet; it has high value **Melanchthon's Apology.**

as the interpretation of the Augsburg Confession by its author, and was embodied in the Book of Concord, 1580. In 1540 Melanchthon published, with an improved edition of the Apology, a modified form of the Augsburg Confession, known as the Altered or *Variata* edition, containing modified views on absolute predestination, and on the Real Presence, tending towards the views of the Swiss Reformers, and laying more stress on the necessity of repentance and good works. It was adopted by several Lutheran conferences, and taught in many Lutheran Churches and schools; but after 1560 it was attacked by strict Lutherans, while the followers of Melanchthon approached nearer to the Calvinists. This is but one of many controversies in the Lutheran Church about the middle of the sixteenth century. Luther's views remained predominant, especially as given in his Longer and Shorter Catechisms of 1539. The latter especially has become a sort of second Bible for the German Lutherans. In 1531 Luther added a section on confession and absolution, to which he attached much importance. "True absolution," he says, "instituted in the Gospel by Christ, affords comfort and support against sin and an evil conscience. Confession or absolution shall by no means be abolished in the Church, but be retained, especially on account of weak or timid consciences, and also on account of untutored youth, in order that they may be examined and instructed in the Christian doctrine. But the enumeration of sins should be free to every one, to enumerate or not such as he wishes." He also added some short family prayers, a table of duties in Scripture language, and marriage and baptismal manuals.

Luther's Catechisms.

The next important Lutheran Confession (Articles of Smalcald, 1537) was intended as a basis for discussion at the Council which afterwards met at Trent. The articles were prepared by Luther, and couched in aggressive terms against the mass, purgatory, the invocation of saints, monasticism, and popery. The mass is denounced as "the greatest and most horrible abomination"; purgatory as a "satanic delusion"; and the Pope as Antichrist, having no conscience, and caring only about gold, honour, and power. Melanchthon wrote an appendix, in which he admitted that the pope, "if he would admit the Gospel," might be allowed to exercise, by human right, his present jurisdiction over bishops; but at the same time refuting powerfully the divine right of the pope over bishops, and his right to temporal power. The assembly of Smalcald resolved not to send any delegates to the Papal Council.

Articles of Smalcald.

The theological differences between Luther and Melanchthon, which grew more marked after this, did not break their friendship, though Melanchthon approached the Calvinists very considerably. Luther died in 1546, Melanchthon in 1560; but the latter did not attempt to found a Church of his own. The strict Lutherans, after Luther's death, made his doctrines more rigid, and tended to make Lutheranism a narrow sect. The followers of Melanchthon, who were termed Philippists (from his Christian name) and Crypto-calvinists, maintained the right of progressive development in theology, and desired to enlarge the basis of

The Philippists.

Lutheranism. The Lutherans exalted Luther almost to apostolic rank. In the Preface to the Magdeburg Confession, 1550, Luther is termed "the third Elijah," "the prophet of God," and his doctrine the doctrine of Christ. The Philippists had more moderation and reasonableness. Numerous controversies as to the mode of regarding original sin, man's freedom in relation to the converting grace of God, justification by faith, good works, the Eucharist, Hades, etc., made Germany a camp of theologians. At last Andreæ, Professor of Theology at Tübingen, Martin Chemnitz, Melanchthon's greatest pupil, and Nicholas Selnecker, also a Melanchthonian, after a long series of conferences, secured the adoption of "The Form of Concord," 1577, published with the Augsburg and other Lutheran creeds, in the "Book of Concord," 1580. It embodies a series of concessions of the disputing parties, mainly deferring to Luther's authority, and states his doctrines of the total depravity of man and of his will, of salvation only by God's grace, with no co-operation of the human will, of justification by Christ's imputed righteousness, consubstantiation and the ubiquity of Christ's body; while dropping his view of absolute predestination and recognising the universality of the offer of divine grace. It goes into and decides many questions utterly beyond the power of man to decide, and did not attain anything like the authority of the Augsburg Confession. It was however adopted in most of the German Lutheran States, in Sweden, Hungary, and generally in the United States. A number of principalities afterwards adhered mainly to the Reformed or Zwinglian doctrine. The Form of Concord produced more controversy than it settled; and its doctrines were ably assailed by Cardinal Bellarmine. It is now regarded by many as almost dead, or at least not representing what would now be unitedly accepted.

Form of Concord.

Following the separatist organisation of Germany, the Lutheran Church does not form one strong body even in Germany, but consists of separate and independent Churches in each principality. These Churches have one common character—they dispense with episcopacy, and are governed by councils (consistories) including both clergy and laymen appointed by the civil rulers, with very varied plans of Church discipline. The growth of the Reformed Churches, with their antagonism to Lutheranism, greatly weakened Protestantism in the seventeenth century. Many efforts were made to unite them under one government, and at last this was effected in Prussia, Nassau, Baden, and Hesse (1817–1823), thus forming a "Church Union," in which each congregation adopts either the Augsburg or the Heidelberg Confession. In Prussia a considerable number of Lutherans separated from the main Church in consequence of this union, and took the title of "Old Lutherans." In Prussia, Wurtemberg, Hesse, and Oldenburg the Protestant element prevails, with from 23 to 33 per cent. of Roman Catholics. In Saxony and eighteen minor German States the people are almost all Protestants. Various movements in recent years have been termed "New Lutheranism," partly tending to revive pure Lutheranism, partly approximating to the Church of Rome, and to higher

Lutheran Church organisation.

interest in ceremony and its surroundings, partly tending in a rationalistic direction. In Norway, Sweden, and Denmark the Lutheran Church is governed by bishops. In America there are numerous synods, some of which have united to form "Unions" or Conferences; but not a little diversity of opinion or doctrine prevails among them, preventing the union of all the Lutheran Churches.

The services of the Lutheran Church, while allowing considerable place to extemporaneous prayer, are largely in accord with that of the Church of England. The singing of psalms and hymns, in which Lutheranism is rich, forms a prominent element. Preaching occupies a position of prime importance.

Calvin.

After Zwingli, the greatest name in the Swiss Reformed Church is that of John Calvin, a Frenchman born in Picardy in 1509, educated in the Universities of Orleans, Bourges, and Paris, and already remarkable for his classical and general literary knowledge, when, at the age of 23, he was suddenly converted to the evangelical doctrines. So powerful was his character, that in a year he had become the leader of the Protestant party in France. But the authorities began to persecute the Reformers, twenty-four being burnt in the winter of 1534-5; and Calvin had to wander from place to place. At Poictiers, in 1534, he with a few friends celebrated the Lord's Supper in a cave, known as Calvin's cave, according to the evangelical rite. In 1536 he published at Basle the first edition of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," attacking the Romish errors from the Reformed standpoint, and setting forth the special doctrines of Calvinism. During the same year, while Calvin was passing through Geneva, William Farel, a prominent Reformer, detained him, and charged him to undertake the work of the Lord in Geneva. Calvin complied with the entreaties of Farel and other Reformers, and began preaching and lecturing on divinity; and before the end of 1536 a plan of Church government had been drawn up, which was sanctioned by the civic authorities in 1537. The system thus introduced proved too stringent, and Calvin and Farel were expelled from Geneva (Easter, 1538). Calvin spent the next three years teaching and preaching at Strasburg, where he wrote several works which Luther valued, and became a most intimate friend of Melanchthon. Their affection was most touchingly expressed by Calvin after Melanchthon's death. "A hundred times, worn out with fatigue and overwhelmed with care, thou didst lay thy head upon my breast and say, 'Would to God that I might die here, on thy breast.' And I, a thousand times since then, have earnestly desired that it had been granted us to be together." Calvin was recalled triumphantly to Geneva in 1541, where he lived ascetically for the remaining twenty-three years of his life, the head of the Church and Republic of Geneva. His labours in writing, teaching, interviews, councils, etc., were enormous. At his death, his able successor was Theodore Beza.

Calvin, whom Renan characterises as "the most Christian man of his generation," had a more powerful influence than Zwingli in moulding the

final form of the Reformed Churches. His "Institutes" is both a literary and a theological masterpiece. Its first section deals with theology (the knowledge of God), the second with Christology, the third with soteriology (the salvation of man through the work of the Holy Spirit), the fourth with the Church and the sacraments. It is most original on the doctrines of predestination and the Lord's Supper. His teaching on the former is, that part of the human race, without any merit of their own, are elected to holiness and salvation, and part are doomed to eternal death for sin. "Adam fell, God's providence having so ordained it; yet he fell by his own guilt;" and although Calvin felt this to be a horrible doctrine, yet he believed it was so clearly supported by Scripture that he had no choice but to believe it, although it involved the damnation of multitudes of little children.

Calvin's Institutes.

Predestination.

KNOX.

Much of Calvin's argument was based on the ninth chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans. One of his great objects was the uprooting of all human pride in free will or in voluntary efforts, and the strengthening of gratitude and courage in "the elect." The Calvinistic doctrine was carried by Beza and others into a "supralapsarian" extreme, making every particular man before the fall, or before creation, the object of election, either to salvation or damnation; but the "infralapsarian" view has been incorporated in all Calvinistic confessions, namely, that man fell and became condemned by his own voluntary sin, rejecting the view that God has decreed the existence of sin. This is essentially the view adopted in the Swiss, the French, the Scotch, the Dutch, and the Westminster Confessions; while the English Thirty-nine Articles, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the other German Reformed confessions expound only the positive side of the doctrine, namely, the fore-election of all who believe, without asserting the damnation by election of unbelievers.

As to the Lord's Supper, while rejecting all materialistic conceptions of the presence of Christ's body and blood, Calvin went beyond Zwingli in asserting a spiritual presence and reception of Christ's body and blood, giving to believers by faith the benefit of Christ's sacrifice on the cross and the vivifying influence of His glorified humanity in heaven; unbelievers who might partake, he said, received only bread and

The Lord's Supper.

wine. This doctrine was accepted in all the leading Reformed confessions.

Calvin's Commentaries on the Bible have furnished a rich store of matter to theologians. He was not so rigid in his view of the inspiration of the Bible as many of his followers have been. His idea of the Church was a vigorous and living one, but very different from that of Romanism. The Church was to exercise rigid discipline over its members, to maintain self-government independently of the State, and to be governed largely by lay-representatives. According to him all ministers were equal, though he did not object to the retention of episcopacy in England. In his idea of the independence of the Church, he really aimed at the Church and the State being but two branches of Divine order, complementary and useful to each other.

Calvin's Church government.

The most unpleasing features in Calvin's character and actions are those in which the rigidity of his principles, and his consistency in carrying them out to their logical conclusion, led him to sanction acts now universally condemned. The case of Servetus is the worst. Servetus was a brilliant young physician and man of learning, who had anticipated some of Harvey's discoveries about the circulation of the blood; but his intellectual analysis of the Christian faith led him to publish a book in 1553, "*Christianismi Restitutio*," in which he aimed at restoring it to its pristine purity. He regarded the doctrine of the Trinity as involving tritheism and leading to atheism; he believed in a Trinity of manifestation only. He was passionately devoted to the person of Christ, was an Anabaptist, and strongly relied on the Bible as his authority. Servetus had already been condemned to be burnt in France, but escaped to Geneva, where he was accused, under Calvin's influence, of blasphemy and erroneous teaching. When brought to trial, Servetus used strong expressions against the right of the civil power to decide in matters of faith; and he also announced further opinions tending in a pantheistic direction. Calvin approved of his being condemned to death, though he wished him not to be burnt. But his death by fire took place, to the great discredit of Calvin and Geneva, on October 27th, 1553. This event, however, is a mark of the vehemence of belief with which the theology of reform as well as that of conservatism was held at that time. It is not fair to judge the Genevese Reformers by the more enlightened views which now prevail. The right of private judgment, often claimed as a signal property of Protestantism, was but a slowly-evolved product. If the standards adopted by the Church, whether Roman or Reformed, were true, every other view was evil, and ought to be condemned and suppressed: for was it not right to suppress the false, wrong to allow its propagation? So men argued then.

Calvin and Servetus.

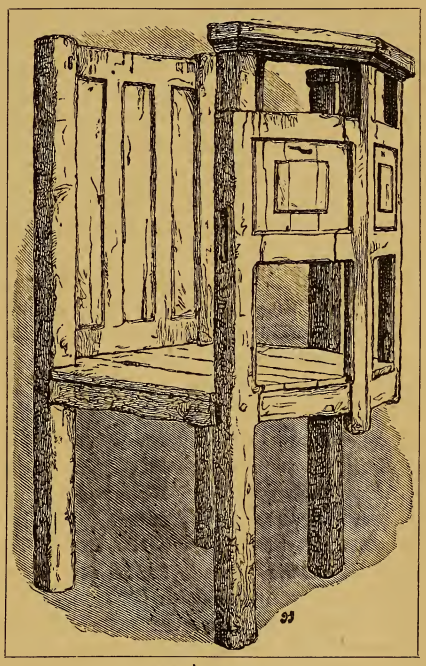
After Calvin's death, the first important Reformed Creed, or Confession, was the "Second Helvetic," published in 1566, drawn up by Henry Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich, and adopted or approved by nearly all the Reformed Churches on the Continent, as well as in England and Scotland. It is very long and theological, but

Second Helvetic Confession.

well deserves the study of theologians. In many points it is more liberal in its statements than Calvin or Luther. It rejects priesthood, priestcraft, and priestly exclusive control of the Church. Among the duties of the civil power it includes punishment of blasphemers and incorrigible heretics, if they are really heretics.

The last general Swiss Confession is that known as the Helvetic Consensus of 1675, which was abandoned in about half a century, in consequence of the criticism caused by its extreme character. It was to counteract several modifications of teaching introduced by professors in the theological academy of Saumur in France, La Place, Cappel, and Amyrant. Cappel had taught that the perfect inspiration claimed for every particular of the Hebrew scriptures could not be held, for the system of vowel-points was due to late Jewish grammarians; and that the different readings must be consulted in order to fully understand the text. The new Helvetic Consensus insisted on the literal inspiration of the Scriptures and the traditional Hebrew text, vowels as well as consonants. This doctrine, held in its extreme form by some persons to-day, has led to violent reaction, and has partly led to the modern study of the Scriptures by every method of common sense, historical and archæological study, and literary criticism. Amyrant had taught that God foreordained and desired universal salvation, but through faith in Christ as a condition, foreknowing and foreordaining however that many men would reject it. The Helvetic Consensus denied that the call to salvation was ever absolutely general, asserting that Christ died only for the elect, and not indiscriminately for all men. Man was naturally as well as morally unable to believe the gospel of himself. Against La Place of Saumur the Consensus affirmed, not only the condemnation of all Adam's posterity as a consequence of his sin (mediate imputation) but also the direct or immediate imputation of his sin to all his descendants, as if they had themselves committed it. It cannot be wondered at that sharp reaction and rebellion against such teaching took place.

The Helvetic Consensus.



KNOX'S PULPIT.

For a long time religious divisions, and reaction towards Catholicism, were prominent in Swiss religious history. At present the majority (over a million and a half) of the inhabitants belong to the Reformed Church, under the control to a certain extent of the authorities in each canton. Calvin's system of mixed lay and ministerial government is adopted, but every citizen has full liberty of conscience and creed, and can incur no penalties for his religious opinions.

The Swiss Reformed Churches.

We have only space to notice the most famous product of the Reformed Churches of Germany, the Heidelberg Catechism, published in 1563, the joint work of Ursinus (Baër) and Olevianus (Olewig), at the command of Frederick III., Elector of the Palatinate. It is acknowledged as a most able and in many ways attractive production. It was translated into many languages, and used by Churches in many lands. It is unlike many others in its first question, which is, "What is thy only comfort in life and in death?" The answer is: "That in soul and body, whether I live or die, I am not mine own, but I belong unto my most faithful Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ: who by His precious blood, most fully satisfying for all my sins, hath delivered me from the whole power of the devil; and doth so preserve me, that without the will of my heavenly Father, not so much as a hair can fall from my head: yea, all things are made to serve for my salvation. Wherefore by His Spirit also, He assureth me of everlasting life, and maketh me ready and prepared, that henceforth I may live unto Him." On many points the extreme forms of Calvin's doctrines are modified; and several parts are regarded as gems of theological statement. It presents the doctrines of Calvinism in a comforting, not a forbidding aspect.

The Heidelberg Catechism.

Travelling further from Geneva, we find Calvin's teaching carried to Scotland by his pupil John Knox; but already Lutheran students and converts had been martyred in Scotland when Knox, ordained a Romish priest in 1530, became converted to Reformed doctrines by study of the Bible and the writings of Augustine and Jerome. He denounced the mass as an abominable idolatry and profanation of the Lord's Supper, and the pope as the "man of sin" and "Antichrist." After some years' work as a reformer in England (1549-1554) where he became one of Edward VI.'s chaplains, he spent some years with Calvin at Geneva, which he called "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was since the days of the apostles." Knox returned to Scotland in 1559, and largely under his influence Parliament abolished the Roman Catholic worship and the rule of the pope, adopted a Confession of Faith drawn up mainly by Knox and others, and later adopted a Book of Discipline prepared by them.

John Knox.

The Scotch Reformation.

The Scotch Confession of 1560, in twenty-five articles, is a vigorous statement of the reformed doctrines, distinctly Calvinistic in tone, yet with great breadth of view and moderation (for instance, those who may note in the articles anything contrary to God's Word are begged in the preface to give information of it to the authors, who will

Scotch Confession.

either prove their case or reform the articles). No particular form of Church government or worship is laid down ("not that we think that one policy and one order of ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times, and places; for as ceremonies, such as men have devised, are but temporal,

ST. GILES'S CHURCH, EDINBURGH: INTERIOR.

so may and ought they to be changed, when they rather foster superstition than edify the Church using the same"). Knox prepared a form of liturgy ("Book of Common Order"), following the Genevan, which was approved by the General Assembly of the Scotch Church, in 1564, and long used.

The Scotch aversion to liturgy is of later date, when Laud tried to force English episcopacy and liturgy upon Scotland.

The struggle of the Reformation in Scotland includes many interesting features. One, which strikingly illustrates the strength of the reaction against the papacy, is the "National Covenant," drawn up in 1580 by John Craig, endorsing the Confession of 1560, but fiercely repudiating all "Papistry." It especially denounces the "usurped tyranny of the Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Kirk, the civil magistrate, and consciences of men; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things," with much more about the evils censured by Protestants.

The National Covenant.

The "Westminster Assembly," which drew up the celebrated "Confession," was intended by the Long Parliament to frame a code of doctrine, worship, and discipline for the three kingdoms. The members were all nominated by Parliament, except those chosen by the General Assembly of the Scotch Church; and it would have included many representatives of the Episcopal Church if they would have attended. As a matter of fact, those who actually attended were mostly Presbyterians, though nearly all in episcopal orders; but they formed two divisions, one regarding Presbyterian government as lawful, but based on human right, and liable to change if desirable; the other considering it as based on Divine right, and instituted in the New Testament as the only and unchangeable form of Church government. The Assembly sat from 1643 to 1649. The "Confession" was completed in December, 1646, and adopted by the Scotch General Assembly in 1647, the Scotch Parliament endorsing it in 1649. It follows very considerably the lines of the Anglican Articles of Religion, giving them a Calvinistic completeness and fuller logical statement. It declares that there is in the Bible a full and intelligible scheme of salvation, and that nothing is to be added thereto, whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men. Scripture is only to be interpreted by Scripture, and "the Holy Spirit speaking in Scripture" is to settle all religious controversies. The Old and New Testaments are declared to be "immediately inspired by God, and by His singular care and providence kept pure in all ages," and they are therefore "authentical." The chapters on the Trinity and on the person of Christ follow closely the lines of the Nicene and Chalcedon Councils. As to predestination, it adopts, not the supralapsarian but the infralapsarian view, which it states very fully and clearly, the fall being permitted only, and God being declared neither the author nor approver of sin. It grants the freedom of the human will in these terms, "God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined, to good or evil." The doctrine of "covenants" made by God with man is introduced: (1) of works, made with Adam and his posterity on condition of perfect and personal obedience, (2) of grace through Christ, offered under the Law by forms and ordinances all typifying Christ, and under the Gospel, by the

The Westminster Assembly.

The Westminster Confession.

preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. This idea of covenants, developed by various divines, was mainly of sixteenth-century growth. Salvation by Christ is clearly set forth on evangelical lines; "the Son of God, the Second Person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one substance and equal with the Father, did, when the fulness of time was come, take upon Him man's nature, with all the essential properties and common infirmities thereof, yet without sin; . . . so that two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion." A very sweeping clause is found in the chapter on repentance, which has contributed very considerably to strengthen Scotch severity and austerity. "*As there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation*, so there is no sin so great that it can bring damnation upon those who truly repent." The great strength of the latter clause has sometimes been obscured by the terrors of the former.

The doctrine of the Sacraments in the Westminster Confession is that of the Calvinistic and of the Anglican Churches, at least before modern High Church developments. Baptism is declared to be not so inseparable from salvation, that no person can be saved without it, or that all baptised persons are regenerate. The Lord's Supper is no sacrifice, but a commemoration, and there is no change of the substance of the elements. An elaborate description is given of what is lawful in public worship, corresponding to Presbyterian practice. The proper observation of the "Christian Sabbath" is defined as "an holy rest all the day from men's own works, words, and thoughts, about their worldly employments and recreations." The whole time is to be taken up in public and private worship and in duties of necessity and mercy. Another particular in which the Westminster Confession seems to contravene its own principle of liberty of conscience, is when it allows that persons who publish opinions against the civil or the ecclesiastical power, or maintain such practices as are contrary to the light of nature or the known principles of Christianity, concerning faith, worship, or conversation, or destructive of peace and order in the Church, may be proceeded against by the censures of the Church or the power of the civil magistrate. The latter may see that unity and peace are kept, blasphemies and heresies suppressed, corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and may call synods and be present at them. These synods may determine matters of faith, conscience, and worship; but all synods and councils may err, and many have erred; as also, the purest Churches are subject both to mixture and error.

The Confession acknowledges no intermediate state; the souls of the righteous return to God, into the "highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day." At the day of judgment "all persons that have lived upon earth, shall appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of

their thoughts, words, and deeds." The righteous will then enter into everlasting life; the wicked into eternal torments.

In addition to the Confession, the Assembly prepared two Catechisms, a Longer and a Shorter, the latter more especially for children, though containing much matter which many consider unsuitable for the young. The Apostles' Creed is only contained in the shorter form, as an appendix, with a caution that it was not composed by the Apostles, nor to be received as though it were canonical scripture. The Larger Catechism is especially minute in its specification of what is commanded and forbidden in the Ten Commandments. Many regard the Shorter Catechism as better than Luther's or the Heidelberg; and its adoption by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and many Baptists, in Great Britain, America, and elsewhere, proves its adaptation to their beliefs.

The Westminster Catechisms.

Meanwhile the Church of Scotland had been settled, not altogether to the liking of Knox and the other reformers, on a basis of lay patronage of benefices, and of considerable governmental control. Lay patronage was abolished in 1649, restored in 1660, abolished again in 1690, restored in 1712, and again abolished in 1874. During the first 130 years of its history the Scotch Church went through so many mutations and trials that it is quite impossible to record them here. From 1662 to 1689 Presbyterianism only existed in opposition to the Government, which re-established Episcopacy. On the accession of William III., it again became the national Church, though with much Government control. In the eighteenth century a series of schisms began, due chiefly to the ignoring of the wishes of congregations in the appointment of ministers. The first separation was that of the Cameronians, really the continuing remnant of the Covenanters of 1643, who rejected all interference of the State with religion. They organised a Church early in the eighteenth century, and in 1743 formed the "Reformed Presbytery." In 1859 there were six presbyteries, containing 36 ministers. In 1876 they had 7,500 members, and still maintained the binding force of the National Covenant. In that year they amalgamated with the Free Church of Scotland. There is still a residual body known as "Auld Lichts," or Original Seceders, who stick to the Covenants and protest against the defections of modern times.

Patronage.

The Cameronians.

Reformed Presbyterians.

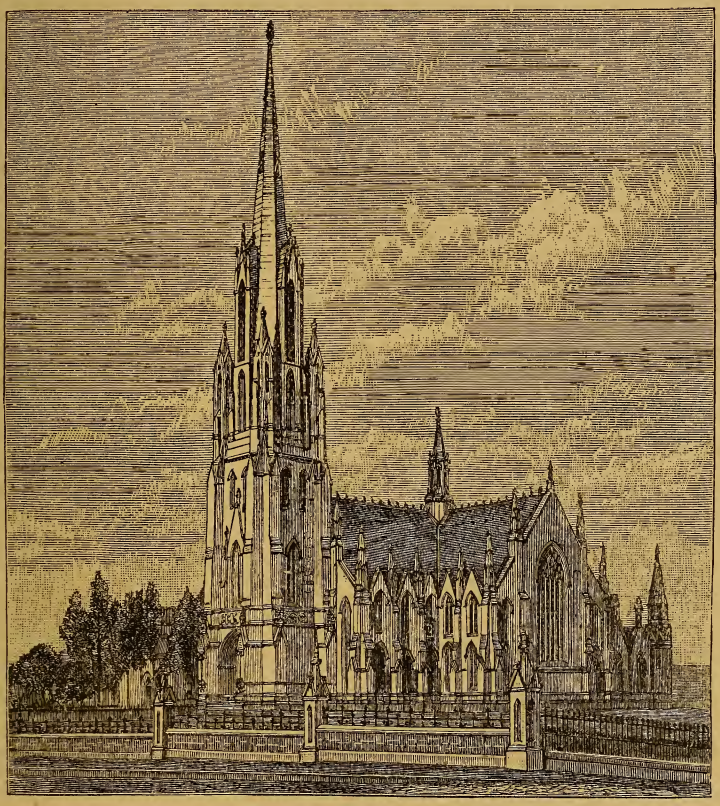
The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, formed in 1847, is the result of the union of two Churches, the "United Secession," dating formally from 1820, but in its elements from 1732, and the "Relief Church," which had been formed after the deposition of Thomas Gillespie by the Established Church in 1752. The United Presbyterians believe in free communion with other Churches, and Church independence of the State, and reject all compulsory or persecuting or intolerant teachings of the Westminster Confession. Ministers of congregations are chosen by the members; but they are ordained by imposition of hands by the presbytery.

United Presbyterian Church.

The Free Church of Scotland was formed in 1843 as the result of a

legal decision that the Established Church General Assembly could not prevent the intrusion on unwilling congregations of ministers appointed by lay patrons. This, with other interferences of the State with the Church, so moved the Scotch people that 474 ministers with a great part of their congregations left the Establishment and formed a Free Church, abandoning their endowments but no religious tenet. Thus we

Free Church of Scotland.



PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND.

have in Scotland the spectacle of three powerful Churches professing almost precisely similar tenets; and since the passing of the Scotch Patronage Act in 1874 the original question on which they split has been greatly reduced in force. We must only mention that Presbyterianism is strong in the United States, Canada, and North Ireland, and has very considerable strength in England.

We need say little, in conclusion, about Presbyterian forms of worship,

which are extremely simple, including the reading of portions of Scripture, extemporaneous prayers (often carefully prepared), the singing of psalms and hymns, and a sermon, usually long. Of late years some Presbyterian Churches have adopted choirs and organs, long strictly proscribed and condemned. The minister wears the black Genevan gown and white bands. All signs and symbols which may be supposed to indicate superstition are eschewed; and so far is this carried, that the Lord's Supper is received sitting, either in pews or at long tables. The Churches are governed by elders, the minister or teaching elder administering "the word" and the sacraments, with a number of "ruling elders" to assist him in the inspection and government of the congregation, and deacons to attend to its financial business. These constitute the "Kirk" or church session; above this is the presbytery of a district, including all the ministers and one elder from each Kirk session; the Synod consists of the members of several presbyteries. The General Assembly includes representatives of all the presbyteries in the Church. In late years there have been numerous movements of liberalism, some tending to rationalism, in the Presbyterian Churches, and much more latitude has been allowed in the interpretation of the confessions, and in speculation and criticism on theological matters.

Presbyterian worship.

Government.

The Dutch Reformed Church sprang from early study of the Scriptures by professors such as Gansevoort and Agricola, in the fifteenth century, and even more from the tyranny and persecution of the Spanish power in league with the Inquisition. Two Augustinian monks, Henry Voes and John Esch, were burnt in Brussels in 1523; and the succeeding martyr-roll in the Netherlands was longer than that of any other Protestant Church. The Belgic Confession was drawn up in 1561, mainly by Guido de Brès, who in 1567, at the age of twenty-seven, was hung for his Protestantism; it was adopted at a synod at Antwerp in 1566, and finally at the famous Synod of Dort in 1619. It follows in the main the French Confession of 1559, but is fuller and less polemical.

Dutch Reformed Church.

The Belgic Confession.

The most interesting controversy in the Dutch Church was that which was decided (though not settled) by the Synod of Dort. James Arminius (1560–1609), a student under Beza at Geneva, professor of theology at Leyden (1603), saw reason to moderate several of the Calvinistic doctrines; and his views were adopted by his successor Episcopius, and by John van Barneveldt and Hugo Grotius. The Arminians set forth their views in five Articles in 1610, under the name of "Remonstrance;" the Calvinists put forward a Counter-Remonstrance. The Synod of Dort was summoned to decide between them, and met from Nov. 13, 1618, to May 9, 1619. It included, besides a majority of Dutch divines, representatives from the Anglican, Swiss, and German Reformed Churches. The Remonstrants were in a great minority, and Calvinism triumphed, followed by the deposition of about 200 Arminian clergymen, and the arrest of Grotius and Barneveldt, and their condemnation by the

Arminius.

Synod of Dort.

State. The points asserted by the Arminians will be mentioned in the next chapter. The defeated party gradually declined in Holland; but their doctrines were renewed by the Methodists, and also widely adopted in the Anglican Church. The Canons of Dort represented the victory of a narrow orthodoxy and scholasticism; but a more liberal and even rationalising tone gradually spread widely in the Dutch Church.

The history of the Reformation in France is one of deep interest, with many tragic details which we cannot give here. The French Church had always maintained a certain independence of Rome, and the University of Paris had been the nursery of much theological development and of demand for reforms in the Church discipline. In 1521 the first reformed congregation was formed at Meaux, but in the same year Luther's doctrines were condemned by the Sorbonne. Martyrdoms began, and the Lutherans were generally persecuted, while Francis I. expressed himself in favour of a religious reformation, and entered into communication with the German reformers. His sister, Queen Margaret of Navarre, favoured the Reformation, but did not separate from the Roman Church. Regular congregations met for reformed worship in spite of persecution; and in 1559, a general synod, held at Paris, agreed to the French or Gallican Confession of faith, drawn up by Calvin, and revised and enlarged by his pupil Antoine Chaudieu. The French reformers became known as Huguenots; and their subsequent history belongs mainly to general politics. The terrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve, 1572, marked the beginning of an outburst of fanatical cruelty against them, during which over 30,000 men, women, and children were slain.

Reformation in France.

Gallican Confession.

The organisation of the French Protestant Church was strictly Presbyterian, with lay elders and provincial and national synods. Deacons, however, had a more important sphere than in Scotland, the office being regarded as a preparation for the full ministry; but the congregations had comparatively little influence in Church government. The Reformation in France received another severe blow by the "conversion" of Henry IV. to Romanism in 1593; but in 1598, by the Edict of Nantes, he practically granted full liberty of conscience to the Presbyterians. They, however, did not concede the same liberty to others; and in process of time they became more embittered against the Papal Church, and more austere in their own discipline. In 1603 they had 760 churches and 560 ministers. By the skilful management of Richelieu, their political influence diminished, and they came more and more under royal control. Their privileges were gradually restricted; they entered into close union with other Protestants, accepting the decrees of the Synod of Dort, and also holding fellowship with the Lutherans. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked. Horrible persecutions and civil wars followed, and it is estimated that several millions of Protestants left France. In the next century Presbyterianism was gradually restored by the skill of Antoine Court: persecution followed, but later tolerance gained the day. Under the Revolution Presbyterianism spread again; and in 1801–2 Napoleon framed a constitution for

Edict of Nantes.

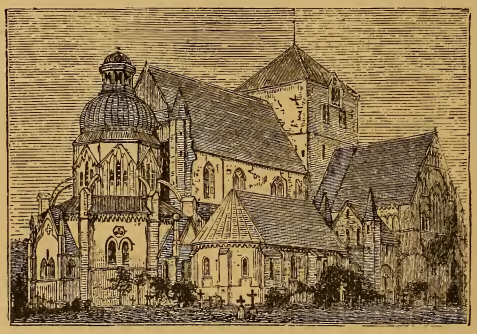
Revocation of Edict.

the Protestant Churches, under State control, abolishing the national synod, and practically checking their progress. After an imperfect but continuous existence, in 1871 the consistories were authorised to elect deputies to a general synod, which met in Paris in 1872. It was soon evident that the Gallican Confession was no longer fully held by the majority; but the medium course was adopted of declaring "the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, who died for our sins, and was raised again for our justification." The Apostles' Creed, the Confession of Sins, and the Order for the Lord's Supper were also emphatically adopted. A large minority had rationalistic views, and, in the opinion of some, deserved to be called Unitarians. They asserted the right of each pastor or member to hold whatever creed he might think proper. There is also a Free Church, or Union of Evangelical Churches in France, independent of State payment or State control.

Modern French Protestantism.

A brief note must suffice for the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Hungary, whose early establishment was due to the Waldenses and Bohemian Brethren who took refuge there. Luther's writings had great influence in Hungary, and the German population have largely remained Lutherans. The Magyars were more influenced by Melanchthon and Calvin, and adopted a Calvinistic Confession at the Synod of Czenger in 1557 or 1558; this was superseded by the second Helvetic Confession of 1566, subscribed in Hungary in 1567. A Presbyterian organisation was adopted, and at the end of the sixteenth century almost all the Magyars, nobility as well as peasants, had accepted the Reformation. In the next two centuries the Jesuits and the persecutions of the Hapsburg princes brought continual disasters upon the Reformed Church; but in 1781 the Edict of Toleration secured liberty of conscience and public worship to the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and other restrictions were removed in 1848. The Protestants of Hungary number about three millions, two-thirds being of the Reformed Church.

The Reformed Churches of Hungary.



DRONTHEIM CATHEDRAL, NORWAY.

TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON, U.S.A.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Church of England and the Nonconformists.

Early independence of English Church—Resistance to Papacy—The Lollards—Henry VIII. and Luther—English break with Rome—Henry excommunicated—Tyndale's Bible—Later Translations—English Prayer-Books—The Thirty-nine Articles—Gradual restriction of English Church—Evangelicals—High Church and Ritualist party—Broad Churchmen—The Baptists—Mennonites—Puritans—Independents—Emigration to New England—Savoy Conference—Congregational Union—Society of Friends—Hicksite Friends—Arminianism—John Wesley—George Whitefield—Methodist Episcopacy—Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion—Welsh Calvinistic Methodists—Emanuel Swendenborg—New Church—Edward Irving—Catholic Apostolic Church—Unitarians—Socinus—Priestley—Channing—Rationalism—Agnosticism.

CLAIMING a history dating from apostolic or sub-apostolic times, Christianity in Great Britain is only partially derived from the papal mission of Augustine in 597. Very soon after the organisation of the

Church by the Roman missionaries, a strong spirit of independence of Rome was found in Britain; and as early as 747 a synod of English bishops ordered that the Creed and the Lord's Prayer should be taught to the people in the vulgar tongue. We have already referred to many famous British missionaries and theologians; to these might be added many more. There was always an extensive practice of explaining the Scriptures in the vernacular, and a very moderate statement of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Anselm introduced a higher doctrine of the Eucharist, as well as of the papal power. The power and abuses of the monastic orders and celibacy of the clergy, the exactions and oppressions of papal legates, and the claims of clerical exemption from ordinary law again and again roused the nation, and there was seldom a complete subjection of the kingdom to the Papacy, the Inquisition never having been introduced. The statute of Mortmain (1279) restrained the gifts of lands to monastic orders and the Church; the statutes of Provisors (1351) and Præmunire (1353), more strongly enacted in 1393, forbade the excessive drain of Church and monastic money to the pope, and to aliens, and papal appointments to sees and benefices. The clergy were compelled to pay taxes to the Crown; and Wyclif, in the thirteenth century, both roused the people against the corruptions of the Church, and promulgated a teaching which to a considerable extent anticipated the Reformation. His translation of the Bible could not, however, obtain wide circulation before the era of printing.

Early independence of English Church.

Resistance to Papacy.

It is worth noting here how, in 1394, the Lollards (followers of Wyclif) brought forward a Bill in Parliament, setting forth such advanced views as the following: (1) that when the Church of England accepted endowments, faith, hope, and charity began to disappear, and pride and mortal sins to prevail; (2) that the priesthood, as conferred by the Church ritual, is a sham; (3) that the vow of chastity leads to sin; (4) that the pretended miracle of the sacrament leads all men, save a few, into idolatry; (5) that exorcisms and blessings of various things are practices of necromancy rather than theology; (6) prelates and clergy ought not to hold secular offices; (7) the offering of prayers for special dead persons is wrong as a foundation for almsgiving; (8) pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings to crosses and images are very near to idolatry; (9) auricular confession and absolution produce many evils. The fastening of this Bill upon the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey in 1394 anticipated by 123 years Luther's theses at Wittenberg. After this followed the cruel persecutions of the Lollards, beginning with the killing of William Sawtrey in 1401; but this only intensified the popular dislike and the resistance to papal tyranny, which continued active during the weak reign of Henry VI., and increased during the Wars of the Roses and reign of Henry VII.

The Lollards.

Early in the sixteenth century, the monks and monasteries were in ill repute; the clergy preached little, and many of them lived immoral lives; the sale of indulgences made the people scoff at the Church; and a reform was greatly needed, though it came about

Henry VIII. and Luther.

in a way which brought many evils along with it. At first, antagonism to Luther was prominent. Wolsey had Luther's books burnt at St. Paul's in 1521; and Henry VIII. wrote a book in favour of the seven sacraments and abusing Luther, who responded in a violent tone. The king was gratified by receiving from Pope Leo X. the title of Defender of the Faith, still retained by the English sovereigns. But the opinions of the Continental reformers were widely diffused in England, and prepared the way for the reforming Parliament of 1529, in which Henry compelled the clergy, besides paying large sums of money in lieu of penalties for breaking the Præmunire statute, to accept his supremacy over the English Church, "as far as is permitted by the law of Christ," thus practically breaking with Rome. The "submission of the clergy" in 1532 granted that no new canons should be made or published without the king's consent, and that a revision of the old ones should take place. In 1533 all appeals to Rome were forbidden, as well as all papal dispensations and appointments. In 1536, the suppression of the smaller monasteries was authorised, and in 1539 that of the greater monasteries. Thus, not without bloodshed, the Church was made national, under royal supremacy, and its reform was made possible and partially accomplished without the introduction of any new doctrine beyond orthodox Romanism.

English break with Rome.

CRANMER.

After Cranmer, in May, 1533, had pronounced the divorce of Catherine from Henry, the pope threatened to excommunicate him. Cranmer claimed an appeal from the pope to a general council. On March 23rd, 1534, the pope proclaimed Henry's marriage with Catherine lawful, and excommunicated him. But liberal views were not enthroned in England if the pope was dethroned. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were executed in 1535 for denying the royal supremacy; Anabaptists were also burnt; and the Real Presence in the Eucharist was proclaimed as a vital doctrine.

Henry excommunicated.

Meanwhile William Tyndale had translated and printed on the Continent the New Testament (1526), and the Pentateuch (1530). In 1534 and 1535, he issued revised editions, enlarged. In 1535 he was seized in the Netherlands, and after a year and a half's imprisonment was strangled and then burnt, on Oct. 6, 1536, under the decree of the Emperor Charles V.

Tyndale's Bible.

In 1536, Henry VIII. obtained the approval of Convocation to his "Ten Articles," which have been termed "popery with the pope left out."

Later translations. Meanwhile Coverdale's translation of the Bible into English was published in 1535. In 1537 "Matthew's" Bible appeared, edited by John Rogers, mainly from Tyndale; and a copy was ordered to be set up in every church. A revised edition, the "Great" Bible, was issued in 1539; and thus a beginning was made in the popular diffusion of the Scriptures. The injunctions issued by the king's vicar-general in 1538 enjoin the reading and study of the Bible on every Christian man; and the clergy are bidden to preach, at least once every quarter, a sermon, "in which they are to declare, purely and sincerely, the very gospel of Christ, and to exhort their hearers to works of mercy and religion, and not to trust in works devised by man's fantasies, as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to images or relics, kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of bedes not understanded, or in such-like superstitions." But these injunctions mark the high-water mark of the Reformation under Henry VIII., who became more bigoted and intolerant as he grew older. In 1539 he issued the "Six Articles," affirming transubstantiation on penalty of the stake, the necessity of private masses and auricular confession, celibacy of the clergy, and the obligation of vows of chastity. Many were tried and punished under the Act passed in pursuance of it, and many for denying the royal supremacy in religion.

Early in Edward VI.'s reign the "Six Articles" were repealed; and Parliament, on the recommendation of the Convocation of the Church, ordered that the Communion should be administered to all persons in both kinds. In

Edward VI.'s First Prayer-Book. 1548–9 the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was issued in English, being really a revised translation of the best of the old Latin service books used in England, with the omission of many things strongly objected to by reformers. About the same time the marriage of the clergy was permitted by law. Later, it appeared that many were applying or adapting parts of the new service-book in a Roman sense, and injunctions to the contrary were issued. In reaction Protestant doctrines came more into favour among the people.

The Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. (1552), which is substantially in force at present, was largely influenced by the progress of reforming opinions.

Edward VI.'s Second Prayer-Book. The Order of Morning and Evening Prayer was changed; the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution were prefixed to the Lord's Prayer, with which Services had previously begun, and prayers were added after the third collect. In the Communion Service important alterations were made; the reading of the Commandments was introduced, the name of the Virgin was omitted from special mention, the invocation of the Word and the Holy Ghost, the sign of the cross, and the mixture of water with the wine were omitted; instead of the long comprehensive Prayer of Consecration, three prayers were substituted, those for the Church Militant, of Consecration, and the first form of the Prayer after Communion; at the delivery of the elements to the communicants, the second clauses

of the present form were substituted for the first clauses. In the rite of Baptism the exorcism, anointing, and triple immersion; in the Service for

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON.

the Visitation of the Sick, the anointing, directions for private confessions, and for reserving portions of the elements from the public Communion; in

the Burial Service, prayers for the dead, were omitted. The most important change was in the Communion Service, supporting the view that the elements had no new virtues imparted in consecration, thus allowing the full adhesion of the extreme Reformers. Forty-two Articles of Religion were agreed to and promulgated in 1552–3.

We must pass over the restoration of Romanism under Queen Mary, and the persecution and martyrdoms associated with it. In 1559 the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was again restored, with slight alterations, one being that the clauses used in both Prayer-Books of Edward VI. in delivering the elements in the Communion were combined as at present in use. Several minor alterations went counter to the desires of the Puritans, especially in restoring some ceremonies and vestments.

Revised Prayer-Book.

In 1563 the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI. were revised and amended, and condensed into Thirty-nine. They have been the subject of an astonishing variety of interpretation and latitude of subscription, some representing them as mainly Lutheran, others reading into them much of the theology of the Council of Trent; Calvinists finding in them substantially their own creed, whilst those possessing a much less positive and dogmatic belief than any of these have been content to subscribe them. We will briefly state their effect, mainly following Dr. Schaff's analysis as that of a competent outside judge. The Articles are Catholic as to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, agreeing with all the Protestants of the Reform period; indeed, these are partly given in the words of two Lutheran confessions, the Augsburg and the Wurtemberg; they are Augustinian on free-will, sin, and grace, agreeing with the Continental Reformers; they are Protestant and Evangelical, in rejecting the errors and abuses of the Roman Church, and teaching the doctrines as to Scripture and tradition, justification, faith and good works, and the number of sacraments, held in common by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin; they are moderately Calvinistic as to predestination and the Lord's Supper; they are Erastian[1] in teaching the close union of Church and State, and the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. Article XXXVI., in reference to the Prayer-Book and orders, being purely Anglican and Episcopalian, has always been opposed by the Puritans. The Articles have been adopted by the American Episcopal Church, with the omission of the Athanasian Creed from Article VIII., and modifications applicable to the separation of Church and State.

The Thirty-nine Articles.

The "Bishops'" Bible, issued under Archbishop Parker, in 1568, not being entirely satisfactory, a committee of divines was appointed to draw up

[1] Thomas Erastus, 1524–1583, author of a treatise on the power of excommunication, advocated the infliction of penalties by the civil magistrate, not by the Church, and regarded it as out of place for the Church to excommunicate. But it became the popular idea that he maintained the power of the magistrate over the conscience of individuals, and the subjection of all religious bodies to State regulation and control. Thus the term Erastian is identified with the control of the Church by the State, and with the principle of Established Churches.

a new translation which was published in 1611, and has ever since been recognised as a masterly work. It was revised in 1870–1885, by a commission containing representatives of Nonconformists as well as American divines; but the revised translation has not yet been "authorised" for use in churches.

Bishops', Authorised, and Revised Bibles.

Without following the stormy history of the English Church in the seventeenth century, it may be said that nearly all alterations, though comparatively slight, were in an anti-Puritan direction, with strict State control. The attitude of the Royal Government and of the Church authorities became such, that at successive periods very many who desired to remain in the National Church were excluded, until at the present time it is claimed that only one-half of the nation is really attached to the Established Church. Towards the end of the last century a number of clergymen who had at first sympathised with the Methodist revival adopted a strict Calvinism which separated them from Wesley's movement. They remained in the Church, and formed the "Evangelical" party, remarkable for their earnest spiritual sermons, their philanthropy, and their missions. They founded the Church Missionary Society, and (with the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents) the Religious Tract Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. As a reaction from their moderate statement of the claims of the Church, and inattention to form and supposed incompleteness of teaching on sacramental subjects, the High Church and Tractarian party arose (1833), and in "Tracts for the Times," insisted on the Divine authority and mission of the Church of England as a branch of the Church Catholic, possessing continuity from apostolic times, unbroken succession of the ministry, and true episcopacy. They directed fresh attention to the Fathers and to the traditions and decisions of the undivided Church. As to the Papacy, many of them were more inclined to revere than to censure it, and the name of Protestant became hateful to them. They endeavoured to re-introduce the doctrine of the mass as a sacrifice. The cry arose that they were Romanists at heart and wished to betray the English Church to Roman Catholicism; and this appeared to be justified by the secession of many prominent Tractarians to Rome. Later, various legal decisions have allowed the holding within the Church of England of certain sacramental doctrines deemed by the Evangelicals to be contrary to the meaning of the Articles, and susceptible of a direct Roman interpretation; and this view appears to be confirmed by the Romanised ceremonial introduced by the "Ritualists," together with habitual confession, sisterhoods, limited communions, gorgeous vestments, etc. The rise of the High Church party was almost simultaneous with that of a Broader school of thought, which, partly under the influence of German rationalism, partly under that of modern science, ascribed a lower place to the authority of the Bible than the Reformers, and allowed that its verbal infallibility was not necessary to its acceptance as containing all that was essential to salvation. While some of them firmly believed in the supernatural aspects

Gradual restriction of English Church.

Evangelicals.

High Church and Ritualist party.

Broad Churchmen.

of Christianity and the Deity of Christ, others qualified these to a varying extent. Some few Broad Churchmen have left the Church and become Unitarians; but on the whole they retain their positions, giving in some cases a special interpretation to the Thirty-nine Articles.

The Church of England is by some called a bundle of divergent sects; but there is a very large number of members who hold to the distinctive dogmas of no one school, but are attached to the plain teaching of the Prayer-Book. Next to these the High Churchmen are apparently the most numerous and active section.

The first important body of Nonconformists in England were the Baptists, sometimes called Anabaptists (rebaptisers), as requiring those who had been baptised in infancy to be baptised again (by immersion) in adult life, on making a voluntary profession of Christianity. Their fanaticism on the Continent against all who supported infant baptism, as well as against papal errors, led to bitter persecutions by all parties, leading to revolts, such as the Peasants' War in Saxony (1534). The earliest confession of Baptists is given by Zwingli, and includes baptism on profession of repentance, belief in, and forgiveness of sins through Christ, accompanied with change of life. Those who fall into sin after baptism are to be excommunicated. Their other doctrines agree with the Calvinistic Reformed Churches. They appeared in England in Henry VIII.'s reign, and some were burnt. In Elizabeth's and James I.'s reign no tolerance was allowed to Baptists; and during the greater part of the seventeenth century, except during the Commonwealth time, they were persecuted. It was not till after the Revolution of 1688, and the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, that their worship was free. Their tenets gradually spread; and as each Church adopted its creed without control by any organisation, a distinction gradually arose between the Particular or Calvinistic Baptists, and the General or Arminian Baptists. The former are the majority, and are Calvinists in doctrine, while independent in their Church organisation. While rejecting infant baptism, they believe in the salvation of all children dying before the age of responsibility. In their eyes baptism is not a regenerative act, but an outward sign of a grace already conferred. They are opposed to all State Churches, and advocate voluntaryism and religious freedom. No Church has any power over any other Church. No minister has any authority in any Church except that which has called him to be its pastor. Deacons are the Church administrators and pastors' assistants. The General Baptists are those who reject unconditional election to salvation, and maintain the freedom of man's will and the possibility of falling from grace. Some of the congregations in the last century tended towards Socinianism and have joined the Unitarians. A number of Particular Baptists have become more moderate in their Calvinism, and more liberal in their theology.

The Baptists.

Particular Baptists.

General Baptists.

The Mennonites represent the original Anabaptists, collected into a peaceful, unobtrusive body in Holland and Western Germany, by Menno Simonis, about 1536. The Confession of Waterland, which they for the

most part acknowledge, shows their affinity with the Quakers. Agreeing with the other Baptists as to adult baptism, they differ in using sprinkling instead of immersion. They admit hereditary sin, but deny the individual's guilt for it. They believe in universal redemption and conditional election. Taking oaths and holding secular offices is forbidden, together with lawsuits, revenge, violence, and worldly amusements. They have spread very considerably in Russia and the United States.

The Mennonites.

The term "Puritans" sometimes covers all who dissent from the Church of England, and adopt a narrow principle of Church government and more strictly avoid Roman doctrine and ceremonies; but it properly designates a more definite party in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The introduction of Calvin's followers into important positions in the latter part of Henry VIII.'s and in Edward VI.'s reign, had much influence in spreading the doctrines of the Swiss Reformers; and during the Marian persecutions many English divines went to Geneva and other Protestant centres, and on their return, in Elizabeth's reign, brought back a strong attachment to Genevan simplicity and hatred of Romish vestments and ceremonies. Some of their proposals were accepted, but others, especially about vestments, were rejected; and in 1560, those who refused to conform began to be deprived of their cures, but great difficulty occurred in supplying their places. Some of the Puritans chose to remain within the Church, conforming as little as might be to the regulations they disliked, while others separated themselves, though not supported by Knox, Beza, and Bullinger. Thomas Cartwright, a notable Cambridge professor, became their chief literary exponent, his "Second Admonition," addressed to Parliament in 1572, being a powerful attack upon the Church; and the "Book of Discipline" drawn up by him and Travers about 1580, contains a complete organisation for Church government on the Genevan model. Several Churches with presbyterian discipline were formed from 1572 onwards, but soon suppressed, or only carried on in secret. The troubles of those who desired to continue Puritans within the Established Church, and of those who left it for the sake of Puritan principles, increased during the latter part of Elizabeth's and the early Stuart reigns. Many took refuge in America, the first ship, the *Mayflower*, leaving Plymouth on 6th Sept., 1620. Their numbers were greatly increased by Laud's arbitrary discipline in Charles I.'s reign, and they constituted a powerful basis for the new free reformed Churches of America. Under the Commonwealth the National Church was largely given up to freedom and irregular proceedings, the surplice being extensively discarded and extemporaneous prayer being frequent in the parish churches. The old Puritanism now became extinct, and the opponents of the Established Church fell into two main groups, the Presbyterians and the Independents. After the passing of the Act of Uniformity (1662), the name of Nonconformist was generally applied to those clergymen (with their adherents) who refused to conform to the Church of England. Nearly 2,000 ministers were then ejected as Nonconformists.

The Puritans.

Emigration to New England.

The origin of the Independents is traced to the reign of Elizabeth, and more especially to Robert Browne (1550–1631), who wrote strongly against the evils of Churches containing evil livers and preachers, and the interference of the civil power with religion; but after suffering much from persecution and imprisonment, he returned to the ministry of the English Church. Many others by private study of the Bible came in his time to believe in the separate organisation and equal authority of every congregation of believers. They endured much persecution for their opinions, and formed many private Churches or assemblies. Many took refuge in Holland, and formed Churches at Amsterdam and Leyden. In 1606 Henry Jacob returned to England from Leyden and formed an Independent Church in Southwark, having previously defined his position in a petition to King James, that every particular Church should be allowed to elect, ordain, and deprive her own ministers, and to exercise all other lawful ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Growing apace, though constantly drained of their best blood by the New England emigration, the Independents exercised considerable influence in the Westminster Assembly. Under the Protectorate of Cromwell they became the most important religious body, and in 1658 ministers and delegates of more than 100 congregations met at the Savoy and subscribed a "Declaration," which set forth, besides the Westminster Confession in a slightly modified form, a "Declaration of the Institution of Churches and the Order appointed in them by Jesus Christ." It stated that "a particular Church consists of officers and members; the Lord Christ having given to His called ones,—united in Church order,—liberty and power to choose persons fitted by the Holy Ghost to be over them in the Lord. The officers appointed by Christ to be chosen and set apart by the Church are pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons." The call to the ministry by the Church is to be followed by fasting and prayer,

The Independents.

JOHN WESLEY.

Savoy Conference.

and the imposition of hands by the eldership of the Church. A Church furnished with officers has full power to administer all Christ's ordinances. Admonition and excommunication are within the power of the Church. These Savoy Declarations have no binding power upon any Church, but were substantially approved by most Independent Churches. The Independents were fiercely persecuted under the Conventicle Acts of 1663 and 1670, and other oppressive regulations. In 1689 they gained toleration, and flourished considerably in the 18th century. In 1833 an impulse towards united action led to the foundation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, which drew up a moderately Calvinistic declaration. It is not imposed on any Church, and the Union does not assume legislative authority or the functions of a Court of Appeal. A number of ministers hold opinions considered to be "liberal" if not rationalistic. The term "Congregational" has been adopted by the majority of Independent Churches, to emphasise their positive aspect, rather than the opposition to establishments, popery, prelacy, parliament, signified by the word "Independent."

The Congregational Union.

The Society of Friends, popularly known as the "Quakers," takes its rise from George Fox, son of a weaver, who in 1648 began to preach repentance and the universality and sufficiency of the light of the Holy Spirit. The term Quakers was given to his followers by a magistrate whom Fox had bidden to "tremble at the word of God." He taught that the gift of preaching came directly from the operation of the Holy Spirit in the soul, and needed no other authorisation. Thus every one, male or female, might preach when "moved by the Spirit." Fox gave up all rites, ceremonies, and forms of worship, holding that silent communion with God was as acceptable as the utterance of prayer and praise. Naturally the Quakers were opposed by men of all parties; but their principles made way against much persecution, notwithstanding many eccentricities and extravagances. They have never become a Church imposing by numbers, though the character of individual members has had remarkable influence. The doctrines of the Friends, other than those already given, are the universal love of God to man, revealed to the soul of the heathen as well as the Christian; denial of the lawfulness of war, oaths, amusements; the use of the plainest language and dress. They recognise in a modified way the offices of minister, elder, and overseer; but in their meetings they frequently sit silent unless any member is "moved" to speak or pray. All members are entitled to watch over one another for good. It is in assigning supremacy to the "Inward Light" that they most differ from the Reformers. In America they became very numerous; and owing to the views put forward by Elias Hicks, approaching nearly to Arianism, a large body seceded in 1827, and are known as Hicksite Friends. They assert their belief in the Divinity of Christ, "the immaculate Son of God," but they do not hold the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. They affirm that "the Scriptures do not teach that we inherit any fault from Adam or any of our ancestors; nor do we feel any compunction for their

Society of Friends.

Hicksite Friends.

sins. The language of our Saviour clearly implies that little children are innocent, for, He says, 'of such is the kingdom of heaven.'"

We will here summarise the leading points of Arminianism (see p. 878), which have been to a large extent adopted by the Methodists. They are, (1) that predestination is conditioned by God's foreknowledge of the faith or unbelief of men. (2) That Christ died for all men, and His salvation is intended for all; but (3) God's grace is not irresistible, and only those who accept it by faith are saved. (4) Man can only attain saving faith by regeneration by God in Christ. (5) Believers are capable of falling from grace. Arminianism was held to a considerable extent in the Church of England (and still is), before Wesley adopted it.

Arminianism.

John Wesley (1703–1791), the founder of Methodism, was a learned Oxford graduate and Church of England clergyman, who in 1729 formed a small society for cultivating personal religion at Oxford, on somewhat High Church principles, and nicknamed "Methodists." It was not till after he had been on a mission to Georgia, that he realised his need of "conversion," and through the teaching of Peter Böhler, a Moravian, gained a personal trust in Christ and a conscious assurance of his sins being forgiven (1738). Meanwhile, George Whitefield, one of the Oxford Methodists, had become an open-air preacher, and produced wonderful effects by his eloquence. The two joined heartily in evangelistic work, and formed societies, at first intended solely to be within the Church of England. But in numerous cases Wesley's converts were repelled from communion by the Anglican clergy, and Wesley was generally prohibited from preaching in parish churches. In 1740 Wesley separated both from the Moravians and from Whitefield, the latter adopting Calvinistic views. Perhaps the point most insisted on in early Methodism, was the necessity of distinct, usually instantaneous, "conversion," after repentance from sin; but the possession of a consciousness of forgiveness and of the Divine favour (known as "the witness of the Spirit"), justification by faith alone, and Christian perfectibility, or the possible attainment of a state of sinlessness, or freedom from the power of sin (though not from "involuntary transgressions"), are almost equally prominent. Wesley set himself "to reform the nation, more particularly the Church, and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land." To his "genius for godliness," he added a remarkable power of organisation, which, well seconded by his successors, has made the Methodist bodies as important and active as any section of Protestantism. The doctrinal standard rather than the creed of Methodism is contained in fifty-three of Wesley's sermons and his "Notes on the New Testament." It was not till 1784 that Wesley, though long convinced that the office of a bishop was originally the same with that of a presbyter, ordained the Rev. Dr. Coke as superintendent or bishop for America, Coke, in his turn, ordaining Francis Asbury as presbyter and bishop. Asbury was an indefatigable evangelist, and largely instrumental in building up the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, whose bishops, however, are but chief among the presbyters they superintend. In 1788

John Wesley.

George Whitefield.

Methodist Episcopacy.

Wesley ordained a number of his lay preachers to assist him in administering the sacraments to his societies; and in 1795 the "Conference" of his ministers authorised the administration of the sacraments wherever desired. In 1836 the practice of ordination of ministers by imposition of hands of senior ministers was adopted. In the present century there has been a gradual growth of the power of the laity in Methodism, after several exciting controversies, attended by considerable secessions and the formation of large but minor Methodist bodies. The tendency now is towards reunion. Class-meetings of a few members for religious conversation under "leaders," lay local preachers, quarterly meetings of leaders and office-bearers in every society, district committees with ministerial chairmen, and annual conferences of ministers and laymen, constitute some of the special features of Methodism. Various minor modifications are found among the Primitive Methodists, the United Methodist Free Churches, the "New Connexion," the Bible Christians, etc. An Œcumenical Methodist Conference (without legislative power) was held in London in 1881.

Whitefield became closely associated with Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, who from 1748 set up chapels under her own management, appointing her numerous "chaplains" to be their ministers. At first desiring to remain in connexion with the Church of England, she found it necessary, in 1781, to claim the privileges and status of Dissenters. She adopted Calvinistic views, and her society was known as the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. In 1791, when she died, it included 64 chapels, most of which since her death have become Independent or Congregationalist, though retaining a portion of the English Liturgy.

Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.

Welsh Calvinistic Methodism arose about 1735-6 in several counties of Wales, Howel Harris, Daniel Rowlands, and Howell Davies being its chief leaders, at first in connection with the Church of England. Extemporaneous preaching and revivalism became its prominent characteristics. The first Calvinistic Methodist Conference was held at Waterford, in Glamorganshire, under Whitefield's presidency, in 1743. It was not till 1811 that the preachers became pastors and were ordained to administer the sacraments, although an Order of Church Government and Rules of Discipline had been adopted in 1801. The present form of government is described as "modified Presbyterianism."

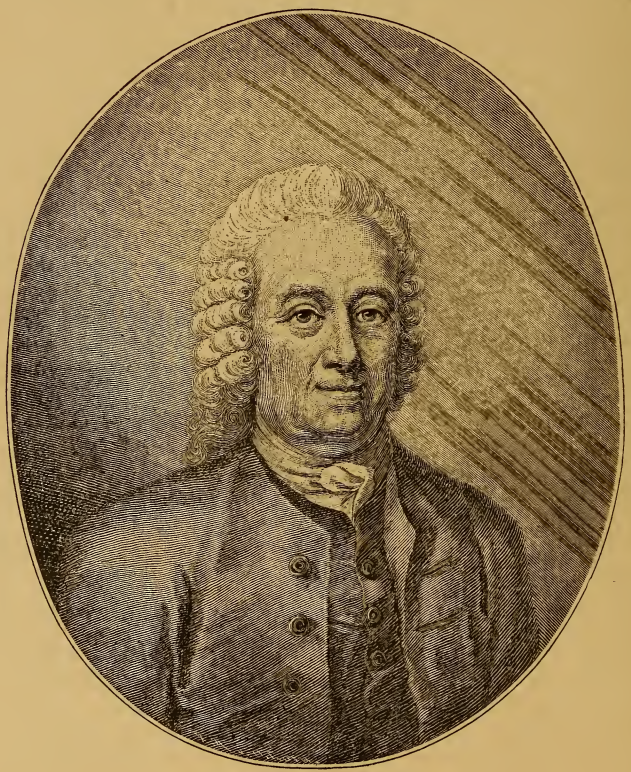
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was a Swede, son of a Lutheran bishop, who in 1745 gave up secular pursuits, believing himself called in a miraculous manner to a holy office, after having had spiritual revelations and talk with spirits and angels. He promulgated a series of "revelations," including many dicta on spiritual things which only his followers can accept as authoritative. One of his chief doctrines is that of "correspondences" between the natural and spiritual worlds, leading him to discard much of the Old Testament and all the New except the Gospels and the Revelation; others are, that the last judgment has already taken place (in 1757), and that the New Jerusalem has already come down in the shape of the "New Church." His views on the Trinity resembled those of

Emanuel Swedenborg.

the Sabellians (p. 747). Rejecting the doctrine of justification by faith only, he said, "To fear God and to work righteousness is to have charity; and whoever has charity, whatever his religious sentiments may be, will be saved." In 1787 the "New Church" was first formed in London, with an elaborate creed, depending mainly upon the members' discernment in the Scriptures of a "spiritual sense heretofore unknown, whence it is Divinely inspired and holy in every syllable, as well as a literal sense

New Church.



EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

which is the basis of its spiritual sense." On the whole, the creed of the New Church is an Evangelical Christian one, qualified by its own peculiarities. The Church is administered by conferences of ministers and laymen.

The "Irvingites," or Catholic Apostolic Church, arose mainly in connection with the ministry of Edward Irving, a singularly gifted and earnest minister of the Scotch Established Church, in Regent Square Church, London, who had preached largely on the hope of Christ's speedy coming, and the revival of the miraculous gifts of the

Edward Irving.

Spirit manifested in the early Church. In 1830, in his own Church and in western Scotland, prophetic utterances and speaking in unknown tongues occurred to several members and caused great excitement. Irving was expelled from the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1833, and in 1834 was re-ordained by one of the "apostles" of the new system. The main tenets of the New Church are that all the gifts of the Apostolic age are revived, and that they have apostles, prophets, evangelists, angels or bishops, presbyters, and deacons; all except the deacons being "called" by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of its prophets. They hope for the speedy coming of Christ. The Church has ritualistic worship and an elaborate liturgy, going in several respects beyond the Church of England. It believes in baptismal regeneration and the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which is not only a sacrament, but also a sacrifice of thanksgiving, connected with the memory of the dead. In many points they agree with the Church of England. They adopt the term "Catholic Apostolic," not as an exclusive one, but to signify that they are a part of the one Church, adopting the literal teaching of the New Testament.

Catholic Apostolic Church.

The Unitarians claim that their beliefs accord with primitive Christianity, and have always been held by larger or smaller sections of the Church. Their modern origin has been traced to Faustus Socinus (1539–1604), an Italian, who in the sixteenth century taught that Christ did not exist before His birth; that God is One, and that Christ and the Holy Spirit are not God; that Christ died for the infirmities of human nature, which He had assumed; and that He did not become immortal till His ascension; that the good will have eternal happiness, while the evil will be punished for a limited time. No definite organisation on this basis was formed in England; but many Anti-Trinitarians suffered for their opinions. Unitarian views were adopted by a number of English Churchmen in the eighteenth century; many of these resigned their benefices. Joseph Priestley in the latter part of the last century expressed the belief that the Bible was not an inspired book, that Christ was no more than a man, and that it was idolatry to worship Him. It was not till 1813 that the Unitarians were placed by law in the same position as other Dissenters, it having been previously reckoned blasphemy to speak against the doctrine of the Trinity. Many Independent and Presbyterian Churches in England and America became more or less Unitarian. William Ellery Channing (1780–1842), was the great apostle of Unitarianism in the United States. Unitarians conspicuously advocate free inquiry and criticism of the Bible and all religious beliefs, with progressive modifications according to the advance of knowledge. They believe in the fatherhood and benevolence of God, who wills the salvation of all who will accept it. Man's nature they regard as not essentially corrupt, but imperfect, needing regeneration and renewal by that Divine influence called the Holy Spirit. Jesus Christ they term at once Son of God and Son of Man, man's true Teacher, Leader, Life, and Example. Many shades of belief, with a claim of valid Christianity,

Unitarians.

Socinus.

Priestley.

Channing.

are included in Unitarianism. Lack of space prevents us from referring to such bodies as the "Brethren," the Sandemanians, the Mormons, the Shakers, the Salvation Army, and many others.

In concluding this survey of religions, we may take note of modern rationalism, seeking to explain every feature of religion on natural principles, apart from any supernatural manifestation. Its growth during the present century, since the laws of nature have become better known, has been enormous, both in Germany and in Great Britain. Its determination to accept no explanation involving an unknown law or cause, when a known law or cause will satisfactorily account for the phenomenon, has been carried by some into the extreme of refusing to believe in any unknown or "supernatural" cause of religious phenomena.

Rationalism.

Lastly, in reaction from over-credulity, bibliolatry, and papal infallibility, men have professed themselves "Agnostics" in religion, believing that nothing can be truly known beyond facts perceptible by the senses, or principles deducible therefrom. The old biblical utterance, "Canst thou by searching find out God?" has been converted by them into a dogma, that "Man cannot know God," and even into an assumption that God cannot reveal Himself to the rational creature He has made. Yet in the testimonies they furnish to Christ, we find some of the strongest statements as to His teaching. The following quotation from one of the most notable recent works against miracles and the supernatural in religion contains the following expressions:—

Agnosticism.

"The teaching of Jesus carried morality to the sublimest point attained, or even attainable, by humanity. . . . Such morality, based upon the intelligent and earnest acceptance of Divine law, and perfect recognition of the brotherhood of man, is the highest conceivable by humanity; and although its power and influence must augment with the increase of enlightenment, it is itself beyond development, consisting as it does of principles unlimited in their range and inexhaustible in their application. . . . No supernatural halo can heighten its spiritual beauty, and no mysticism deepen its holiness. In its perfect simplicity it is sublime, and in its profound wisdom it is eternal." —*Supernatural Religion*, ii. 487–489.

We may take this as representing the sure and undoubted ground that has been reached in religious and moral truth, although very many hold far fuller creeds. The ages since Christianity arose are but a small portion of the life of the earth, even since man appeared; and in spite of contradictory appearances and movements, we may safely say that human progress in all philanthropy has been far greater during these ages than in any equal period before. Therefore we may be reasonably certain that the same cause, the same Divine Cause, will in future ages bring about still further progress and enlightenment.

THE END.

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